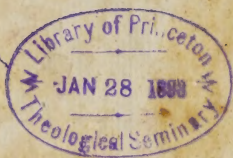


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A COMPENDIOUS
HISTORY
Ex Lib Of the CATHOLICK *For Brown*
CHURCH, *1710*

From the Year 600 untill the Year 1600.

Shewing Her
DEFORMATION
And
REFORMATION.

Together with
The RISE, REIGN, RAGE, and BEGIN-FALL
Of the
ROMAN ANTICHRIST.

With many other profitable Instructions.

Gathered out of divers WRITERS of the several times, and
other HISTORIES,

By **ALEXANDER PETRIE,**

Minister of the Scots Congregation at Rotterdam.

Plalm III. *What we have heard and known, and our Fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their Children: shewing unto the Generation to come, the praise of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderfull Works that he hath done.*

Cyprian de zelo & livore: *Evill shall be eschued the more readily, if the beginning and greatness of it be known.*

Origen contra Celsum, Lib. 3. *As he is deemed to have made progress in Philosophy, who being acquainted with the disputes of different opinions, hath chosen the best reasons among them: So I am bold to say, that he is the wisest among Christians, who hath most diligently considered the several Sects of Jews and Christians.*

H A G U E:

Printed by **ADRIAN VLACK.**

M. DC. LXII.

James Mison bought this Book
of the CATHOLICK



TO HIS HIGHNES
WILLIAM THE III,
By the Grace of God
PRINCE of ORANGE.

*Count of Nassaw, Catzenelbogen, Vianden, Dietz, Lingen, Moeurs,
Bueren, Leerdam, &c. Marquess of ter Vere and Vlissingen; Lord and Baron
of Breda; of the City of the Grave and Land of Kuyck, Dieft, Grimbergen,
Herstall, Kranendonck, Warneston, Arlay, Noferoy, S. Vijt, Doesbourg,
Polanen, Willemstadt, Niewart, Ysselstein, S. Martensdijck, Geertruy-
denberg, Chasteau-regnard, the High and Lower Swaluw, Naeld-
wijck, &c. Vicount Hereditary of Antwerp and Besançon, &c.
Marshal Hereditary of Holland, &c.*

I Will honour them that honour me, saith
the LORD. But who can tell what shall
be done unto them whom the Lord will
honour? Certainly, those do honour
him, who serve him religiously. They
who are careless of Religion, do pretend
that they cannot serve God, because there be so many
Religions, and they cannot know which is the right.
But if they were unfeignedly desirous to know, they
might be resolved; since our Lord, who is gracious,
mercifull, and abundant in goodness and truth, leaves
us not in the mist or unto uncertainties; but at several
times, and in divers waies, hath spoken unto the Fa-
thers by the Prophets; and in the last daies hath spoken
unto us by his Son, and hath commanded all men to
hear

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hear Him: He is the Way, the Verity and the Life, none comes unto the Father but by Him. On which words *Chrysostom* writes thus; It is as if our Saviour had said, I am the Way; that is, By me ye shall come: The Verity, because assuredly those things shall be which I have promised; neither is any lie in me: And the Life, because Death cannot hinder you from me: And since I am the Way, ye need not another Guide: Since I am Truth, I speak no false thing: Since I am Life, although ye shall die, ye shall enjoy what I have promised. And *Cyrill. Alexandr.* on the same words saith; By three things we shall come into these Heavenly mansions; by the action of true verity, by right faith, and the hope of eternal life: of all which, none is the giver, none is the fountain, nor is any the cause, but our Lord Jesus Christ, for he hath given commandments above the Law; he hath shewed us the Way: And he is also the Truth; that is, the true straightness and determination, the uprightest rule, and the best square of faith: And he is also the Life, for none but he can restore unto us that life, which we hope shall be in holiness and blessedness without perishing: He certainly shall raise us up, though we die, from that curse for sin, and bring us into Heaven; therefore all excellent things come, and shall be unto us, through him. But those Worldlings say, The Word of Christ is large, and so many things are in it, that we cannot search them. Nevertheless He directs all men to search the Scriptures; and the Evangelist teacheth, that those are written that we might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, we might have life through his name. Yea in that written Word he hath certain rules and notes, where-

whereby the true Religion may be known. Certainly, that is the most true Religion, which ascribes most glory unto God, and most transcends the natural reason of men, and most elevates the hearts and affections of men towards God and Heaven. By application of those undoubted and unquestionable principles, each one may understand, that among all Religions the Reformed is the only true Religion; for not only our Profession in the general, but all the branches of our Doctrine, are grounded on God's written Word; and tend unto God's glory, transcend our natural reason, and lead men to think continually of God, and to hope for blessedness in Heaven by Christ alone. And amongst those who profess this Religion, they are most devoted unto God, and most constant in their profession; who aim most at God's glory; who are most acted by supernatural principles; who do most think of God, and whose hope of felicity in Heaven is most active: And such as seek but their own or other mens interests, or be led by political or human reasons mainly, are the wavering Professors. On the other side, all other Religions, though they pretend the glory of God, they are not truly grounded on God's Word; but are underpropped with natural reason, and tend to earthly mindedness; as appears by induction of the particulars wherein they differ from us; some aiming at the advancement of mens abilities, and others at worldly honour and gain. This is clear in the Romish Religion; for what else is the advancing of man's ability without or with a little help of God? their Justification by works? their Deifying of the Pope above all that is called God? their equalling of Mens Traditions and Decrees with the

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Sacred Scriptures? What else is their Mass, their fancy of Purgatory, &c? Here it is remarkable what is written by their Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmin, *de Indulg. Lib. 1. Cap. 12. Sect. Rationes*; We see (saith he) that the amplest Indulgences are given for a very slight cause; as, when plenary Indulgence is given unto all who stand before the Door of *St. Peter's Church*, and the Pope blesteth all the people solemnly. And *Sect. Observandum*, he saith, That standing before *St. Peter's Porch* is a very light and slight cause, if it be considered absolutely in it self; and nevertheless it is a weighty and just cause, because that frequency of the people, at that time, is a fit and usefull means of protesting their Faith concerning the Head of the Church, and it serves for the honour of the Apostolical See; which [honour] is the end of that Indulgence. *So be.* The Pope then and the People do aid one another mutually; for the People confirms the Supremacy of the Pope by their presence, and receiving that Indulgence; and He, by dispensing his Indulgence so liberally, confirms the People in their Superstition and Pharaisaical opinion of Works. But what is there for the glory of God or promoting Piety? They are wont to object several pretences of their Religion, which may be reduced into ten. 1. The stateliness of their Churches, in comparison of the emptiness and baseness of others. 2. Their Union and Harmony when others fall into Shivers. 3. Their Antiquity, and others are but of Yesterday. 4. They press us to acknowledge, that the Church of Rome was once true: And then they infer; therefore they are the true Church as yet, since the true Church cannot perish, nor be changed in the Essentials. 5. They call

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call for the time, place and persons, when, where, and by whom the change came. 6. Where did our Church lurk so long? 7. The Authours of the Reformation had no Commission to attempt it. 8. They vaunt of their succession without interruption. 9. They glory of the substance of Religion, which cannot be denied to be still with them. 10. They bewitch the people with ambitious ostentation of innumerable Friars; who, amongst them, have renounced the World, that they may attain Eternal Life. All these pretences are clearly refuted by *Io. Calvin. Lib. de Scandalis*; and after him by *Io. Cameron, Lib. de Rom. Ecclesiæ præjudiciis*, in a direct and dogmatical way; but they are (as it were) sensibly demonstrated to be but idle words, by Histories, where we see them all confuted; not only by such as did separate or were cast out of the Roman Church; but even by such as lived and died in it, without any separation, except in judgement. The Papists cannot deny, but plainly confess, that their Church was corrupt, both in the pretended Head and Members, in respect of Manners, so that a Reformation was necessary; but they deny the corruption in Faith or Doctrine: And they say, Though the Popes were wicked men, yet they wanted not their power of Jurisdiction, and of dispensing the sacred Mysteries. Unto the first part the Apostle saith; When some have put away a good Conscience, they make shipwreck concerning the Faith. On these words *Chrysostom* saith; That is truly said; for where the Life is rebukable, such Doctrine must needs follow; and so ye may see very many to have fallen into the Pit of Miseries, and to have returned into Heathenish Rites; for lest they be
tor-

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tormented with the fear of evils to come, they endeavour every way to perswade themselves, that all things are false which our Religion teaches; and so they turn from the Faith. Accordingly the Histories shew, that some Popes have denied the Immortality of the Soul, and have called the Gospel of Christ, a Fable. As for the Pope's Jurisdiction, it was not so from the beginning as it is now, neither Ecclesiastical nor Civil; for other Bishops had power, within their own Diocies, without dependance upon the Sec of Rome; as the Bishops of Millan, of Ravenna and others, in Italy; and the Bishops of other Nations: And Pope Gregory the I. (as others before him) did acknowledge the Emperour as his Lord, and himself his Servant; afterwards the Pope did salute the Emperour as his Son; and by degrees they made the Emperours their Vassals, Servants and Lacqueys: So that if Peter and Paul were alive on Earth, they would certainly deny the Popes to be their Successours; because they differ (besides many other Articles of the Faith) so far in the point of subjection; or rather, exalting themselves above all that is called God; yea certainly, they would call the Pope the Antichrist, according to what they have written in *2 Theff. 2.* and *2 Pet. 2.* The Romanists say, That in this point they have advantage against us; because the Antients have written, that Antichrist must be one Person, of the Tribe of Dan, sit in Jerusalem, &c. Truly it is no marvel, that in the primitive times the most learned were mistaken (I except the Apostles) concerning the Antichrist; since the prophecies could not be thoroughly understood, before they were in some good measure accomplished. But if

we

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we inquire the judgement of the learned and prudent men, in the middle times, concerning the Antichrist, and generally of the corruption of the Church, we may receive more sure information; and certainly those are the best Witnesses of what was done in their daies. A good number of their Testimonies, in all ranks, I have compiled, for this end, in this Book, which is humbly presented unto Your HIGHNES; first trusting that under Your Patronage others may the more willingly look upon it, and be informed in the Truth; and then, with confidence, it shall be graciously accepted; because

Sapè Tibi Deus híc, sápe legentur Avi;

with the same travel of reading in Your tender years, Your HIGHNES may learn, both the condition of God's Church in former times, and the lives of Your Glorious Ancestours, Emperours and Kings, of whom You have Your Illustrious Descent; and so from them You may know how to serve God, and how to deport Your Self in all the daies of Your Pilgrimage, that You may be glorious in Heaven, and the following Ages may have Your example, outvying and outstripping (if possible) all the Williams, Charlsses, Henries, Jameses, Adolphs and others in Christian Prudence, Righteousness, Prowess and Temperance. So prayeth

YOUR HIGHNESSES

Most humble

And obedient Servant

ALEX. PETRIE.

THE FIRST TABLE.

Shewing some Texts of Scripture that are now controverted, and how they were expounded in former times.

For understanding these Tables, it is to be noted, that because the Book is divided into two parts, in respect of numbring the pages; therefore in the Tables the letter S signifieth the second part, and the number following directs unto the second part; and where S is not, the number directs unto the first part. Likewise, as if every page were divided into three parts; the letter b pointeth at the beginning or first part of the page; the letter m at the middle or second part or thereby; and the letter e at the end or third part. In this first Table the letter p stands between the numbers of the verse and of the page.

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OF EMPERORS and POPES.

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In Century VII.

EMPERORS.

Phocas.
Heraclius.
Constantine III.
Heracleonas.
Constans II.
Justinian II.
Leontius.
Tiberius Abdimarus.

POPES.

Gregory I.
Sabinian.
Boniface III.
Boniface IV.
Deusdedit.
Boniface V.
Honorius I.
Severin.
John IV.
Theodorus.
Martin I.
Eugenius I.
Vitalian.
Adeodatus.
Donus.
Agarho.
Leo II.
Benedict II.
John V.
Conon.
Scnſius I.

In Century VIII.

EMPERORS.

Philip Bardanes.
Anastafius II.
Theodofius III.
Leo III.
Constantine V. Copronimus.
Leo IV.
Constantine VI. & Irene.

POPES.

John VI.
John VII.
Sifinnius.
Constantine I.
Gregory II.
Gregory III.

Zacharias.
Stephen II.
Paul I.
Constantine II.
Stephen III.
Hadrian I.

In Century IX.

EMPERORS.

Charls I. the Great.
Lewis I. the Godly.
Lotharius I.
Lewis II.
Charls II. the Bald.
Lewis III. the Stutterer.
Charls III. the Grofs.
Arnolph.

POPES.

Leo III.
Stephen IV.
Pafchalis I.
Eugenius II.
Valentine.
Gregory IV.
Sergius II.
Leo IV.
Jone VII. the Woman.
Benedict III.
Nicolaus I.
Hadrian II.
John IX.
Martin II.
Hadrian III.
Stephen V.
Formofus.

In Century X.

EMPERORS.

Lewis IV.
Conrad I.
Henry I. of Saxony.
Otho I. of Saxony.
Otho II. of Saxony.
Otho III. of Saxony.

POPES.

Boniface VI.
Stephen VI.
Roman.

Theodorus II.

John X.
Benedict IV.
Leo V.
Chriſtophor.
Sergius III.
Anastafius III.
Lando.

John XI.
Leo VI.
Stephen VII.
John XII.
Leo VII.
Stephen VIII.
Martin III.
Agaper II.
John XIII.
Benedict V.
Leo VIII.
John XIV.
Benedict VI.
Donus II.
Boniface V. I.
John XV.
Benedict VII.
John XVI.
John XVII.
Gregory V. and John XVIII.

In Century XI.

EMPERORS.

Henry II. Duke of Bavier.
Conrad II. D. of Suevia.
Henry II. D. of Suevia:
Henry IV. D. of Suevia.

POPES.

Silveſter II.
John XIX.
John XX.
Sergius IV.
Benedict VIII.
John XXI.
{ Benedictus IX.
{ Silveſter III.
{ Gregory VI.
Clemens II.
Damafus II.
Leo IX.
Victor II.
Stephen IX.
{ Benedict X.
{ Nicolaus II.

The Second Table.

Alexander II.
Gregory VII.
{ Clemens III.
Victor III.

In Century XII.

EMPERORS.

Henry V. Duke of Suevia.
Lotharius II. D. of Saxon.
Conrad III. D. of Suevia.
Frederick Barbarossa.
Henry VI. D. of Suevia.

POPEs.

Paschalis II.
{ Gelasius II.
Gregory VIII.
Callistus II.
{ Celestine II.
Honorius II.
{ Innocentius II.
Anacletus II.
Celestine III.
Lucius II.
Eugenius III.
Anastasius IV.
Hadrian IV.
{ Victor IV.
Alexander III.
Paschalis III.
Lucius III.
Urban III.
Gregory (IX. and called) VIII.
Clemens III.
Celestine IV.

In Century XIII.

POPEs.

Innocentius III.
Honorius III.
Gregory IX.
Celestine IV.
Innocentius IV.
Alexander IV.
Urban IV.
Clemens IV.

Gregory X.
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Hadrian V.
John XXII.
Nicolaus III.
Martin IV.
Honorius IV.
Nicolaus IV.
{ Celestine V.
Boniface VIII.

EMPERORS.

Philip II. Duke of Suevia.
Otho IV. D. of Saxon.
Frederick II. D. of Suevia.
Conrad IV. D. of Suevia.
William Earl of Flanders.
Rodolph Count of Habsburg.
Adolph Count of Nassau.

In Century XIV.

POPEs.

Benedict XI.
Clemens V.
John XXIII.
Benedict XII.
Clemens VI.
Innocentius VI.
Urban V.
Gregory XI.
{ Urban VI.
Clemens VII.
{ Boniface IX.
Benedict XIII.

EMPERORS.

Albert I. Duke of Austria.
Henry VII. of Lutzelburg.
Lewis V. D. of Bavier.
Frederick D. of Austria.
Charls IV. King of Bohemia.
Wenceslaus King of Bohemia.

In Century XV.

POPEs.

Innocentius VII.
Gregory XII.

Alexander V.
John XXIV.
Martin V.
{ Eugenius IV.
Felix V.
Nicolaus V.
Callistus III.
Pius II.
Paul II.
Sixtus IV.
Innocentius VIII.
Alexander VI.

EMPERORS.

Robert Count Palatine.
Sigismund King of Hungary.
Albert II. D. of Austria.
Frederick III. D. of Austria.

In Century XVI.

POPEs.

Pius III.
Julius II.
Leo X.
Hadrian VI.
Clemens VII.
Paul III.
Julius III.
Marcellus II.
Paul IV.
Pius IV.
Pius V.
Gregory XIII.
Sixtus V.
Urban VII.
Gregory XIV.
Innocentius IX.

EMPERORS.

Maximilian I. of Austria.
Charls V. King of Spain.
Ferdinand I. D. of Austria.
Maximilian II.
Rodolph II.

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John Scot Arigena.		Nigell Viter.	446	Sabellicus.	
John Scot Metrosius.		Nilus B. of Thessalonica.	483	Samson B. of Auxerre.	100
John Scot à Duns.		Notbert Præmonstratens.	332	Santes Pagnin.	513
John Gochius in Mechlin.	543	Onuphrius.		Sebastian Pirand of Erford.	58
John Rockenjan.	540	Origenes.		Sedulius Scotus.	
John Minsiger.	481	Otho Frisingensis.		Seval B. of York.	448
John Hufi.	530	Orthwinus Gratius.		Sidonius.	100
John Spotswood.		Pamelius.		Sigebert Gemblacens.	
John Nauclerus.		Paschas. Ratbert of Corbey.	183	Sigismund D. of Austria.	547
John à Lasco.	S 155 & 159	Paul Crawl.	559	Silvester a Dominican.	553
John Knox.		Patrick Hamilton.	S 169	Smaragdus of S. Michael.	213
John Sleidan.		Paul Langius.	S 61	Socrates Scholasticus.	
John Serres.		Paul Scriptor Tubingenf.	552	Speculum Curatorum.	
John Semeca.		Paul Jovius.		Stephen Brulifer.	546
John Lud. Vives.	S 29	Paul Sigonius.		Theodoret.	
John Ocolampadius.	S 64	Paulin B. of Aquileia.	89	Theodorik B. of Croatia.	529
John Creutser in Strawsb.	S 64	Peter Card. of Cambrey.	540	Theodorik à Nyem.	
John B. of Misna.	S 57	Peter de Bruis.	S 348	Theodor. Abb. of S. Trudo.	333
John Ricketalaida.	478	Peter Alfonso.	340	Theodorik Urias.	539
John de Rupeffa.	479	Peter Cluniacens.	347	Thomas Aquinas.	
John Picus Mirandula.	S 16	Peter Auratus.		Thomas Bredwardin.	497
John Hilten.	S 8	Peter Blesensis.	382	Thomas Brightwell.	558
John B. of Sarisbury.	380	Peter Drafsensis.	531	Thomas de Corfelli.	542
John Tauler.	478	Peter Mexia.		Thomas Couper.	
John Peter of Ferrara.	482	Peter Soave.		Thomas Bilson.	
John Vitoduran.	485	Peter Pain.	58	Thomas Langland.	499
John Udal.	S 467	Peter Martyr.	S 153	Thomas Morian.	
John Purvey.	504	Peter Thoraw.	540	Thomas Rhedonensis.	541
John Wicliff.	501	Peter de Vineis.	432	Thie gaud B. of Trevers.	155
Joachim Abbot in Calab.	426	Philip Mornay du Plessis.		Tieman Spangerberg.	553
Jonas B. of Orleans.	131	Philip Decius a Lawyer of Mil-		Victor B. of Carthage.	52
Joseph Scaliger.		lin.	S 9	Virgilius B. of Juvavia.	100
Isidor Hispalens.	52	Philip Morice.	558	Ubertin B. of Chema.	481
Kilian.	61	Polydor Vergil.		Verneuius.	
Lambert B. of Tungri.	51	Potho of Prumia.	349	Vincencius a Venetian.	528
Laurence Valla.	541	Platina.		Ulrik Uttenus.	S 25
Laurence Redman.	558	Philip Melanthon.		Volquin.	528
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Luitpold B. of Bamberg.	475	Radulph of Flaviac.	221	Oxford.	546
Lupus Abb. of Ferrara.	178	Radevic Frisingens.	357	Walter Mill.	S 189
Lupus Servatus.	179	Ralph Greenburst.	558	Wesselius Gantsford Gronin.	550
Mamercus B. of Vienna.	141	Reinold Peacock B. of Chi-		William Budæus.	S 18
Mænard Count of Tirolis.	439	chester.	556	William Gnapheus.	S 157
Michael Cesinas.	475	Remigius B. of Lions.	170	William Haulam.	558
Marsilius Patavinus.	474	Remigius B. of Auxerre.	182	William de alta Petra Bishop of	
Matthæus Parisiens.		Richard de S. Victore.	382	Paris.	426
Matthias Hager.	540	Richard Armacan.	496	William James.	558
Matthias Parisiens.	479	Richard White.	556	William B. Senonensis.	357
Martin Meyer.	544	Richard Wich.	558	William Oikam.	496
Methodius B. of Moravia.	154	Sir Robert Aiton.	557	William Thorp.	556
Milutius a Bohemian.	481	Robert Baronius, Card.		William Tindal.	S 165
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Nicetas Choniates.		Robert Gros-head B. of Lin-		William Swinderby.	556
Nicolaus Beselius.		coln.	448	William Wbite.	558
Nicolaus de Biberach.	436	Robert Gallus.	473	Wolfgang Atinger.	S 8
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THE P R E F A C E.



THE experience of alterations in the Church, suffereth the History to be divided into five parts. The first Age or Part, is of the Church spreading and suffering, when the Word of the Gospel was in sowing thorow the World, and the Professours thereof were under Persecution, about the space of 300. years, until the days of Constantine the Great. The second Age, is of the Church flourishing and wrestling with Heresies the space of other 300. years, until

The History of the Church is divided into five Ages or Parts.

the days of Phocas Emperour. The History of these two Ages is plainly written by diverse both ancient and late Writers; but the other three are not so easie to be found: therefore was I moved to gather these Observations out of sundry Authors for my particular use. The third Age, is of the Church Fading, and of Antichrist Rising, which contains 400. years and more, till the days of Pope Gregory the V. during which time Churchmen did swell in pride and ambition, and were no little changed from the simple sincerity of the primitive times: albeit in outward profession then was some face of a Church, yet corruption of Doctrine, Superstition, and Hypocrisie came apace; and the Roman Empire being removed, Antichrist or the Bishop of Rome, by degrees lifteth up his head above all that is called God. Bernard (who lived about the year 1140.) comparing these three Ages in a Sermon, which he calleth *Parabola de Nuptiis Filij Regis*, saith, when Satan saw that he could not by open Battell prevail against the Church in the days of the Apostles and Martyrs, but that she did spread and increase, he turneth to hid and fraudulent persecution, to deceive some of her Members, by whom, the more powerfully and subtilly he might execute his malice: so by his craft he stirreth up *Arrius*, *Pelagius*, *Photinus* and such others, who feigning themselves to be the servants of Christ, might lead away his Spouse into Errors: which Policy when the Holy Teachers did perceive, they did oppose, wrestle by disputations, confute the Hereticks, and brought their Lady again into the way of I ruth Behold the enemy is overcome both in his open persecutions, and hid seductions! and now the Spouse having no enemy, walketh in pomp. Nevertheless the crafty Serpent indeavoureth to spoil her, and what he cannot do in the high way, he layeth snares by the way side: here he setteth Money-changers with much gold and silver; there he setteth the Sellers of precious cloaths and ornaments; in another place wines and pleasant drinks, and all sort of meats; in another, the Triumphs of them that glory in worldly pomp; in another, he shews fair maids and all enticements of Lust: but who is wise, walks with the Bride in the right way; and the fools leave the way, and take their pleasure in the Devils Tents, and prefer them unto Christ. And what shall I say of them who when they should rule the Church of God, and having entred into the right way, do look aside with admiration into the Tents of the Devil, do look upon the things there, and not finding to satisfie their desires, do spoil the Bride of her Ornaments, and wast them filthily fulfilling their wicked lusts? so she goeth in rags and few abide with her: so saith Bernard. The fourth Age is worse, of Antichrist reigning, and the Church lurking; and contains the space of almost 300. years;

in which time both doctrine and holiness of conversation was almost utterly extinguished. In the East the Mahometists did prevail thorow Asia and Africk; and in the West the Bishops of Rome turn all up side down, except that in some places and persons as well in the East as West holiness of life, and purity of doctrine did in some measure remain: but Pope Gregory the VII. and his successors, so far as they could, did wrest all religion to serve their gain and ambition: and to this end they violate all order, dissolve all discipline, deface all religion, and domineer over Princes, Emperours, Nations and Consciences of men. Before that time one might have spoken freely for the true Faith: but now whatsoever the Pope willeth that must stand for an Oracle, because the Pope cannot err, forsooth! and whatsoever is spoken against him, *ipso facto* it is black heresie, and punished with fire and sword. Then it might have been said, the Church is gone into the Wilderness; yet sending forth sufficient witnesses, whose names are not obscure, nor their doctrine unknown, of whom some are mentioned here; but for brevity I have passed over many, who are recorded by others; and many thousands who bowed not their knee to Baal, nor received the Mark of the Beast, are unknown. The Fifth Age is of the Church reverting, and Antichrist raging, untill this present age, when Reformation was aimed at and begun in the West, Antichristian pride was detected, and the number of true Believers did increase. Then Satan was let loose again, the thousand years of his binding, from the daies of Constantine, being expired: then persecutions were frequent; Antichrist foamed and opened his mouth wide to devour the sheep of Jesus. But he who preserved the Woman in the Wilderness, is the stronger, so that the Gates of Hell were not able nor shall be able to prevail against her; yea by the breath of his mouth and preaching of the Word, her enemies are scattered, Antichrist is revealed, and true Christians are multiplied. And in these five diversities of times (I suppose) the Church-history may well be comprised. Herein my aim hath been, to see where the true Church was before Martine Luther, as the Papists are oft objecting; and when the Romish Virgin became an Whore. And for better method herein, I have distinguished the foresaid Ages into their own Centuries, and every Century into five Chapters. The first Chapter is of Emperours, because times were reckoned by them, and in the second age they became chief Members of the Church (under Christ the only Head) both in degree and authority; and we have just reason to think that some chapters (or large passages) of the Holy Revelation are understood of their estate, seeing the Visions of Daniel run for the most part upon the civil Monarchies. The second chapter is of the Bishops or Popes of Rome, that we may know, when the Tyranny of Antichrist did arise, and how it came to such height. The third is, of divers Countries, and contains the most notable things that have befallen in other parts of the World. The fourth is of Britain, that we be not strangers at home. The last chapter is of Councils, and declares the most remarkable Acts of the Church: yet all the Canons that I have picked out, are not of one sort: for some are to be embraced, and others are to be rejected: which I have marked to let see, that such errors and ungodly constitutions have not been alwaies in the Church, as the vain glorious Papists believe, or would make us believe. These things (howsoever worthy of consideration) cannot be declared, but we shall therewith receive many other usefull instructions: especially what hath been the estate of the Catholick and true Church thorow these last thousand years; in what places and persons the Truth hath had her abode; and where and when Heresies did begin, and what opposition was against them both in their birth and growth; when a Nation or two

was infected with an error, in the midst of the same erroneous Church were some Souldiers of Truth, some standing up for one article or more; and others maintaining other points; albeit in some points the same Souldiers were infected with the poisonous milk of their diseased Teachers. Or to speak more plainly, we will see in the Western Church (as it was wont to be called) some following the Truth-zealously in all points fundamental; and therefore have been separated from the Church of Rome, which being once a true Church, and first in order by humane constitution, hath in divers ages hatched many errors (for she hath not abandoned all the principles of Christianity, nor became so corrupt, all at once) and by her enchantments of worldly policy, or by violence hath caused these nations to follow her; now deceiving one Nation, and then another. Yet so, that the Romish Church was like to a lump of sundry Mettles, wherein are some pieces of gold and silver, but more of brass and baser mettle, all mingled in one cake: as there every one cannot point out where the good Mettle is, yet a cunning Mineralist knows, there is gold in that lump, and can sever the richer Mettle from the baser, and then purifie every Mettle from their own dross, and put another form upon them, that every one, who is not altogether ignorant, may know them. So in the Church of Rome, though Potentates and Nations for ignorance or fear of enmity, and sometimes for hope of advantage against their enemies, did cleave unto Rome, and seemed to make one visible Church; yet in all Countries, even in Italy under the face of Antichrist, many both of the Teachers and taught did detest the Tyranny and avaricious errors of the Pope; and in their hearts wished a Reformation, and by writ have published to the World all the Truth: for besides them who did openly contest with her, there is scarcely any article of controversie, but we shall find some of their School-men and Monks, disputing with us against the now-Romish errors. At last it pleased God, to put into the hearts of his refining Preachers and Princes to break the faction of the Romish Church, and purifie themselves with their adherents from the dross, that their Ancestors had contracted, and to unite themselves into another form of government. And as the Refiner cannot be said to make new gold, but only refineth the pre-existent Mettle, and gives it the face it had before the commixtion; so the Reformed Church is not a new Church (for that supposeth a new Church never heard of before) but they have taken themselves unto the old Truth, which was obscured for a space in the West, with corruption in the domineering part, and they have returned into the Discipline of the Primitive Church, that was interrupted, and they are become like unto them who were separate from the Romish Church; and both these have joined hands and hearts against the common errors. Herein wholesom is the direction of Cyprian to Pompey, *contra Epistolam Steph. pap.* saying, Devote and ingenious minds will readily lay aside error, and search and find the Truth. For if we return to the Head and Fountain of Divine Tradition, human error ceaseth, and the way of Heavenly Mysteries being perceived, whatsoever was darkly lurking under a cloud, is discovered by the light of Truth. If a pipe of a Conduit, which was wont to flow abundantly, shall fail at any time, will not men go unto the Fountain, that the cause of the failing may be known. whether it hath dried in the head, or whether that being whole and full, the fault be in the mid-way? But if it have failed by the fault of the broken and sinking pipe, that the water could not flow constantly, they amend and make strong the pipe, that the water may be brought for the use of the City, with the same abundance and integrity as it comes from the Fountain. This should the Priests of God do, which will keep his commands,

that if truth should be in doubt or changed, we should return unto the Divine Fountain, the Evangelical and Apostolical tradition; and from thence let the reason of our acting arise, whence was the order and original. It hath been delivered unto us, that there is one God, and one Christ, and one Hope, and one Faith, one Church, and but one Baptism ordained in that one Church: from which whosoever departeth, he must be found among Hereticks: and if he will maintain them against the Church, he fights against the mystery of Divine Tradition. So far Cyprian.

THE THIRD AGE *Ed. Lib. for 3000* Of the *2nd 8th* CHURCH

O R

The History of the Church Fading, and of Anti-Christ Rising, containing the space of 400. years, from the Year of our Lord 600. untill the year 1000.

CENTURY VII.

CHAP. I.

Of EMPEROURS.



PHOCAS a mean Captain in Thracia, in a sedition of the people did kill his Sovereign Maurice, usurped the Crown, and held the Empire 7. years. He began to establish himself by favour. Cyriachus Patriarch of Constantinople had crowned him; and then did hate him for his cruelty against the house and friends of Maurice: the Western part of the Empire was aiming at liberty, and like to forsake him. Wherefore he dealt gently with Pope Gregory I. and after him he set up another of his own

*An Usurper
reigneth
cruelly, wic-
kedly, infor-
mately.*

mind, and then another in the See of Rome. They played to others hands, the Emperour gave unto Boniface the Title of Universal Bishop, and the Pope promised fidelity unto Phocas. He was given unto Covetousness in oppressing the Provinces with Tributes; to Lust in defiling other mens wives; as for Intemperancy, carousing was his glory, *Zonar. annal. li 3.* In all the Provinces of the Empire was great disorder, and little justice. The Persians subdued Mesopotamia, Assyria, Syria, and took Jerusalem: for Cosroes pretending to revenge the death of his Father-in-law Maurice, killed the most part of that Army which had advanced Phocas or assisted him, and the rest of them were sent captive into Persia. *Pe. Mexia.* France had lately gone away; and now Germany, a great part of Italy, Pannonia, Misia and other parts made a full defection. Wherefore the Senate of Constantinople seeing that either the Empire or Tyrant must perish; especially Priscus one of the chief Captains under Maurice, and now the son-in-law of Phocas, and Heracleon the Governour of Affrick (whose wife Phocas had defiled) consulted together, and sent Armies from Affrick and Thracia: they took Phocas in Constantinople, and gave him just reward: they cut off his hands and

*And dieth
miserably.*

B

feet,

feet, then his privy members, at last his head: some write, they burnt his body in a brazen Cow; and others say, they cast it into the Sea, *An. 609. Zonar. annal. to 3.*

Hard begin-
nings bring
glory.

A good cause
gives confi-
dence.

The Roode-
Feast day.

Prosperity
passe. h up.

The Empire
decayeth.

2. HERACLIUS son of Heraclon Governour of Affrick was made Emperour with general consent of People, Armies, and Senators, and was crowned by Sergius the Patriarch. He found the Empire in a troublous time, but his glory was the greater. His Deputy Camplinus usurps the Kingdome of Italy, and was quickly subdued and slain by Eleutherius, whom the Emperour sent against him. Bajanus made himself King of Bavaria, and molested the Empire in the West, that Cosroes had the less opposition in subduing Ægypt and Affrick unto Carthage: in the end Heraclius brought the Bavarians under command; he crowned his son Emperour, and went in person against the Persians. *Pe. Mexia.* First he dealt for peace by Ambassadors. Cosroes said, he would not lay down Arms, until he had abolished the worship of the crucified God, and the Persian God were worshipped every where. Then Heraclius was the more confident, that the Wars was not so much for the Empire, as for defence of the Church and worship of God. After publick invocation of Gods name, he joined with the enemy at Azotus, and put him to flight: then within Persia he overthrew his two Armies in two other fights: he defaced the Image of the Fire and Sun, which the Persians worshipped, *Zonar. Annal.* In the mean time Cosroes neglecting his eldest son Siroes, designed his second son Mardases to the Crown. Wherefore Siroes killed his father and his brother, and he agreed with Heraclius: they both restored captives: Heraclius received Syria and Jerusalem, and (as they say) the Cross where on Christ was crucified, which Cosroes had taken out of Jerusalem. So after seven years Heraclius returns with glory to Constantinople, holding the Cross in his hand, and gave thanks unto Christ. In remembrance of this Victory, he appointed the Feast of the Roode day *Cario. chron.* The Sarazens had served him in these Wars, and when they required their wages, the Emperours Treasurers answered them disdainfully, as follows in c. 3. This prosperity turns the Emperours mind to the worse: he marrieth his brothers daughter Martina, and became a Monothelite by the suggestion of the Patriarch of the Jacobites, and Sergius Patriarch of Constantinople. Sophronius Bishop of Jerusalem admonished him of his error. But he made an Edict that displeased both parties, that no man should speak of one will, or of two wills of Christ. *Zonar. Annal.* After this the Sarazens gathered in Arabia, and many Persians followed Mahumet because of the dissoluteness of his religion, whereof hereafter. Mahumet occupies all Arabia, and passeth into Persia, where because the King was dead, the whole country almost became his Subjects, and imbrace his religion: they were little more called Persians but Sarazens or Mahumetans. Heraclius went against them, and loseth in one Battell 150000. men. *Pe. Mexia.* Others also rebelled against him in the West, so that ere he died, the Empire was fore weakened. Rotharius became King of Lombardy: the Slavons possesse Illyricum; the Huns and Bavarians keep Hungary, Bavier and Austria; the Goths were reigning in Spain; and unto the Empire belonged the Provinces of Greece, a part of Italy, and the Isles of the Mediterranean Sea from Sardinia unto Cyprus, Asia the less, a small part of Affrick, and some other small Provinces. *Pe. Mexia.* After Heraclius had tried both fortunes, he died of hydropsie, *an. 639.*

Hid murder.

3. CONSTANTINE III. reigned not above four months after the death of his father: he was poisoned by his step-mother Martina with advice of Pirthus the Patriarch; that her son Heracleonas (begotten in incest) might be

be Emperour. He was hated by Martina for his Throne; and by Pirrhus for forsaking the heresie of his father. *Zonar.*

4. HERACLEONAS was but eleven years old, and his Mother governed the Empire, but with no contentment of the Subjects. In the second year of his Reign the Senators rose against Martina and her son: they cut off his Nose, and her Tongue (that thereafter she should not move sedition among the people by her flattering words) and sent them both into Cappadocia, where they died in Prison. Pirrhus was drawn back from his flight and imprisoned. So Murther and Incest was punished. *Is revenged.*

5. CONSTANS the son of Constantine, was crowned by the Senate without the advice of the Souldiers: which was a rare thing in these daies. He was a Monothelite, as the Patriarch Paul, and (both his Predecessor and restored Successor) Pirrhus: and therefore he punished sundry persons for speaking against his Heresie: among whom Theodore Bishop of Rome narrowly escaped, and his Successor Martine was taken by Theodore Eparch of Ravenna, and carried in bonds to Constantinople, and banished to Cheronesus, where he died. He also slue his own brother Theodosius, and most cruelly vexed them all, who would not subscribe his Typus or Heretical confession. Therefore the Lord permits the power of the Sarazens to wax greater, that in the 13. year of his Reign they sent a Navy from Phœnicia, and spoiled the Coast of Asia without resistance: yet intestine Wars falling amongst them for choosing their Captain, Constans had two years peace. And then he hears of a Rebellion among the Lombards, and thinking to subdue them, he comes into Italy with a great Army, making a great shew and some expectation: but he received loss and shame. Thereafter he went to Rome, and was received by the Citizens and Pope Vitalian. Within few daies he spoiled the City, and carried all the Ornaments and Treasure into Siracuse: where (because he was hated at Constantinople) he kept Court six years, and at last was slain in a Bath of too-hot water, by Andrew one of his own servants in the 27. year of his Reign. Platina calleth him Constantius. *An Heretick is a Persecuter. And hath no peace.*

6. CONSTANTINE by surname Pogonatus or beardy was received into the Throne with his Father ere he went into Italy; and now the Souldiers in Sicily did salute Mizisus or Mizentius, with the honour of Emperour, but he was soon taken, and his head with the Authors of the Treason was carried to Constantinople. Constantine began his Government with the murder of his brethren, because the Nobility would have had them partners of the Empire: yet afterwards he proved valorous and good. In his time the Sarazens were strong: they entred into Sicily, and carried to Alexandria in Ægypt all the spoil that Constans had taken out of Rome. They invade Thracia, were repulsed seven sundry Summers at Constantinople; and in the end were so foiled, that their Captain Muthavia sought peace, and accepted hard conditions, to wit, they should pay yearly unto the Emperour, in name of Tribute 3000. pounds of gold, 50. servants, and as many good horses. They of the West hearing of so honourable peace, sent their Orators with gifts to congratulate the Victory. Then the Emperour had peace every where, and set his heart to take away the schism of the Monothelites: for he thought, if Christ have but one will, he hath but one nature, or else the other nature is not reasonable. Against this Heresie he calleth the sixth General Council, which he held and ruled at Constantinople. He keeps peace with the Bishops of Rome: he was a long time sick, and died an. 607. in the time of his sickness the Sarazens possessed all Affrick unto Carthage; and the Bulgarians came into Mysia. *One beginneth wickedly, and proveth virtuous.*

7. JUSTINIAN II. succeeds to his father in the 16. year of his age. In the beginning his Captains forceth the Sarazens to restore all that they had taken in his fathers time, and to sue for peace, which was concluded for ten years. *Pe. Mexia.* But the Emperour being more hardy then faithfull, made new Wars against the Sarazens in Syria, and was so streighted, that he sought peace with shame *so Lampad. in Mellis.* Then was peace in all the World; but this young Emperour is miscarried by two Minions Theodosius a Monk, and his Chaplain Stephen: he breaks the peace with the Bulgarians to his great reproach and loss: he assembleth a Councel at Constantinople, to annul the acts of the former, which were ended in his own time, and confirmed by him: by the perswasion of these two, he put his chief Captain Leontius in prison, and held him there two years: who escaping with the help of Callinicus the Patriarch, laid hands on Justinian, cutteth off his nose and ears, and sent him to Cherona in Pontus in the 11. year of his Reign; and they dragged the two sycophants by the feet through the streets, and then burnt them. *Zonar. Annal.* The Emperour Justinian I. had conquered Lybia from the Vandals, and Justinian II. losed it, that till this day the Sarazens and Mahumetans possess it.

Perjury prof-
fereth not.

A young King
and ill Mini-
ons.

Treason (even
against the
wicked) is
punished.

8. LEONTIUS was crowned with the great joy of the common people. He sent an Army against the Sarazens in Affrick; but in a sedition amongst them, the souldiers choose Tiberius Apfimar as a Citizen of Constantinople, and General of the Army to be Emperour. He came quickly back upon Leontius, and took him, and served him as he had done to Justinian, in the 3. year of his Reign, and he exercised great cruelty against the friends of Leontius; yet did he nothing without advice of the Senatours, who delivered unto them their keys at his first coming.

Treason in
the second
degree is pu-
nished.

9. TIBERIUS coming this way unto the Crown, sent his Brother Heraclius Governour of his Army against the Sarazens in Asia, and recovered Armenia from them. When Justinian had been four years in Pontus, he escaped, and by the aid of the Bulgarians he returned into Constantinople, and by force took Tiberius, and cast him into the same prison with Leontius, and having cut off his nose and ears, caused them both to be drawn through the City, and beheaded them, and he hanged Heraclius: so oft as he would have wiped his nose, he caused some of the friends of Leontius to be slain: he pulled out the eyes of the Patriarch Callinicus, and sent him bond to Rome to gratifie Pope Constantine, and set in his place Cyrus an Abbot, who had received and sustained him in Pontus. *Beda de sex atat.*

10. JUSTINIAN II. now lay at home, executing cruelties daily. He did invite (Platina saith, *rogat.* Abb. Ursper. saith, *accescit.* and Sigonius saith, *obsecrat.*) Pope Constantine to come into the East, that they may talk together of the affairs of the Republick, as he said; but in very deed, to ingage the Pope unto him by extraordinary honours, whereof he saw the Bishops of Rome were very desirous. *Pe. Mexia.* Platina saith, he sent ships to convey him safely: but Anastasius saith, the Pope caused ships to be built for himself. *Pb. Mornay in Myster.* The Emperour caused all his Subjects, where the Pope was to come, to receive him with such honour as they ow unto himself. As the Pope drew near to Constantinople, Cyrus the Patriarch with all the Clergy went out eight miles from the City, and set the Pope upon a Camel, and with solemn ostentation they conveyed him into the Emperours Palace: thence he went into Nicomedia, where the Emperour embraced not the Pope, but casting himself down before him, he craved pardon for his sins, and kissed the Popes foot with an unmeasurable shew of humility (as *Mexia* saith) and so was absolved. After this he became unthankfull to Tre-

The first kisse
of the Popes
foot, was by
a wicked
man.

bellius

bellius King of Bulgaria (who had restored him) and entred into his land with hostility, and was shamefully beaten back. It was told him that Philip Bardanes had dreamed, that an Eagle had overshadowed him with her wings, and was therefore banished into the Isle Cephalonia by Tiberius; now Justinian conceives the same fear, and sent an Army against him, thinking on no such thing: the souldiers turn to his side, as Platina writes: but Mexia saith, upon this occasion Philippicus levieth an Army, and at Synope within 12. miles of Constantinople, Elias Prince of Cherson, in open Battle, slue Justinian and his son Tiberius; and with consent of all the subjects Philippicus received the Crown *an. 712.*

CHAP. II.

OF POPES.

GREGORY I. *alias* the Great, was Bishop of Rome about the 600. Gregorius ep-
pugneth the
Title of Uni-
versal Bi-
shop. year of the Incarnation. The Bishops of Rome had the first place among the Patriarchs, with expresse limitation of jurisdiction and bounds, as well by the first general Council at Nice, as by the second at Constantinople. This order was brangled in the time of Gregory. For John, Patriarch of Constantinople, sought not only to have the first place, but also to be called *Patriarcha Oecumenicus* or Universal, because the Emperours chief Residence, was at Constantinople the head City *& imperialis.* Gregory writ many Epistles against the Title, unto John he saith, Thou was wont to confess thy self unworthy to be called a Bishop: but now thou art so puffed up, that despising thy brethren, thou seekest to be called the only Bishop At the last day of account, what wilt thou answer unto Christ the Head of the Universal Church, who indevoureth to make all his Members, subject unto thy self, by naming thy self Universal? Who (I pray) is before thee to follow him in this perverse word; but he, who despising the legions of Angels (socially ordered with him) would burst out unto the top of singularity, that he might seem to be under none, and he alone to be above all? Who also said, I will ascend into heaven, and exalt my Throne above the stars: I will sit in the mountain of the Testament, in the sides of the North. . . . For what are all thy brethren, the Bishops of the Universal Church, but the stars of heaven? Whose lives and tongues do glance among the sins and errors of men, as in the darkness of the night: above whom thou wilt prefer thy self by this word of pride, and tread down in comparison of thee; what else saiest thou, but I will ascend into heaven, and I will exalt my Throne above the stars? All which things while I see with tears, and do fear the secret judgements of God, my tears are increased, and my groans are not contained within my breast; that the holy man John, who was of so great humility and abstinence, is by the seducing tongues of his familiars burst out into so great pride, that by hunting after a perverse name, he will be like unto him, who when he would arrogantly be like to God, did also lose the grace of the given similitude; and therefore did forfeit true blessedness; because he sought false glory. Truly the Apostle Peter was the first member of the holy and universal Church, Paul, Andrew, John, what were they but heads of particular flocks? and yet they ALL were members of the Church under one head. And to comprise All in a short bundle, the godly before the law, the godly under the law, and the godly under grace; all these perfecting the body of Christ, are ordered among the Members of the Church, and

none of them would ever be called Universal: and therefore let your Holiness know, what swelling is in you, who seeketh the name, wherewith never any did presume to be called, who was truly godly. Did not the reverend Synod at Chalcedon (as your Holiness knows) call the High-priests of this Apostolical See (which I do serve, as God hath disposed) Universal, by a profered honour? and nevertheless none of them would be named by such a word: not any of them did take unto them this temerarious Title, lest if in the degree of Priesthood, he had taken this glory of singularity, he had been thought to have denied it to all his brethren. Much more writes Pope Gregory of this kind, in that 38. *Ep. li. 4.* and especially, in the same Epistle he tels him, that he had given direction to his Deacon Sabinian, that he should not communicate with John, or be at the same [Missa] service with him, unless he did renounce that wicked and prophane pride. And in 32. Epistle of the same book, unto the Emperour Maurice, he calleth that a name of vanity, a new name, a wicked and arrogant name: and *li. 6. Ep. 36.* I say boldly, he who takes or affecteth this name, is the fore-runner or Usher of Antichrist, because in pride he preferreth himself above all others. The Emperour was not well pleased with these Letters, and when Cyriacus was Patriarch, he writ unto Gregory, that for to frivolous a word, he would not give so great scandal unto the Church. Gregory answereth *li. 6. Ep. 30.* saying, I intreat that your imperial Godliness would consider, that some frivolous words are very damnable, and some are not so hurtfull: When Antichrist shall call himself God, will it not be a frivolous word, and yet very pernicious; if you consider the quantity of the word *Deus*, it hath but two syllables: but if you consider the weight of iniquity, it is an vniversal plague: and I say boldly, that whosoever desireth to be called Universal Priest, he runneth before Antichrist in pride; because he presumptuously preferreth himself above all others; and with the same pride he is brought into all error: for as that man of sin, will seem to be above all men, so whosoever seeketh to be called the only Priest, exalt himself above all other Priests. Gregory writ also unto Eulogius Bishop of Alexandria, and Anastasius Bishop of Antiochia, *li. 4. Ep. 36.* that they would help in this common cause, and hinder so great pride. After the same manner did he write *li. 7. Ep. 69.* unto Eusebius Bishop of Thessalonica, and others in the daies of Cyriacus. If any will say, Gregory did invey against John and Cyriacus, because they did usurp what was due unto the Bishop of Rome; the words of the former Epistle unto John, shew the contrary; as also the *Ep. 30. li. 7. indist. 1.* unto Eulogius Bishop of Alexandria, where he writes thus; I said, that you should neither give unto me, nor unto any other such a Title; and behold in the beginning of the Epistle, which you have directed unto me, who have forbidden it, is the word of that proud Title, calling me Universal Pope: which I desire, that your most sweet Holiness do no more unto me: for it is withdrawn from you, which is given unto another more then reason requires: for I seek to prosper not in words, but in manners; nor do I think it my honour, wherein I know that my brethren come short of their honour . . . then am I honoured, when the honour which is due unto every one, is not denied to every one: for if your Holiness call me Universal Pope, you deny your self that, when you call me Universal: but far be that! away with words that blow up vanity, and wound charity. So far he. When Phocas had slain the Emperour Maurice, though Baronius *adan. 605.* calleth him a perjured and bloody murderer; yet unto him writes Gregory, saying, Glory in the highest places unto God, who (as it is written) changeth times, and transferreth Kingdomes: for by the incomprehensible dispensation of the Almighty God, is the moderation of mans life . . . when the mercifull

God

*Ambition
constitutes
an I serve
the time.*

God will comfort the hearts of them who mourn, he advanceth unto the top of government one, by the bowels of whose mercy, he poureth the grace of gladness into the hearts of many: in the abundance of this joy we trust to be comforted, who are glad that the bountifulness of your Godliness is come to the high Empire: Let the heavens rejoice; let the earth be glad, and the people of all the Republick hitherto vehemently afflicted, become joyfull in your bountifulness, &c. *li. 11. Ep. 36.* Unto the Empress Leontia he did write the 44. Epistle of the same book, which beginneth thus: What tongue can tell, what mind can think, the thanks we owe unto the Almighty God, for the happiness of your Empire? And he endeth, praying, that they would love his Church, to whom it was said, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock---; and on the other side, he promiseth that Peter will protect their Empire here, and intercede for them in heaven; that for relieving the oppressed on earth, they may rejoice many years in heaven. What meaneth this so large congratulation, but that through the favour of Phocas, his own authority may be enlarged, at least, that none be preferred above him? So ready are some to speak against the faults of others, and to disguise the same in themselves, as they find occasion. But Gregory died, *an. 604.* when he had sitten 8. years. Because he is the first Church-man I speak of, it may seem necessary to shew what was the estate of the Church in his daies, in respect of Doctrine and Discipline, and this I will endeavour (God willing) in the next chapter, lest I seem to enlarge the life of one too far; for this present behold a little of the Papal power. In *li. 4. Ep. 31.* he bewails unto the Emperour Maurice, that in his Epistle he had called him a simple fool, and he saith, Let not our Lord, according to his earthly power, be too hastily angry against the Priests, but in singular consideration; for his sake whose servants they are, let him so reign over them, that he bestow due reverence on them. *Bellarmin. de Ro. Pontif. lib. 2. c. 28.* acknowledgeth that the Pope reckoneth himself amongst those Priests. And in Epistle 34. he saith, I trust in the Almighty God, that he will give long life unto our godly Lords, and according to his mercy he will protect us under your hands. Observe how reverently the Pope speaks unto the Emperour, and yet more submissively, in *lib. 2. Ep. 61.* he saith, He is guilty before the Almighty God, who is not sincere, in all that he doth or speaks unto his most gracious Lords. There he calleth himself the unworthy servant of his Godliness: and he shews the iniquity of an Imperial Ordinance (in his judgement) and he concludes thus; I being obedient unto your command, have caused the same law to be published through divers parts of the land; and because the law is not consonant unto the Almighty God, behold I have told it unto our most gracious Lords, by the page of our suggestion: therefore in both I have payed what I should, who have given unto the Emperour obedience, and have not been silent for God, so far as I know. The Jesuit saith, that he did write in such manner, partly in humility, and partly in necessity; because the Emperour had then the Temporal Authority in Rome, and the Pope had need to be defended from the Lombards, and the Emperour, being far off, did entrust him with many things, and the Bishop ought to give account of such things. But the foresaid Ordinance, was of a purpose Ecclesiastical. And *lib. 4. c. 34.* he complains, that Maximus was admitted Bishop of Salona, without consent of him, or his Nuntio; and nevertheless when he had received from the Emperour a command, he had loosed his sentence of Excommunication; as if Maximus had been ordained by his order. And *li. 9. Ep. 41.* he saith, if John Bishop of Justiniana will not dismiss his charge, the most godly Emperour may cause to choose another; seeing, what he commandeth to do, is in his power: as he knows, so may he provide: only he craves, that

*The Pope was
subject unto
the Emperour.*

*Acts of a
Patriarch.*

the Emperour would not cause him to meddle with such a Deposition. Here I do not intend to inquire the causes and equity of things, but to shew what was done: and we see the Pope subject unto the Emperour; but wait a space, and we shall see the Emperour subject unto the Pope. Is not this a novation? Behold what power the Bishops of Rome did exerce within his Patriarchal. When Constantius Bishop of Millain died, he sent word by his Clark Pantaleon unto the City, that they should chuse a Deacon *Deus dedit* to be Bishop, and cause him to be consecrated, *lib. 9. indict. 4. Ep. 21.* He gave charge to Passius Bishop of Firma, that he should chuse Opportunus to be Pastor, if he be able; *lib. 10. ind. 5. Ep. 13.* He commandeth under the censure of Excommunication all the Bishops of Dalmatia, that they ordain not any Bishop in Salona without his consent, *lib. ind. 12. Ep. 16.* He did also draw the causes of Arch-Bishops unto Rome; as when Severus Bishop of Aquileia had been accused of heresie, and restored, and after was accused again, he summoneth him, according to the command of the most Christian Emperour, to appear in St. Peters, that there, in a lawfull Synod, his cause may be judged, *lib. 1. Ep. 16.* He chargeth Natalis Bishop of Salonitan, that seeing the cause of Honoratus Arch-Deacon, seems to have been decided with contention in that Synod (and they had ordained him, against his will, to exerce the Office of a Priest; and removed him, as unworthy the Office of a Deacon) to restore the Arch-Deacon; and if any scandal shall arise thereupon, he willeth, that both the Arch-Deacon shall be cited to appear before him, and also the Bishop should direct some person for him, that the cause may be examined. *Ib. Ep. 19.* When Maximus was ordained Bishop of Salona, contrary to his order now named; he commandeth him to humble himself, and hasten to appear before him, without any excuse, *lib. 5. indict. 14. Ep. 25.* Out of the next Epistle it appears that Maximus did not obey, and the Clergy and Rulers did assist him: wherefore the Pope did write unto them, to cause Maximus to come and appear; and he promised that he would judge the cause uprightly. He drew civil things to his power, as *lib. 8. ind. 3. Ep. 6.* he ordered Savinus a Sub-Deacon, to cause Maria to pay unto Stopaulus and Marcellus, what her father had left unto them by Testament. In *lib. 11. ind. 6. Ep. 54.* among other directions that he gave unto John, going into Spain, he telleth him, how the Emperour Justinian had ordained, that if any had an action against a Clark or Monk or Deacon; he should first go unto the Bishop of the place, and there the cause to be decided; and if both parties did not rest contented, the Judge of the place should put the sentence in execution. This instance shews, that the Bishops had their power in civil things, by the Laws of the Empire. At that time, the Bishop of Rome had Revenues from other Churches; and *lib. 10. Ep. 47.* he bids his Clark Pantaleon to bring unto him, the silver which is left by the Clergy or people, that he might see the mony of the Churches, which the people and clergy have, safely kept. And in the 50. Epistle, he gives order unto John Bishop of Siracuse, concerning his Revenues paid there and in Panormitan. Pelagius the I. mad an Act, that all Metropolitans within his jurisdiction, should within three months (after their Consecration, as they speak) ask a Palle [*Pallium*, or a Bishops Coat] from Rome; *Gratian. dist. 100. cap. 1 & 2.* it seems that they did not regard the Palles; therefore Gregory obrudes the Palles upon them, and would have the Metropolitans to accept them; but would suffer nothing to be taken for them. *li. 4. Ep. 51, & 56.* He made a new form of Service, which they call the Masse, and did add many Ceremonies, that were not in use before: so that Platina saith, the whole institution of the Masse, was invented by him. Onuphrius saith, that Platina comes short in describing of his inventions,

*The Bishop
had power in
civil things,
from or by
the Civil
Law.*

*The first Masse
at Rome.*

ons. He first did ordain the Stations and the great Letany; that is, upon occasion of a great inundation in Rome: he appointed, that on the 25. of April yearly, the people should resort to certain Churches; and if they please to confess their sins, they may receive forgiveness; *Pol. Verg. de inven. rer. lib. 8. cap. 1.* which custom still remains, but now upon necessity; whereas he said, if they please. Nor in that order makes he mention of indulgences; albeit some of his Sermons be extant, that he delivered upon these days, *Rabanus de institut. cler. lib. 2. cap. 18.* expounds these Stations to be the Fast, on Wednesday and Friday. He ordained the Lent to begin on Ash-wednesday, and the Ceremonies thereof, *Po. Verg. lo. ci. lib. 6. cap. 3.* and lest the people were detained too long from dinner, he ordained that Matins be closed before nine a clock.

2. SABINIAN was at Constantinople, when Gregory died, and was advanced into his Seat by Phocas. When he came to Rome there was great dearth, and the poor people besought him to follow the alms-deeds of Gregory: he answered, Gregory hunting after a popular applause, had wasted the patrimony of the Church. And he did so burn with wrath and envy, that Caranza saith, he did hate all the good works of Gregory; and he had burnt all his Books, saith Platina, if some Copies had not been saved by Peter a Deacon. The burning of Torches continually in Churches, and the distinction of hours by Bells was his device. *Platin.* He did propound unto Phocas, that the Title should be given unto the Bishop of Rome, which Gregory had so oft condemned; but because of mighty opposition, it could not so soon be carried. He sat 1. year and 5. months; after him the See was vacant 11. months and 26. daies.

3. BONIFACE III. being at Constantinople, was named by the Emperour; and now for envy of Cyriacus, was made Universal Bishop of the Church; and the See of Rome was ordained to be the head of all Churches; because the Church of Constantinople would have usurped this honour: *Be-da de sex. etat. & Platin. Baronius in Annal. ad an. 606.* saith, Because there was enmity betwixt Phocas and Cyriacus; for envy of him, the Emperour seems to have favoured the Bishop of Rome, beyond the custom of his Ancestors; and did ordain by Imperial Edict, that this name becomes the Roman Church only; and the Bishop of Rome should be called Universal, and not the Bishop of Constantinople: this Title then is a novation. But what is the meaning of it, it is controverted. Pope Innocent the III. writing unto the Patriarch of Constantinople, *lib. 2. Ep. 206.* gives two notions of it, saying, it is called the Universal Church, which consists of all the Churches; which in the Greek language is called, The Catholick Church; and according to this exception of the name, the Roman Church is not the Universal Church, but a part of the Universal Church; to wit, the first and chief, as the head in the body, because in her is the fulness of power, and a part of that fulness is derived unto others; again, the Universal Church is called, that one, that hath under her all other Churches; and according to this reason of the name, the Roman Church only, is called Universal; because she alone is preferred above all others by the privilege of singular dignity, as God is called the Universal Lord, *Catalog. test. verit. lib. 6.* I will not stay to dispute these exceptions; but observe the novation, and who is the Author of the Title; and how contrary it is unto the Epistles of Gregory the I. *Bellarmin. de Ro. Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 32.* would prove the lawfulness of this Title; because in former ages, some were called Bishops of the Universal Church. It is true, some were so intituled, not only the Bishops of Rome, but others also; as may be seen among the Epistle of Augustine and others: and Clemens the I. in the first

The first Stations.

Torches.

The title of Universal Bishop, first given to the Bishop of Rome.

Epistle unto James, the Lords brother, called him the Bishop of Bishops, who governed the Holy Church of the Hebrews in Jerusalem, and all the Churches, which by the providence of God were founded every where. Here a Bishop of Rome giveth such great Titles unto others: and Athanasius was called Bishop of the Catholick Church; and it seems not without disparagement to the Bishop of Rome: for *Basilius Magnus* in his 49. Epistle, writes unto him thus; so much the more as the diseases of the Church wax worse and worse, so much the more do we all turn unto your dignity; trusting that your government is the only comfort which is left unto us. Now will any say, that either James or Athanasius, had the power or jurisdiction over all the Churches? Where then is the power of the Bishop of Rome? But *Basilius* declares his mind in the words following, thus, Thou art thought by all alike who either in part by hearing, or by experience, know thy dignity able to help us from this horrible Tempest, by the power of thy prayers, and by thy knowledge to inform in the affairs that are most excellent. And more clearly in the 52. Epistle, he saith, it seemeth enough to others, that each one consider and have a care of what belongeth unto himself; but unto thee, this is not enough; for thy sollicitude is such for all the Churches, as well as for that which particularly is, by our common Lord, committed unto thee; who indeed intermittest no time from conference, admonishing, writing, and alwaies sending some who do inform in the best things. Behold here a sollicitude universal, and not a jurisdiction universal. But to return to Boniface, Platina testifieth, that this Title was not given unto him without great contention; for the Patriarch of Constantinople did alledge, that it appertained unto his See, seeing there was the head of the Empire; and the Bishop of Rome said, that Rome was the head of the Empire; and a Colony was sent from thence unto Constantinople, and the Emperour, is called Emperour of the Romans; and the people of Constantinople, even at that time, are called Romans, and not Constantinopolitans or Greeks. Platina addeth, I omit (saith he) that Peter, Prince of the Apostles, gave unto his successors, the Bishops of Rome, the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and the power that God had given unto him, he left in Legacy unto Rome, and not to Constantinople. Platina might well have omitted this; because he cannot shew out of any Author about that time, that Boniface did pretend this reason. It is true, some Bishops of Rome, before that time, had spoken of Peters primacy. But not in such sense, as they do now, as is clear from the words of Gregory the I. that are before. And here it may be remembered, what he writes to Eulogius Bishop of Alexandria, *lib. 5. Ep. 60.* saying, One thing tieth us unto the Church of Alexandria, by a certain peculiarity; and some way forceth us, by a special Law, to incline the more unto her love; for as all men know, that the blessed Evangelist Mark, was sent into Alexandria by his Master the Apostle Peter; by the unity of this Master and of the Disciple, are we tied; that as I seem to sit in the seat of the Disciple, because of the Master; so do you sit in the seat of the Master, because of the Disciple. We find not the responsory of Eulogius; but it is clear, he did not approve this pretence; for Gregory writ again unto him, *lib. 6. Ep. 37.* thus, Your most sweet Holiness, hath in your Epistles, written many things concerning the chair of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, saying, that he sitteth as yet in it, by his successors: and indeed I confess my self unworthy, not only of the honour of Rulers, but to be in the rank of standers also; but all that you said, I accept gladly, because you speak to me of the Chair of Peter, who sit in the chair of Peter. And albeit I have no delight in special honour; nevertheless, I did greatly rejoyce, that you who are most holy, have given unto your self, what you have allowed unto me:

Pope Gregory
saith, the
power of Pe-
ter belongeth
in three Sees.

for

for who knows not, that the Holy Church is strengthened by the solidity of the Prince of the Apostles? because he carried strength of mind in his name, that he was called *Petrus à Petra*, to him by the voice of Truth it was said, Unto thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and again, When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren; and again, Simon lovest thou me? feed my sheep. And so though the Apostles were many, yet only the See of the Prince of the Apostles, which [See] is but one in three places, and hath prevailed *pro ipso principatu*; for he hath advanced the See, where he would rest and finish his life; and he hath beautified the See, whereinto he sent the Evangelist a Disciple; and he hath strengthened the See [Antiochia] in which he sate 7. years, albeit he was to leave it: Seeing then the See is one, and of one; wherein now by Divine authority three Bishops do govern, whatsoever good I do hear of you, I account it mine own; and if you hear any good of me, impute it unto your merits; because we are all one in him, who said, That they may be all one, as thou, Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. So far he. Whence it appears, that whatsoever may be understood by the Title, Prince of the Apostles; other Bishops did oppose, that it should be proper to the See of Rome; and Gregory was content to share with the Bishops of Antiochia and Alexandria. Likewise Basilus, Bishop of Cappadocia, in his 55. Epistle calleth Ambrose (who was Bishop of Milain) Bishop of the first See of the Apostles; certainly, not because any Apostle was ever Bishop of Milain; but because, as Ambrose held the doctrine of the Apostles, so at that time Milain was the Court of the Emperour Theodosius his residence; as Basil saith in the same Epistle, unto that Town is the Principedom of the whole [Roman] nation concredited. The primacy of the Bishop of Rome, being grounded in this manner, upon so sandy reasons, hath been usurped and enlarged by slight and might through many ages; and at that time gave the occasion of the great schism, betwixt the Greek and Latine Churches, and among the Latines themselves; for the Bishops of Ravenna and Milain, would not consent to the supremacy (as follows:) and therefore Ravenna, in contempt, was called *Accephalos* or headless; and the Bishops of Venice and Istria would not subject themselves. *Phyl. Mor- nay in Myster. inq. pag. 117.* This Boniface denounceth a curse to all them, who climb unto a Bishoprick by favour of men or bribery: he ordaineth, that the Election of a Bishop, should be by consent both of people and clergy, and be ratified, when the Prince of the City shall approve of it, and the Pope shall add his *volumus & mandamus*. *Platina*. Gregory said, he would not command, but only he would intimate or shew such things as he thought expedient, *lib. 7. Ep. 30.* but then Boniface, and all his Successors, in all their Constitutions, Grants, and Bulls, have no word so frequent, as *Iubemus & mandamus*. He sate 9. months.

*The Election
of a Bishop.*

4 BONIFACE III. succeeds *an. 608.* saith Onuphrius, Phocas gave unto him the Temple that was called Pantheon (that is, of Cybele and all other Gods) and he dedicated it unto Mary, and all other Saints; and therefore it was called *Virgo ac Martyres*. *Platin*. A noble change! not from Paganism to Christianity; but from one sort of idolatry to another. Neither was this his deed only, but of many other Popes, as *Bellarmin* sheweth *de cultu Sancto. lib. 3. cap. 4.* and therefore *Agrippa de vanit. scient. cap. 58.* saith, we know, this was the old superstition of the Gentils, to build to each God their own Temple; to whose imitation, afterwards Christians began to dedicate their Churches unto their *Deities*. In that chapter, *Agrippa* taxeth his Romanists: 1. That they think God hears prayers more in one place, than in another; albeit Christ biddeth enter into our Chamber; and he himself went

*Paganism
creepeth into
the Romish
Church.*

unto the Mountaines to pray. 2. Hee reproves the multitude of their Churches, Chappels, and Oratories built and adorned so sumptuously; and in the mean time, the poor and living members of Christ, are starving for want of necessaries. From Augustin, *contra Maximin. lib. 1. argum. 11. de Sp. San.* we may learn a third fault of this kind: if we build (saith he) a Church of Stones or Trees unto any most excellent Angel; are we not accursed and anathematized from the truth of Christ, and from the Church of God; because then we give unto a creature, that service which is due unto God only. Hereunto did Bellarmin subscribe, saying, to offer Sacrifices, to build Churches and Altars, is a service due to God alone; *de beatit. Sanctior. lib. 1. cap. 12.* But in *lib. 3. de cultu Sanctior.* he varnisheth this practice of the Romish Church, saying, we build not Churches to our Martyrs, as to Gods, but as monuments to dead men, whose spirits live with God. He adds other answers, but such as he trusts not himself; and the most solid (as he saith) is, Holy houses may be built truly and properly to Saints, yet not under the name of a Church or Temple, but *Basilica* or *Memoria*. To omit the identity of the words, Agrippa said before, They build Churches unto their *Divi*: and Erasmus on the margine, above the fore-named words of Augustine, hath marked, This is done now to each one of the *Divi*. But experience is a sufficient witness, that almost all the Churches, under the obedience of Rome, had their names from Saints; nor were they called, the Memories or Monuments, but the Church of Saint Peter or some other Saint, and in Latine *Templa Sanctorum*, and in Greek *iegg*, as Bellarmin witnesseth *de cultu Sanct. lib. 3. cap. 4.* Wherefore we may see, that the Church of Rome hath turned the old idolatry, into a new sort of idolatry; giving their new Gods more fine and superstitious worship. This Boniface did first ordain the Feast of All-Saints, and that the Pope should say Mass that day. *Catal. test. verit. lib. 6.* He turned his fathers house into a Monastery, and sate 7. years: then the seat was vacant 6. months; for many strove for the pre-heminence, rather than for the cure of souls. At last

All-hallow
day.

5. DEUSDEDIT or Theodatus, the son of a married Priest, was chosen, and sate 3. years. This only is written of him, that he was an holy man, and that he healed a man sick of the Palsie, by a kiss only; and that he ordained, that the son of him who had been witness of the Baptism of an infant, should not marry that infant being a woman. *Platin.* And hereby he enlarged spiritual alliance (as they call it) which was begun by Gregory, who did accurse the man who shall marry his god-mother. *Grego. decreta.*

Spiritual al-
liance.

6. BONIFACE V. is said to have been a man of singular vertue and bountifulness; especially toward those of the Clergy, who were most vigilant in their calling. He ordained, that so great reverence should be had unto the place of Gods worship; that whosoever shall take his refuge into a Church, should not be taken by force; (making the Law of God against murderers, and such ungodly men, to be of no effect by his tradition; because he loved them who bring, saith *I. Beda in Catal. Scriptor. illust.*) and that sacrilegious persons should be accursed (for he hateth them who take away.) In his time, Testaments were of strength, when they were confirmed by the Magistrates: but his Successours would have this power to themselves. His Epistles direct to England, as in *Beda's* history, wherein are sundry passages, fighting against the perfection of Christ's satisfaction. He sate 3. years, and died *an. 622.*

Churches a
refuge of im-
piety.

Except sacri-
ledge.

A Pope con-
demned of
heresy.

7. HONORIUS I. was a Monothelite, Onuphrius in *Annot. in Platin.* and Bellarmin, *de Ro. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 11.* would purge him of this blot, by the Epistles of a Monk Maximus, and of Emanuel Caleça, who lived about the
year

year 1274. they cannot deny, that they saw in the most common books of Councils, this heresie imputed unto him in the sixth general Council; as also the Epistles of Sergius, Bishop of Constantinople, unto Honorius; and of Honorius to Sergius, were read in the twelfth Action or Session: and in the sixteenth Action, they both were accused for that heresie: and in the seventeenth, a Confession was published contrary to the error of the Monothelites; and after the Confession, Honorius Pope of old Rome, is reckoned amongst the Hereticks: see hereafter in Leo II. and some among the Romanists, stick not to call him an Heretick, as *Melc. Canus in loc. Theol. li. 6. c. 8.* Platina makes mention of his great care in building of Churches, and transporting Ornaments from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, into the Church of St. Peter, but nothing of his spiritual building. He appointed Processions on the Lords day: whence was the compassing of Churches. *Catal. test. verit. lib. 9.* He sate 12. years, and then the Seat was vacant 1. year and 7. months.

8. SEVERINUS was confirmed by Isaacius, Eparch of Ravenna: *Election of the Pope.* for at that time the Election of the Pope was naught, till he were confirmed by the Emperour or his Eparch. *Platin.* Isaacius came to Rome for confirmation of the Pope, and saw great Treasure in the Lateran Church: he took it all away; because the Souldiers were in great necessity, in time of the wars against the Saracens; yet he gave only a part of it to the Souldiers, and sent the rest to Ravenna; whence he sent a part unto the Emperour: like unto all other Popes, Severinus was more carefull of houses then of souls. *Platin.* He by Epistle reproves the Scots; for observing Pentecost or Easter, on another day than the Church of Rome; but his reproof had no place there; because they were not accustomed with the yoke of the Romish Bishops, saith *Catal. test. ver.* He sate 1. year 2. months. *Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 19.* hath written an Epistle at this time, thus, Unto the most learned, and most holy, the Scotch Bishops and Presbyters, and other Doctours and Abbots. Hilarius Arch-Priest, and keeping the place of the holy Apostolical See, John a Deacon, and chosen in the name of God; and John Primicerius, and holding the place of the Apostolical See, and John a servant and counsellor of the same Apostolical See. The writings which the Bearers brought unto Pope Gregory, of good memory (he departing this life) have not been answered till now. Which being opened, left the mist of so great a question should continue. . . . Hereby we know, that the Pelagian heresie beginneth to revive among you; wherefore we exhort you earnestly, that so venomous a work of superstition be put from your minds; for it cannot be unknown unto you, how that execrable heresie is damned; seeing it hath not only been abolished out this 240. years; but it is also daily condemned by us, by a perpetual anathema, and is buried: and we exhort, that among you their ashes be not stirred up, whose weapons are burnt: For who will not abhor the proud and wicked attempts of them who say, A man may be without sin by his proper will, and not by the grace of God? And indeed, the first foolish saying of blasphemy, is to say, A man is without sin: Which cannot be, except the only Mediatour of God and Man Christ Jesus, who was conceived and born without sin. For other men, being born with Original sin, are known to bear the testimony of Adam's transgression (even they who are without Actual sin) according to the Prophet, saying, Behold I was conceived in iniquity, and in sin hath my mother borne me. What may be collected out of this Epistle, I leave unto all Judicious Readers: only I would, that this were remarked, that in the inscription, they observe the stile and phrase of the Roman Court, directing their Letters unto the Scotch Bishops, &c.

None free of
Original sin,
except our
Saviour.

whereas, neither at that time, nor many ages thereafter, was any Bishop in Scotland; but only Abbots who were Doctours, and Presbyters in several congregations.

Reliques.

9. JOHN IV. bestows all the Treasure (that Isaacius and Severine had left) on the redeeming of some captives of his Nation Dalmatia and Istria, from the Lombards. He transports the bodies of Vincentius and Anastasius Martyres, from Dalmatia to Rome; from the hands of enemies to the superstition of a more eminent place. In his time Lotharis, King of the Lombards (a good Justitiary, and Arrian) did permit in every City of his Kingdom, two Bishops, one Catholick (as they spoke then, or orthodox) and another Arrian. John sate 1. year 9. months.

*Pretended
authority
availeth not.*

10. THEODORUS I. the son of Theodorus Bishop of Jerusalem, strove against Paul, Bishop of Constantinople, because he was a Monothelite, and sought his deprivation, but in vain; for he dealt by authority, and not by Scriptures or reason; and Paul despiseth his authority. Lotharis said, he was puffed up with ambition, and not inspired by a good spirit; and therefore he contemned him also, saying, He fostereth many errours, and reproveth one only. He dissuadeth the Emperour Constans, from the error of the Monothelites; therefore the Emperour sought his life. Thereafter all his care was, to adorn and adore the bodies of the departed Saints, and their Reliques: he died *an.* 647.

New Rites.

11. MARTIN I. augmenteth the number of holy daies; he commandeth the Priests to shave their hair continually; and that each Bishop should consecrate the chrism or holy ode yearly, and send it through all the Parishes of his Diocly; and that all the Clergy should, at their admission, vow single life. He sent unto Paul, Bishop of Constantinople, exhorting him to forsake his error; but Paul was so far from regarding his Ambassage, that he abused his Messengers, and sent them into sundry Islands. Wherefore the Pope assembled a Synod at Rome, of 150. Bishops, and reneweth the damnation of Syrus, Bishop of Alexandria; of Sergius and Pirhus, Bishops of Constantinople, and he accurseth Paul. Platina makes no mention that he did Excommunicate the Emperour. Certain it is, that the Emperour commandeth his Eparch Olympius, either to kill Martin, or (if he could) send him to Constantinople; because he had conspired against the Emperour, as appears in his own Epistle, written to Theodorus the former Eparch. Olympius sent a servant to kill him, in St. Maries Church. Platina saith, the servant was miraculously stricken with blindness. The Emperour restored Theodorus, and gave him the same Commission: he was received by the Romans very graciously, because he had foughten against the Lombards. Then professing to visit the Pope, at the first meeting causeth him to be bound, and sent him to Chersonesus, and died in great necessity. After he had sate 7. years, his See was vacant 14. moneths; because they had not had intelligence of his death.

*The Pope is
censured.*

12. EUGENIUS I. receiveth Letters from Peter, Bishop of Constantinople, coming nearer the truth, than his Predecessour Paul: yet because he did not express the two natures and wills in Christ, the Clergy of Rome, did inhibit [Nota] the Pope to say Mass, until he abjured those Letters of Peter.

*Bishops have
Prison-houses.*

Platin. He commanded, that Bishops should have Prisons for malefactors; and so they began to meddle with civil punishment. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 7.* He ordained, that Monks should not come out of their Cloisters, without express licence from their Superiour. He sate 2. years and 9. months.

13. **VITALIAN** ordained a new order in the Church, especially of singing; and for the better harmony, he brought in the Organs. *Platin.* Musical instruments. That new order of singing, must be understood of some new sort of musick; for Psalms were sung in the Church before: and *Bellarmin de bon. oper. lib. 1. cap. 7.* saith, Organs were not heard in the Church, before the year 820. and *Thomas Aquin. 2. 2. qu. 91. ar. 2.* saith, in the Old-Testament was use of musical instruments; because people were rude and carnal; and therefore had need to be stirred up by these instruments, as they were by earthly promises; as also they did prefigure something. And in object 4. of the same article, he saith, The Church suffers not musical instruments, as Cythars and Psalteries in the praising of God, lest they seem to Judaize. Whence it appears (as *Card. Cajetan.* hath observed in that place) that Organs were not in the Church in the daies of *Thomas Aquin.* In the year 666. he ordained, that all service in the Churches, every where, should be done in the Latine language; and so the number of the Beast, agreeth to his time and language, that he commandeth. But hence it appears, that at that time, the Nations had used their vulgar languages in the Churches; and this Pope began to restrain them. Pope Martine had ordained that Priests should not marry; and now Vitalian reproves Priests for their marriage; as appears by his Epistle to the Bishop of Creta, wherein he findeth fault, that the Bishops of that Island had wives. He commanded shaving and anointing; and under these signs, he gave liberty of buying and selling. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 7.* Three things, at that time, were called wonders, Monasteries with fair buildings, Kings become Monks, and whoredom of Priests was thought no fault. He sate 14. years.

The number
666.

Three won-
ders.

14. **ADEODAT** followed him. Now a wondrous Comet was seen the space of three months; and also were extraordinary thunderings and inundations. Wherefore the Pope made frequent prayers, that God would avert the evils, which those prodigies seemed to pretend: but repentance, and abolishing of idolatry, was not conjoined with their prayers: so follows great dearth of corn; and the Sarazens entred into Sicily. He sate 2. years.

Prayers with-
out repen-
tance are
idle.

15. **DONUS** or Domnio sate 5. years. Theodore Bishop of Ravenna, submits his See unto him. To maintain the invocation of Saints, the Papists say, that at that time the soul of Dagobert, King of France, was delivered out of the hands of the Devil, by Dionisius and Maurice Martyres, and Martine the Confessor, whom Dagobert had worshipped.

16. **AGATHO** obtained from the Emperour Constantine, a discharge of the mony, which the Pope was wont to give unto the Emperour, for his confirmation; yet so, that when the Election should be made; he who is chosen, should not be ordained, until a general Decree be made, according to the old custom. *Gratian. dist. 63. ca. Agatho.* Platina saith, the sixth general Council, was called by Agatho: but the Books of Councils shew expressly, that it was called by the Emperour, in the daies of Pope Donus; and the *Divalis sacra*, was directed unto Donus, requiring him to send worthy and learned men unto the Council, which the Emperour had proclaimed. Donus died, and the *Divalis* was delivered unto Agatho; who in his Epistle to the Emperour (as it is Registered in the 4. Session of the same Council) acknowledged, that at his direction, and for obedience which he oweth unto him; he had called a Synod of 125. Bishops (whose names and subscriptions, are extant with the Acts of that Synod) at Rome, for due preparation unto the Council; and in that Epistle, he calleth himself often the Emperours servant; John Bishop of Portua, and John a Deacon of Rome, were sent unto the Council; they said the first Latine Mass, in the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, the Emperour being present. This one practice made the greater

Election of
the Pope.

Councils were
called by Em-
perours.

The first La-
tine Mass: in
Greece.

Contention in
election of a
Bishop.

ter way unto the fore-named Decree of Pope Vitalian, in all other places. In the Synod at Rome he made the Canon, in *Gratian. di. 19.* All the Decrees of the Apostolick See, are to be embraced, as established by the divine voice of St. Peter. When Theodore Bishop of Ravenna died, the Clergy could not agree in the Election. Theodoricus, one of the Competitours, hastneth to Rome, and was confirmed by Pope Agatho: the people of Ravenna took it impatiently, that their Church, which was wont to contend with Rome in dignity; was now by the foolishness or madness of Theodoricus, become subject to Rome; and they took part with Felix, that he should be their Bishop, and maintain the libertie of their Church. The Emperour Justinian, gives order to Theodore the Eparch, to go with 8. ships to Ravenna; and cause Felix to give satisfaction to the Bishop of Rome; and if he refused, that he should send Felix, with the head-men of the City, unto Constantinople: Theodore doth so; and Felix had both his eys burnt out with hot bras; the Citizens were killed or banished: *Sabellic. Ennead. 8. lib. 7.* and upon this occasion, Pope Leo the II. obtained from the Emperour, that the Arch-Bishop of Ravenna, in all times coming, should receive investiture from Rome. Hence we see, that all Italy was not subject unto the See of Rome; seeing Ravenna had contended with Rome for dignity. Agatho sate 3. years.

The humble
Letter of the
Pope unto the
Emperour.

17. LEO II. is called a learned Pope. He ordained, that no Arch-Bishop should pay any thing to the Church of Rome, for Investiture or Palle; because such a custome would breed many inconveniences. *Platin.* This Decree held not, and by length of time, the price of the Palle waxed so great; that Albert, Bishop of Ments, payed for it 30000. crowns, *Sleidan. comment. ad an. 1523.* Leo accurseth, at Rome, all them whom the sixth Council had condemned; as his Epistle written to the Emperour shews, out of which I have marked these passages: Unto the King of Kings we give thanks, who hath bestowed an earthly kingdom upon you; so that you should covet heavenly things: for it is better that you trust in God with a settled mind, then that you reign with honour given you from above: that is profitable to you; this to your subjects; for, by the mercy of God, you obtain the triumphal glory of your fathers Crown by birth: your godliness is the fruit of mercie; but your power is the conserver of discipline: by the one thereof, your Princelie mind is joined with God; by the other, discipline is done unto your Subjects: the riches of the one, relieve the poor; the happiness of the other, amendeth them who stray from the right way. It is no less care of them who are in authoritie, to amend the froward, than to triumph over an enemy.---The Legates of this Apostolical See, your mother, the Roman Church, the servants of your Holiness; together with the persons who went with them; who by our Predecessour, of Apostolical memory, Agatho, at the 8. indiction; for the cause of faith (your Godliness commanding) were hither directed: the tenth indiction, being now past, in the month of Julie; together with your Godliness Letters and Acts of the Council, did we receive with great joy in the Lord; and as it were we entred out of the gulf of grief, into the haven of longed-for calmness; and recovering strength, we began with great thanksgiving to cry out, Lord, save our most Christian King, and hear him. . . . Therefore, as we have received every one of the general Councils, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon and Constantinople; all which the Church of Christ doth approve: So the sixth general Council, which was now celebrated in this Princely City, by means of your clemency; we as their footgrooms [Nota] do with the like reverence receive, and we discern the same Council to be numbred justly with them; as being gathered by the same, or
alike

alike grace of God : therefore we do anathematize and accurse all heresies, and all Authors or favourers of them, Theodore Bishop of Harranitan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pirthus, Peter and Paul, rather successours than Bishops of Constantinople; and Honorius, who did not adorn the Apostolical See, with doctrine of Apostolical tradition; but by his wicked traitory did endeavour to subvert the unspotted faith-----In the end, let your Princely magnanimity think worthy of your wonted acceptation and clemency, Constantine a sub-Deacon, the humble Bearer of these Presents; and give your godly ears unto his informations; that in the servant, you would worthily acknowledge the sender. Let the Reader consider, how different the stile of this Letter is, from the presumptuous Bulls of Popes afterwards, and see a Pope condemned of heresie. Leo sate 10. months, but his glory was so great (saith Platina) that it seemed, as if he had lived longer. The seat was vacant 11. months and 21. daies.

18. BENELECT II. was thought so singular in learning and godliness, that he was chosen with consent of all; and the Emperour thought so well of his Election, that then it was first ordained by him, whom the Clergie, People and Souldiers of Rome, should chuse unto the Papacie; he incontinently should be received, without sending unto Constantinople, but only unto the Eparch of Ravenna. We will see the practice in Conon and Sergius. Baronius speaks of the custom formerly, how the confirmation was sought from the Kings or the Goths; and after them from the Emperour; and lastly from the Eparch. But when the Popes began to despise the Emperour, they did not respect the Eparch. *Pol. Virgil. de inven. rer. lib. 4. cap. 10.* saith, The power of creating the Roman High-Priest, untill the Reign of the Emperour Constantine, without doubt, did appertain unto the Colledge of Roman Priests: then by degrees the Election of that Colledge, with the suffrages of the people, was firm; which the Emperour had approved: and this continued till the year 685.---this custom indured not long---the Successours of Charls the Great, were accustomed to confirm the Election: at last 1039. Pope Nicolas the II. did restrain the Election unto the Cardinals. Boniface was more carefull of outward, than spiritual Churches, as Platina shews. He sate scarce 11. months.

A little change in the election of a Pope.

19. JOHN V. was elected that year, wherein the Emperour Constantine died: he writ of the dignity of the Palle, and continued not one year. Then the Romans would have advanced Peter an Arch-Bishop, and the Souldiers were inclined to Theodore a Priest. But after long contention

Contentions who shall be Pope.

20. CONON was preferred, he was beloved of many for natural and civil gifts of body and mind; but so soon as he was confirmed, he was taken with sickness: then Paschalis an Arch-Deacon, and Master of the Popes Treasure; gave great sums of money, to John the Eparch, to cause him to be elected. Conon died in the 11. month. Then some cry for the fore-named Theodore, and some strove for Paschalis; the matter was like to come to blows; till by the advice of some, both of people and souldiers, the tumult was pacified a third.

21. SERGIUS I. was chosen, and carried upon mens shoulders to the Lateran Church: thus by occasion of the pride of the Competitours, the pride of the beast is advanced another step; for his Successours will not let this shew go down. The Competitours salute and kiss him fore against their wills; for the multitude did compell them. *Platin.* Nevertheless Paschalis sent privily for the Eparch to come and aid him: the matter is disclosed unto the Pope, and Paschalis is accused of Magick, convicted, deposed, and shut into a Monastery, where he abode 5. years, still denying that whereof he was accused;

Novation in the election.

The first temporal land of the Pope.

The number 666.

and the Eparch would not admit Sergius, till he had paid five pounds of gold, that Paschalis had promised, though Sergius said he had not promised it: *Bellarmin. ad an. 687. Bellarmin de Ro. Pont. lib. 3.* saith, in the year 669. the Bishop of Rome began to have the Temporal sword, that is, temporal government; for Aripert King of the Lombards, gave unto the Bishop of Rome Alpes Coëtiæ by Genua; and *an. 714.* Luithprand did confirm the same gift, as is written by *Ado. Vien. and Blondus dec. 1. cap. 10.* whereupon *Theod. Bibliander* marketh (saith *Bellarmin.*) that the first Papal Province, was in the year 714. if that were true, which they talk, of that forged Donation, of the Emperour Constantine, where was it all this time? upon that passage of Bellarmine, *Andrew Melvin*, Master of the University of St. Andrews, about the year 1605. writes thus, If from the number 699. (wherein the Temporal Sword was first given to the Pope) you will take off the number of years, from Christ's birth, till his death; there remains the number of the Beast. In the time of Sergius, Pipin Duke of Austria, came to have place in the Court of France. Sergius sate 13. years, and 8. months, and died *an. 701.*

CHAP. III.

Of Divers Countries.

The Christian Church is divided into ten parts.

1. **T**HE Heresies of former ages, and now the arrogant presumption of Prelates, causeth the Church of Christ to be divided into ten parts, differing all one from another; either in articles of faith, or discipline and rites (whereof they have been too zealous) each part, calling themselves the only true Church of Christ; most pitifull! These parts are, 1. The Latines or Western Churches, which hath been under the Bishop of Rome. 2. The Greeks, and with them, the Iberi, Slavoni, Russi, Muscovites, and others scattered through Europe; together with the Patriarchal Seas of Antioch and Jerusalem in Asia; and the Patriarchal See of Alexandria in Ægypt; all which were brought once under the Bishop of Constantinople. My aim hath been principally, to know the alterations of these two parts, at what time, and where the schism began, and how it did wax; and so have I followed, as the matter, and light of stories, gives occasion. It is remarkable, that Pope Gregory the I. in *lib. 7. Ep. 53.* writes, that all the four Patriarchs in the East, did hold the same faith and doctrine with the Synod at Chalcedon, and other General Councils before it; nor did they ordain any Bishop, who did not follow and maintain the same. 3. The Ethiopians or Abyssines, under Prester-John, in Affrick; they use to bathe or baptize themselves every year in rivers; not that they think it necessary to salvation; but they do it on the day of the Epiphany, in remembrance of Christ's baptism: for this, the Romanists call them Anabaptists. But we will, in Century XIII. hear Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, calling them Orthodox: they are circumcized by an old custom, rather than of religion: for Herodotus, in Euterpe, testifieth, that the Ethiopians and Ægyptians, in his time and before, were circumcized. 4. The Jacobites are so named, from Jacob Zanzala a Syrian, and Eutithian Heretick, who lived *an. 613.* and more shortly, they are called Copites (as *Io. Scaliger. de emend. temp. lib. 5.* writes) from a City in Ægypt, where Dioclesian slue 144000. Martyres, because they would not sacrifice to Idols: this sort are dispersed in Ægypt, Arabia and Chaldea: they are also circumcized. The Authour of the book, called the Catholick Traditions, first in French, and then translated into English) searches the differences

rences of all Churches; and except ceremonies or rites, hath not marked great difference of the Abyssines and Jacobites, from our Reformed Churches; and in his Preface, he saith, they pretend to have their name Jacobites, from Jacob the old Patriarch; and the name Cophes or Cut, because they are circumcized: and in *Qu. 5.* he saith, they call themselves Christians of the first conversion. 5. The Nestorians, are said to have abjured the heresie of Nestorians; yet keep still the name for hatred and distinction of the Euthians: they dwell dispersed thorow Persia, India and Tartary; they use the Chaldean language in their Liturgy, and their Prelate resideth in Mosal or Seleucia. 6. Maronites dwell in Lybia and Phoenicia; they use the Arabian tongue; they are permitted to use Bells, after the manner of the Western Church; which is not granted to others in the East. They are said to have been free from all enemies till this day; not so much by strength, or number of souldiers, as by situation of the mountains. 7. The Armenians use only their own language, but are infected with fond heresies; they hold that Christ did not assume an human body of the Virgin Mary; but had an incorruptible body from the moment of his conception; and this body (say they) should be worshipped in the own nature of it; and therefore they are called *Φρασελατοι*, or worshippers of a corruptible thing; and because they worship the Cross of Christ, they are called Cross-worshippers. For these causes they are contemned by the Greeks; but Pope Lucius the II. accepted them; because, at that time, they did acknowledge the Pope, as head of the Church: nevertheless, the Romans hate them as Hereticks; but deal discreetly with them (as they say) to draw them unto their obedience: they call their Arch-Bishop, the Catholick Bishop. 8. The Georgians, are so called from St. George, whose badge they carry: they dwell in Media, Persia, and about the Caspian sea; they agree with the Greeks, both in language, rites and doctrine. 9. Suriani, are so named from Sur, a City of Assyria, and also are called Samaritani: they have the same language which the Sarazens had, and religion with the Greeks, for the most part; and they have leavened bread in the Sacrament. 10. Mazarabes, who dwelt first in Arabia, and thence they went in Colonies into Affrick, and then into Spain; but none of them remain till this day; because they would not contract with any of another Religion: in their Service, they were brought to use the Latine language, and to acknowledge the primacy of the Pope; but they would not change in sundry other articles. These are the remnants of the most ancient and famous Churches; the most part of which, agree in many more things of great importance, than those wherein they dissent: so that amongst the blind Pagans, and blasphemous Mahometists, the name of God is invocated, by some Christians, with more piety (it may be supposed) than among others where there is greater libertie and clearness of doctrine. Wheresoever the Word of God is preached, we must think, some are effectually called; for the rain coming from heaven, returns not again, but watereth the earth, and makes it to bud; so is the word of the Lord, *1/a. 55.* And Jesus Christ is the Universal Shepherd of them all. The Authour of the fore-named *Catholick Tradition*, in the Annotation on the 5. question, saith, There are two or three hundred years past; since that, it hath been very hard, to judge by the multitude, whether the name of the Catholick Church, appertained to the Greeks or Latines. But now the Greek Church is diminished, by oppression of the Turks; as the Latine is increased, by the Conquests of the Spaniards, far otherwise then it was heretofore. So that if the multitude, gave the name of Catholick, the Grecians should have had it; and the certain time, when they lost this Title, is not to be known. Notwithstanding all this, these two Churches, and that of the Ja-

cobites, do profess themselves to be Catholicks; the passages or proofs before alledged, do shew, that every one of them is extended very wide. Under the name of Jacobites, we comprehend, the Cophites and Abyssines; and we may add the Nestorians: for *Masius* telleth us, that these people are rather differing in name, than in religion, whose testimony is reported to be very true. In Jerusalem they have divers Churches and Oratories, the one neer the other; and the reason is, to the end every nation may use the language which he best understandeth. . . . The same *Masius*, dischargeth the Nestorians of the crime of that heresie, which was imputed unto them: I am assured (saith he) they are free from that wicked doctrine of that infamous heretick Nestor; for having a great volumn of their solemn prayers, which they make to God, I have found nothing, that might offend any man of sound opinion in our religion; if it be not this, that I suspect them; because they, in many places, call not the Virgin Marie mother of God; but instead of this Title, they call her the mother of life and of light. And saith the fore-named Author, here is to be noted, that *Villamont* had some notice, that *Prestern John* had sent to the Pope, that he was willing to submit himself unto the Church of Rome: and *Cotton*, the Jesuit, affirms, that the Patriarch of the Cophites, had done the like. But we have now fresher news, and know that there is no such matter. So far out of the Catholick Tradition. Then of all these parts, we may think, that (except certain persons at several times) they all retain, or the most part, their ancient doctrines and traditions; as well in matters of faith, as in rites and discipline; except only the Western Church, which hath suffered no small change, sometimes to worse, and sometimes to better; not in general at once, but now one nation, and then another hath suffered their Eclipses, and have shewed again their bright beams. And the first declination began in Italy, by occasion of Wars, and partly in default of their Clergie. For when the many strangers made incursions upon Italie, in the two Centuries immediately preceding; they indeavoured, by all means, to abolish all other languages, except their own: and therefore, where they prevailed, they burned Studies, and all Books that they could find. *Io. Bodin. Method. cap. 7.* And then the Bishops of Rome, fishing in troubled waters, after that the Emperour, who did with-hold, was taken out of the way, they begun to exalt themselves above all. The religion and pietie of former Bishops, did move the Emperour to be bountifull unto them; and for peace in the Church, to limit their jurisdiction: But the following Bishops, looking unto wealth, more than devotion; and to dominion, more than peace; they begun to think a Bishoprick, to be nothing else but gain, revenues and dominion; as saith *Po. Vergil. de inven. rer. lib. 6. cap. 14.* neer the end, in the former ages, the subtil wits of the Greeks made heresies, and heresies begot schisms: but the Romans turn all religion into gain, and in all the articles of difference betwixt the Greeks and the Latines, the opinion of the Latines, serveth unto the gain and ambition of the Clergie, either directlie or indirectlie: now desire of money being alone (far more being conjoined with ambition) is the root of all ill; so that no wonder it is, if hunting after it, they have erred from the faith.

Gregory fore-saw the first defection.

2. Pope Gregory the I. saw this defection coming, when he said, all things that were fore-told, are now in doing: the King of pride is at hand; and which I fear to speak, the armie of the end. [Some read, *exercitus*; and some *extitus*] of Priests is at hand; for they do war under pride, who should be ring-leaders of humilitie, *lib. 4. Ep. 38.* And on *Iob lib. 33. cap. 36.* now ere Antichrist come by himself, some do preach him by their words, and manie by their manners. Are they not the Preachers of his hypocrisie, who when they have

have obtained the holy Orders of God, do with their hearts or desires lay hold on this fading World? Who pretend that it is all vertue that they do, and yet it is all vice that they practice? And in *Homil. on Luk. 10.* he lamenteth, Behold the World is full of Priests, but few workmen in the Lords harvest: we accept the Office, but discharge not the work of the Office. I think, Brethren, that there is no greater wrack, then what God suffereth from Priests, when he seeth them examples of wickedness, whom he hath appointed for amending others: and which is more grievous, if they see one humble or continent, they deride him: What can befall the Flock, when the Shepherds become Wolves? they fear not to undertake the charge of the flock, who spare not to make prey of them; and they turn Ministry into the increase of ambition: we forsake the things that appertain unto God, and are intangled with the things of the earth: so it is fulfilled, like Priest, like people. There he speaks largely of this purpose, and this is remarkable that he saith, When Peter shall come [before Christ] with the converted Jews, whom he drew after him, and Paul leading (I may say) the converted World, And drew leading Achaia; and all the Shepherds, with their Flocks, shall come before the eternal Shepherd: what shall we wretched men say, who had the name of Shepherds, and have no sheep, who have received nourishment from us? Nevertheless, the Lord will feed his sheep by himself, whom he hath appointed unto life. Whereunto shall I liken bad Priests, but to the water of Baptism, which washing away the sins of the baptized, sendeth them into Heaven, and it is cast into a Sink. And *lib. 4. Ep. 32.* he saith of them, While we forsake things that become us, and mind things that become us not; we make our sins like unto the power of the barbarous enemies; and our fault which lieth heavy upon the Common-wealth, doth sharpen the swords of our enemies: what can we say who are unworthily set over the people of God, and press them down with the burthen of our sins? who destroy by our examples, what we preach with our tongues; who by our works teach wickedness, and by our voice only pretend equity; the Teachers of humility, and Captains of pride; with the face of a sheep, we do cover wolfish teeth. But what shall be the end of these things, but that we do counsel men, and are made known unto God? And *lib. 8. Ep. 36.* They who come after us, will see worse times; so that in comparison of their times, they will judge that we have had happy daies. Yea Gregory, not only fore-

Gregory deviseth new Rites, yet teacheth not others unto them.

saw this defection, but he was not the least agent in multiplying new Rites: he did frame a new order of Divine Service, or (as they call it) a new Mass; where it is clear, that the former manner did not please him. And *li. 7. indist. 2. Ep. 63.* he shews, that some of his friends, both Greeks and Latines, did grumble against it: and in the end of that Epistle it is remarkable, that he saith, Nevertheless if that [of Constantinople] or any other Church, hath any good, I am ready to follow in goodness, even my inferiours, to whom I forbid unlawfull things; for he is a fool who thinks himself chief, and that he will not learn the good things that he seeth. And when Augustine, whom he sent into Britain, did ask him, seeing the faith is one, why are the customes of the Churches diverse? And why is one sort of Mass in Rome, and another in France? Gregory answers, Thy Brother-hood knows the custom of the Roman Church, in which you have been nourished; but it pleaseth me, that whether in the Church of Rome or of France, or in any other, thou hast seen any thing that may more please the Almighty God, that thou diligently follow it: and in that Church of the English, which in respect of the Faith, is new, they ordain the best things that thou hast seen in many Churches; for things are not to be loved for the places, but the places must be loved for the good

things: therefore chuse thou out of every Church, what things are godly, pious and right; and these being gathered into a bundle, put thou into the minds of the English for customes. *Interrog. August. resp. 3.* Whence it is clear, that although Gregory was the Authour of the Mass, yet he did not bind all men to follow it, nor any other Ceremonies. In his answer to Augustin's sixth question, he saith, The holy Law forbids to uncover the filthiness of kindred: therefore it is necessary now, that the third and fourth degree may lawfully marry; but should altogether abstain from the second. Here he wresteth Scripture, and restraineth the degrees which God permits. Then Augustine asketh, in his 7. question, Whether those who are so unlawfully married, shall be commanded to divorce, and shall be denied of the Communion? Gregory answereth, Because many in that nation, while they were infidels, were mixed in that unlawfull marriage, when they come into the faith, they are to be admonished to abstain, and let them know that it is an heinous sin: let them tremble at the fearfull judgement of God, lest for their carnal pleasure, they suffer everlasting torments; and yet they are not to be deprived of the Communion of the Holy Body and Blood of the Lord; lest we seem to revenge on them, the things whereunto they had bound themselves in their ignorance, before the Laurel of Baptism: for at this time, the holy Church correcteth some things in zeal; suffereth some things in meekness; dissembleth some things in prudence, that oft by tolerance and connivance, she may amend the ill which she hateth. But all they who imbrace the faith, are to be admonished that they do not such a thing; and if they shall then do it, they are to be deprived of the Communion of the body and blood of the Lord. Here is a good advice in this, but still he aimeth at his own conceit. He deviseth a superstitious manner of consecrating Churches, which the posteritie have changed: he did foster the fond conceits of men, by too credulous believing the false miracles of his time, saith, *M. Canus in Theol. lib. 11. cap. 6.* He praied for delivering the soul of Trajan out of Hell; Pope Siricius (who lived *an. 387.*) was the first who contradicted marriage of Priests and Deacons, *Gratian. dist. 82.* and forbad their societie with their wives whom they had married. And Pope Pelagius did ordain, that Deacons who had wives, should either put them away, or leave their Benefice, *Ibid.* but then Pope Gregory judgeth it contrarie unto the Gospel, to put away a wife, unless it be for fornication; and he ordained that no sub-Deacon should be admitted, unless he promise chastitie; and he thought by this means, to bring single life upon the Clergie; seeing they must be Deacons, ere they be Priests. *Pol. Verg. de invent. rer. lib. 5. cap. 4.* Nevertheless afterwards when he finds, that Priests lived not continentlie, and thereby many children were murdered, as he saw 6000. heads of children taken out of a pond, (see hereafter in the 9. Centurie, in the Epistle of Huldricus, Bishop of Augusta) he annulleth his own Act, and saith, *It is better to marry, then to burn and murder*: he was credulous of Purgatorie, of which it follows. For these, and other conceits, Gregory is called worse then any of his Predecessours; but for his soundness in other articles, and for his virtues worthy of praise, he is commended above all his Successours; for he taught far otherwise, then the Church of Rome doth now. In *lib. 4. Ep. 40.* he perswadeth Leander, a Physician, to diligent reading of the Scriptures; and that upon such reasons that concern all men, saying, The Scripture, is an Epistle sent from God to his creatures: if thou receivest a Letter from an earthly King, thou wilt not rest nor sleep till thou understandest it: but the King of Heaven, and God of Men and Angels, hath sent his Letters unto thee for the good of thy soul, and yet thou neglectest the reading of them: I pray thee therefore, study them, and meditate daily on

Degrees of
kindred.

In Vita Gre-
gor.

The faith of
Gregory, for
matter of do-
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the

the words of thy Creatour. And in the preface on Job, unto Bishop Leander, *cap. 4.* In the Scripture is milk for babes, and meat for the stronger. There is a river plain and deep, wherein lambs may wade, and Elephants may swim. He hath the same again in *Ezek. lib. 1. hom. 9.* in the end of this, he saith, whatsoever serves for edification and instruction, is contained in the holy Scriptures. In *Iob lib. 19. cap. 17.* The books of Maccabees are not Canonical Scripture; and he permits an excuse of citing a testimony out of them; to wit, he doth not inordinately herein, because they are written for edification, albeit they be not Canonical. Again *lib. 5. cap. 7.* he saith, Our righteousness is found to be unrighteous, when it is narrowly examined; and it stinketh in the censure of the Judge, which glistereth in the esteem of the worker. And *lib. 18. cap. 25.* some rejoice in their own power, and they do glory, that they are redeemed by their preceding merits; whose assertion, certainly, is contrary to it self: for while they say, They are innocent and redeemed, they make void *ipso facto* the name of redemption: for every one who is redeemed, certainly is delivered from bondage. Whence then is the man redeemed, if he was not captive under guilt? it is clear therefore, that he is very unwise who thinks so. Then he bringeth the example of the Thief on the Cross, who being a sinner, was changed by inward grace upon the Cross. Here by the way observe, Gregory useth the word *meritum*; but in another sense then the Papists do now: for in the same place he saith, Divine Grace finds not mans merit, that he may [or should] come; but when he hath come, he makes it; and God coming into an unworthy soul, maketh it worthy by coming, and he maketh in it merit, that he may reward, who did find only what he might have punished. He makes it clear, in *cap. 26.* They who hold that a man is saved by his own power, do guess that the confession of man, is by virtue of the man self; which if it were so, the Psalmist would not say to the praise of God, *Confessio & magnificentia est opus ejus*: wereceive therefore from him to confess, from whom it is given unto us to do great things, &c. There, thorow three chapters, Gregory speaks against mans merit or deserving; and he teacheth, that it is only by the grace of God, that man is able to do any good: and when he useth the word *meritum*, in a good sense, he understandeth simply good works, without the *ad-signification* of deserving. He useth also the word *meruit* improperly, as in the same book *cap. 33.* Abraham did never profess himself to be but dust and ashes, untill *habere Dei meruit collocutionem*, where that word cannot signifie to deserve, but to attain: as also Bernard in *Cant. ser. 2.* saith, Herod would have seen Christ, but because not of a good mind, *non meruit*, that is, he obtained not. Again on *Pf. 7. peniten.* Gregory saith, at the word, *audiam fac*: although God bestoweth Heaven according to works, yet he giveth it not for works. If the blessedness of the righteous be of mercy, what is that, He will render to every one according to his works? And if it be rendred according to works, how is it called mercy? It is one thing, according to works; and another, for works: where it is said, according to works, the qualification of works is meant; that whose good works are seen, shall have the reward of glory; for no labour or works can be compared unto that blessed life, where we shall live with God, and in God. It is sure then, that to whom it is mercifully given to do well in this life; unto those it is more mercifully given, that they shall be rewarded a hundred-fold in everlasting blessedness. This is the grace, that (as the Apostle saith) shall be given for grace unto the Saints of God; to whom is given, from God, the grace of holiness in this life; to them shall be given the grace of eternal felicity in the life to come. On *Iob lib. 9. cap. 1.*

A godly man, because he seeth all the merit of his vertue to be vice, if it be

narrowly examined by the inward Judge, will truly say, I cannot answer for one of a thousand; by a thousand is oft meant universality. In *lib. 20. cap. 4.* he saith fitly, if I would have gone unto them: for (as it is written *Eph. 1.*) he worketh all things according to the counsell of his will, not according to our merit; but because he so willet, the Lord enlighteneth us with his visitation: And so when he willet, he cometh: and when he cometh, he sitteth first; both because his coming into our heart is of his favour; and the appetite of desiring him in our thoughts, is not equal to our other desires. It followeth, When I fate---The Lord sitteth as King in the heart, because he governs the buzzing motions of the heart. *Lib. 23. cap. 18.* An afflicted heart in all that it desireth, and yet feeleth the contrary order of things; would (so far as can be) have an answer from the voice of God, why it is so or so; that it may have the advice of God in every controversie, and then rest knowing his answer: But in fore-seeing that God would give the Holy Scripture, that in it he might answer both the publick and private questions of men, saith, Thou contendest with him, that he hath not answered to all thy words: God speaks once, and will not repeat it; as if he had said, God answereth not to the private voices of every heart; but he gives such a word, by which he satisfieth the questions of all men; for in the words of his Scripture, every one of us find our causes, if we inquire: nor is it needfull, that what each one suffereth particularly, we should ask a particular answer by the voice of God. In *Ezek. lib. 1. hom. 9.* Behold, the voice of God biddeth the Prophet, when he lieth, to arise; but he could not arise at all, unless the Spirit of the Almighty had entred into him; because by the grace of the Almighty God, we may in-deavour unto good works, but we cannot do them, if he who commandeth doth not help. So when Paul did admonish his Disciples, saying, With fear and trembling work forth your salvation; immediately he sheweth who worketh these good things in them, saying, God worketh in you both the will and the deed. Hence truth himself saith, Without me ye can do nothing: but here it is to be considered, because if our good things be so the gift of God, that something in them be not ours, why seek we eternal reward as for works? But if they be so ours, that they are not the gift of God, why give we thanks for them unto God? But we must know, that our evils are ours only; but our good things are both God's and ours, because he preveineth us by inspiring that we do will; and he following us by helping, lest we will in vain, that we may fullfill what he willet: therefore by preveining grace and good will following, that which is the gift of God, becomes our work: which Paul declareth shortly and well, saying, I have laboured more then they all, and left he might seem to ascribe unto his own vertue what he had done, he addeth, yet not I, but the grace of God with me: for because he was prevented by heavenly gift, he confesseth himself as a stranger from his own work, yet not I: but because preveining grace had made will in him free and good, that by free-will he had followed the same grace unto the work, he addeth, But the grace of God with me: as if he had said, I have laboured in the good work, yet not I, but I also: for in respect that I was prevented by the meer gift of God, not I, but in respect that I followed the gift with my will, I also. These things I have said shortly against Pelagius and Cœlestine. Truth himself saith of the Preachers of Antichrist, They shall give signs and wonders, that the very elect (if it were possible) should be deceived: Why speaks he as doubting, seeing he fore-knows what shall be? It is one of two, because if they be elected, they cannot be deceived; and if they be deceived, they are not the elect. Therefore that doubting of our Lords words designeth temptation, because they who are elected to persist, shall be tempted to fall by the signs

signs of the Preachers of Antichrist; for they shake, but fall not. It is said therefore, if it were possible, because they shall tremble; and neverthelesse they are called the elect, because they fall not. Again on *Iob lib. 25. cap. 20.* in that he saith, He causeth an hypocrite to reign for the sins of the people, Antichrist may be understood the head of hypocrites; for that deceiver feigneth holiness, that he may draw into wickedness; but for the sins of the people he is suffered to reign: albeit many have not seen his principality, yet they serve his principality by their sins: are they not his members, who by a shew of affected sanctity, would seem to be, what they are not? Certainly they come out of his body, who hide their iniquities under the cover of sacred honour. And in an Epistle to Wilmund Bishop of Aversa (which is in *Gratian. dist. c. 8. de consuetudin.*) he saith; If thou oppose custom, observe what the Lord saith, I am truth and life; he saith not I am custom, but I am truth. And truly to use the words of blessed *Cyprian*, Whatsoever custom, how old soever, is altogether to be postponed unto truth, and custom contrary unto truth, should be abolished. In *lib. 7. Ep. 1.* unto Sabinian, then his Resident at Constantinople, amongst many particulars he saith, Shew my most gracious Lords, that if I their servant would have medled with the death of the Lombards, this day that Nation should not have had either King, Dukes or Counts, and it might have been in utter confusion; but because I fear God, I am afraid to meddle with any mans death. Certainlie, his Successours neither have carried themselves as loyal servants of the Emperours, nor have they feared God in this manner, nor have they been so sparing of blood. In humilitie he (first) called himself, The servant of the servants of God; and his Successours retain the same Title, but they will not willinglie hear the name given them by another, *Pol. Verg. ac invent. rer. lib. 8. cap. 2.* for they will be Lord of Lords. Concerning the Lords Supper, his words are remarkable in *Dialog. lib. 4. cap. 58.* His bodie is taken, and his flesh is divided for the salvation of the people; his blood is now poured forth not into the hands of unbelievers, but into the mouths of believers: therefore let us consider, what a sacrifice this is for us, which for our absolution [representeth, or] follows continually the Passion of the only begotten Son. Here though he call the bread Christ's bodie and flesh; and the wine the blood; and the Sacrament a sacrifice: yet he shews, 1. That the bread was then divided. 2. The wine was given unto the people. 3. That the Sacrament is a continual representation or imitation of Christ's passion. All which are contrarie to the Doctrine of the Romish Church now, nor can they consist with the opinion of transubstantiation. Upon other occasions we shall yet see more of Gregorie.

3. It was received by many of the ancients in the third Centurie, and others following, that the souls departing must be purged from corruption, lest any unclean thing enter into heaven. Origenes wrote, this purgation must be by fire; and thereupon many have written of a purging or purgation fire; as *Belarmin. lib. 1. de Purgator. cap. 6.* hath a role of such testimonies. The Fathers did think, that all men must passe that fire; but they who had committed the most sins, or had been most superficial in their repentance on earth, must suffer the more pain. So *Gregor. Nissen in Orat. pro mortuis*, saith, He who goeth out of the bodie cannot be partaker of the Divinitie, unless the purging fire cleanse away the filth of the soul. And *Origen in Psal. 36.* All men must come to that fire, even Paul, or --- *Belarm. de Purg. lib. 2. cap. 1. Theodoret. on Cor. 3.* saith, The day of the Lord shall reveal, i. e. the day of judgement: if any mans work abide. Doctours teach heavenly things; but the hearers do chuse according to their own mind what is to be done: but in the day of the Lords coming, there shall be a sharp and great examination; and them

Purgatory
enters by
degrees.

that have lived rightly, that fire shall make them more glorious then gold or silver; but them who have committed iniquitie, it shall burn up like wood and hay: But the Teacher of good things shall not suffer punishment, but shall be judged worthy of salvation; for this he saith, he shall be saved; to wit, the Teacher. And the work shall be burned, that is, they who have made themselves evil work: For if we read the words so, we shall perfectly find the meaning of the words that are written, &c. Ye see, he differeth from the former, concerning the faithfull Teacher: they who thought that all shall suffer, did pray for the souls of all who die in hope of resurrection, so excluding the Reprobates only; as is manifest in some Greek Liturgies, who say, We offer unto thee, O Lord, sacrifice for the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs; and especially for the blessed mother of God, and we remember all the faithfull who are dead. *Bellarmin. loc.* Amongst others, he quoteth Lactantius Firmian, as a teacher of Purgatory; his unsolid and different opinion, is *Institut. lib. 7. cap. 21.* thus, All souls abide in one place untill the great day, and then they must all be examined by fire; they who have been perfectly righteous [and who are they? if the words be taken strictly] shall not feel the fire; they who have not been so godly, shall quickly pass through the fire, and be cinged about; and the wicked shall burn for ever. But Basilus (surnamed, the Great) when he was a dying, did expect to be received quicklie among the Angels; and *Gregor. Nazianzen* (who writ his life) did believe that his soul departing, should be received in the eternal Tabernacles, and with Basil behold the blessed Trinitie. Neither did any of the Fathers, before Augustine, dream of such a place in Hell, where (they say) this purging is before the day of judgement, nor speak they of any place thereof; and so they knew not of such an Inn in Hell, which the Romanists now call the place of Purgatorie: yea the Jesuits, *Durans cont. Whitek. fol. 338.* and *Bellarmin. de purgat. lib. 2. cap. 2.* say expresselie, that the Fathers expound that Text, *1 Cor. 3.* of a metaphorical fire; and in *cap. 6.* of that book *Bellarmin.* saith, neither the Fathers, nor Gregorie himself, know where Purgatorie is; nor Petrus Damianus, who lived 400. years after Gregorie; for Gregorie believed, that the soul of Paschasius was purged in a bath at Puteoli; and Damian thought that the soul of Severinus was purged in a flood; and therefore (saith *Bellarmin.*) the Fathers, both Greeks and Latines, before the School-men, have erred: and nevertheless *Bellarmin.* and other Papists, for proof of their Purgatorie, do bring all the testimonies of these Fathers to prove this their opinion: whereas the opinions differ, 1. In regard of the persons, who are to be purged. 2. The place. 3. The durance there. 4. The nature of the fire. 5. (Which is the principal) they hold now, that the pains of Purgatorie may be mitigated and taken away, by the prayers and offerings of the living. Augustine (that renowned Bishop of Hippo) was the first amongst the Ancients who spoke of such a place, and he spake but doubtinglie: for in *Enchir. ad Laur. cap. 68.* he saith, As well they who build gold, as they who build straw, shall pass through the fire, whereof the Apostle speaketh: and therefore that fire is the tentation of tribulation in this life; but whether there be any such thing after this life, is not incredible, and it may be asked. But in *serm. 62. ad fra. in Erem.* and *ser. 232. de temp.* he saith, There be onlie two sorts of places, for two sorts of souls after this life, and this is no third. In *lib. 5. hypognost.* he saith, The Catholick Faith, by Divine authoritie, believes that the first place is Heaven, wherein the Reprobate [his word is, the not-baptized] is excepted. The second is Hell, where everie Apostate and alliant from the faith of Christ, shall suffer everlasting punishment; We are altogether ignorant of a third place, nor shall we find it in the holie Scriptures,

saith

saith he. And *de Civit. Dei lib. 21. cap. 25.* after the words of *Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21.* he saith, Certainlie this saying of the Apostle is false, if such men being delivered, after what time soever, shall possess the Kingdom of God; but because it is not false, trulie they shall not possess that Kingdom; and if they shall never enter into the Kingdom of God, they shall be held in everlasting punishment; because there is no middle place, where he is not punished, who is not brought into the Kingdom. Pope Gregorie, *Dial. lib. 4. cap. 39.* moveth the question, Whether after death there be a Purgatorie fire? He answereth, In the Gospel the Lord saith, Walk while ye have light: and by the Prophet, In an acceptable time have I heard thee: which the Apostle Paul expoundeth, saying, Behold now is the acceptable time, now is the day of salvation: Solomon also saith, Whatsoever thy hand can do, do it instantlie; because there is neither work, nor reason, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave [he hath it, *apud inferos*] whither thou goest: David also saith, His mercie endureth forever; out of which sayings it is certain, that in what condition everie man departeth, in the same shall he be represented in judgement. But yet for some light faults, a purging fire may be believed to be before judgement: because truth saith, If any speak blasphemie against the holie Spirit, it shall not be forgiven unto him in this life, nor in the life to come. In which saying, it is given to understand, that some faults may be forgiven in this life, and some in the life to come; for what is denied of one, it follows consequentlie, that it is granted of some. But (as I said) it is to be believed of little and very small sins, as all idle words continuallie, &c. Thus unto Augustin's question, *Whether it be?* Gregorie answereth, *It is to be believed:* and that he gathereth out of one negative, and contrarie unto the affirmative, that he had confirmed by several sentences of Scripture. And concerning the Text in *1 Cor. 3.* he adds there, Although this may be understood of the fire of tribulation in this life; yet if one will take it of the fire of the future purging, it may be diligentlie considered. In the following chapter, he sheweth his motive, to think so: But first consider, that the Doctrine of the Church before him was, that the dead doth not appear; as Chrysostom to *1. de Laz. con. 4.* saith, If souls did return to shew men what were done after this life, Satan might verie easilie deceive the World; for as when God sent Prophets, Satan sent false Prophets; when Christ came, Satan sent false Christs; when the Apostles were sent, he sent false Apostles, still mixing tares with wheat: so if God did send the dead back into the World, most easilie might Satan counterfeit that also; not raising dead men, but by deceiving the eyes with false enchantments; or by suborning some men, to feign themselves dead, or to say they have been dead, and so he might confound all things. But the all-knowing God hath prevented this falshood; and he sparing us, suffereth none to come from the dead, to tell the living what things are done there; to the end, we should learn and believe the Scriptures. But now Pope Gregorie saith, he was induced to think that there is a purging fire after death; because the soul of Paschasius (a Deacon of Rome, in the contention betwixt Laurentius and Symmachus) had appeared before Germanus, Bishop of Capua (as he heard it said, when he was young) in a bathe, and did service unto him; and when the Bishop asked him, Why he was there? he answered, For no other cause am I appointed to this place of punishment, but because I was on the side of Laurentius against Symmachus: but I beseech you, pray the Lord for me; and by this you shall know that he hath heard you, if when you return hither, you shall not find me. The Bishop did so, and after a few daies returning, he found not Paschasius in that place. Thus we see what was Pope Gregorie's opinion of Purgatorie, and what were his grounds and motives, *Bellarmin. de purg.*

The beginning
of indul-
gence.

Prayer for
the dead.

Purg. lib. 1. cap. 7. promisseth to prove Purgatorie by more apparitions, from testimonies of most grave Authours; but he cannot alledge one before this Gregory; who (as I said before from *Mel. Canus*) was too credulous. In a word, as *Roffensis* hath well observed, and ingeniously confesseth, in *Respons. contra Luther. art. 18.* and *Pol. Verg. de invent. rer. lib. 6. cap. 1.* repeats it, Little or no mention of purgation is amongst the ancients, and the Greeks, untill this day, believe it not; so long as there was no fear of Purgatorie, none sought indulgences; for upon it depends all esteem of indulgences; take away Purgatorie, and what need is there of indulgence? say they. Nor was it universally believed in the Latine Churches, nor was it reckoned an article of faith, till it was established by the Councel at Florence, *an. 1439.* where the Greeks did oppose it, till they were hasting to an end; and then they would not strive against the word, but would never believe the thing.

4. About the same time, another question like unto the former, began to decline from worse to worse; to wit, Whether it be lawfull to pray for the dead? We read of the practice and divers opinions of the Ancients, but some of them bring no confirmation of their opinions from Scripture; and their diverse opinions were, according as they thought, diversly of the condition of departed souls; all did consider the souls either in the estate of salvation or damnation. Some Greeks did believe the souls of the Elect, to be without the Court of Heaven in a place of rest, as they call it. So saith Chrysostom on *1 Cor. hom. 39.* What saiest thou Paul, shall not the souls live? yea, and shall be immortal; but although they were six hundred times immortal, yet without the flesh, they shall not enjoy these wonderous good things, neither shall they be punished with pain; for if the bodie rise not, the soul shall remain uncrowned, and without the blefs of Heaven. And before him, *Irenaus lib. 5.* near the end saith, Seeing the Lord went away in the midst of the shadow of death, where the souls of the dead were; and thereafter he arose again bodily, and after his resurrection was taken up; it is manifest that the souls of his Disciples, for whom the Lord did these things, shall go into an invisible place appointed of God for them, and there they shall abide awaiting the Resurrection; and thereafter when they have received their bodies, and are perfectly risen, that is, corporally, they shall come into the presence of God. Unto them may be adjoined Theophylact, though he lived in another age, on *Hebr. 11.* near the end, he saith, Without us, that is, without our honour and glorie; for lest they might seem to take that which belongeth unto us, he hath appointed one time for crowning all men: neither saith the Apostle, they shall not be crowned, but they shall not be perfected, that is, receive perfection; whereby it appears, that then they are perfected, when they receive their Crowns; and in the mean time, they have a most sure pledge of their honour and glorie. Doth not God wrong them, seeing they have been first in suffering, that they must await us? but such delay is very acceptable unto them, that they may with their brethren receive perfection and glorie: we are all one bodie, and surely it is great pleasure unto the bodie, when it is wholly crowned, &c. The same is the Doctrine of the Greek Churches at this day; as I learned from Antonius, who had famous attestations, calling him Metropolitan of Dirrachium, when he was in Scotland, *an. 1626.* But many of the ancient Greeks thought otherwise; for Polycarpus, a Disciple of the Apostles, and placed Bishop of Smyrna, by them who saw the Lord, in an Epistle unto the Philippians saith, Paul with the rest of the Apostles being perswaded for certain, that all these ran not in vain; but in faith and righteousness, now resting with the Lord. *Euseb. hist. lib. 3. cap. 36.* according to the Greek, and 32. in English. *Iustin. Martyr lib. Quæst. & resp.*

ad

ad orthod. qu. 75. After the departure of the souls out of the bodies, immediately the just, are separated from the unjust, and are carried by Angels, where they enjoy the companie and sight of Angels and Arch-angels, by seeing our Saviour himself, as it is said, We are from or without the bodie, and are present with the Lord. But the souls of the unjust go into Hell. Athanasius *lib. de Virginit.* near the end. There is no death unto the righteous; but a translation; for they are translated out of this World into everlasting rest, not otherwise than if one were going from his Watch; so the Saints depart from this evil life, unto the good things that are prepared for them, which the eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath heard, nor have entred into the heart of man, which God hath prepared for them that love him: on the other side, Hell waiteth for the sinners. And Cyrillus, Bishop of Alexandria, on *Ioh. lib. 12. cap. 36.* We should believe, when the souls of Saints depart out of the bodies, they are commended unto God's goodness, as into the hands of a most dear Father; neither do they abide on earth (as some Unbelievers have thought) untill they be honoured with burial; nor are they carried as the souls of sinners, into the place of torment; another way being prepared for them by Christ; but they flie into the hands of the Father: for He also delivered his soul into the hands of the Father; to the end, that beginning at it, and by it, we might have certain hope of this: believing firmly, that after death we shall be in the hands of God, and live a far better life, and for ever with Christ: therefore Paul did wish to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. They of the Latine Churches, were of this faith, as is manifest out of many parts of Cyprian; especially *lib. de mortalit.* he saith, We should not put on black cloaths for them, who have now received white robes; nor should we give occasions to check us, as if we mourn for them as lost and gone, whom we say, that they are living with God. And near the end he saith, Who being abroad will not hasten to return into his native soil? Who desiring to sail home, doth not earnestlie wish a fair wind, that he may quicklie embrace his dear friends? We call Paradiſe our native Countrey, and have begun to call the Patriarchs our Parents: why then do we not hasten and run, that we may see our native soil, and greet our Parents? A great companie of friends do expect us: how sweet is the great pleasure of the heavenlie Kingdoms, without fear of dying, and with eternitie of living? how great and perpetual is that felicitie? there is the glorious Queer of the Apostles; there is a number of rejoicing Prophets; there is an innumerable multitude of Martyrs, that are crowned after their warring and suffering; there are ----- who having kept the Lord's commandments, have translated their earthly Patrimonies, into the heavenlie Treasures. Beloved brethren, let us with all earnestness hasten, that we may be speedilie with them, and let us wish that we may come soon unto Christ: Bellarm. *lib. 1. de Sanctior. beat. cap. 5.* declareth the same of the Fathers generally, excepting only some few, who did believe otherwise; as Lactantius did believe, that all souls both of good and reprobate, did remain in one place till the day of resurrection, *Instit. lib. 7. cap. 21.* Augustine in *Ench. ad Laur. cap. 68 & 69.* hath that opinion that I have mentioned lately. But in *Ioh. tract. 49.* he saith, All souls departing this life have not the same mansions; the good have joy, and the wicked have torments. And on *Pf. 116.* he saith, All the just, all the holy men, behold in the face of God, that which is written unto us. Now to return unto the prayers and oblations for the dead, Augustine in *Ser. 32. de verb. Apost.* saith, This is the tradition of the Fathers, and observed by the whole Church, that when the defunct are mentioned at the sacrifice; we should pray for them who have departed in the Communion of the Bodie and Blood of Christ; and that it should be told, that it is offered for them. It is

without doubt, that these things are available unto the defunct; but such as have lived so before their death, that they may profit them after death: But they who have gone out of their bodies without faith, which worketh by love, such duties of holiness are bestowed on them in vain; seeing while they were here, they received no grace, or received it in vain; and did treasure unto themselves no mercie, but wrath. And *Confess. lib. 9. cap. 3.* he praith for his mother Monica, and addeth, Lord, I believe that thou hast done what I crave; yet approve the voluntaries of my mouth, for she did crave to be remembered at thy Altar. Bellarmine faith, that the Church was wont to pray, on the Feast daies, for particular Saints; as on the Feast of Leo, they said, We beseech thee, Lord, grant that this oblation may be helpfull unto saint Leo: But (saith he) this sentence is now changed. And Ambrose did pray for the soul of Theodosius, but as they who did so pray, do never bring any warrant from Scripture for it; so neither can they tell whatto make of such prayers. Epiphanius *contra Aeri. haer. 75.* saith, These prayers and oblations were at first instituted, partly as Thanksgivings unto God, to glorifie him in his servants; partly in commendation of their praises, who sleep in the Lord; partly that others might thereby be moved to the imitation of their godliness; and partly to shew publickly the faith, hope, charitie and love of the living; their faith (saith he) because albeit these were departed, yet the living believe, they are enjoying a blessed life; hope, because they are awaiting the same; their charitie, because they retain a sweet remembrance of the departed; and their esteem, because they judge them who are departed in the fear of the Lord, howbeit in a blessed estate; yet to be inferiour unto Christ, seeing they praied unto him for them. So far he. Augustine in the fore-named Sermon saith, It is not to be doubted that the dead are helped by the prayers of the holy Church, and sacrifices and alms that is given for their souls; that the Lord would deal more mercifully with them, than their sins have deserved. Where Cyprian in 34. Epistle, saith, We offer sacrifices continually for them: Pamelius expounds it not to be otherwise, then in remembrance of them; and he proves this out of the Canon of the Mass presently in use: and out of Augustine in *1ob. tract. 84.* where he saith, The Martyrs we remember at the Table, not to as we remember others who rest in peace, to pray for them also; but rather that they would pray for us, that we may cleave unto their steps. This washing excuse doth add more guilt, as followeth. *Bellarmin. de Purgat. lib. 1. cap. 18.* saith, Their prayers were thanksgivings to God for their glorie; or petitioneth not that their Saints might be augmented in glorie, but that their glorie might be augmented with us; or that their glorie might be more known unto the world; or they were petitions for some accidental glorie of their bodie at the resurrection. And whereas it is commonly said, He doth wrong unto a Martyr, who prayeth for a Martyr: Bellarmine saith, it is to be meant of them only, who pray for remission of their sins, or for essential glorie unto a Martyr, which is not lawfull, saith he. Thus we see, they are contrarie one to another concerning prayers for them who are in blessedness; and albeit Augustine calleth it a tradition of the Fathers, and saith that it was observed by the whole Church; yet none of them can shew that it is a Tradition, or that it was observed by the Church, in the time of the Prophets or Apostles, nor some hundred years after them. As for the souls damned in Hell, Epiphanius *loc. cit.* saith, We remember sinners, and seek mercie for them, and our praiers are helpfull unto them, although they take not away all the blot. Chrysostom, *homil. 22. ad pop. Antioch.* saith, Read the Scriptures of our Saviour, and learn, for none can help us when we depart hence into that place; a brother cannot redeem a brother out of those endless torments; nor one friend another; nor the Pa-

rents their children; nor the children their Parents. But you will say, where is the proof of that? Behold him who was thrust out from the marriage, and none interceding for him; consider the five Virgins that were excluded, and their neighbours not praying for them, and Christ calling them fools. Ye have heard, how that the rich man had no pitie on Lazarus; and when he was tormented, he craved a drop of water, and how Abraham could not ease his torment: and on 1 *Cor.* 16. *hom.* 41. he biddeth rejoyce, that the sins of the wicked, are by their death come to an end, lest their punishment were increased; yet, saith he, strive so far as ye can to help them, not with tears, but with prayers, supplications, alms and oblations. So is he contrarie to himself, and which is especially to be marked; in the first place he gives reasons of his doctrine, and none for his exhortation; save only, that Job offered sacrifice for his children: But we find not, that Job offered for them when they were dead, but while they were alive in their bodies. Likewise Augustine (a little before) said, that duties of pietie are bestowed on such in vain: but in *Enchir.* cap. 68. he saith, prayers for the damned, if they be no ease unto the dead, yet they are comfortable to the living; but he shews not what manner of comfort. Pope Gregorie the I. prayed for the soul of Trajan, an heathen Emperour: and Bellarmine *loc. cit.* saith, this was an ungodly praier, unless we will hold, that it was a particular motion of the spirit. So he will neither approve, nor condemn the Pope, but he condemneth the like praier. But Augustine had a by-way of his own, concerning a third sort of souls, that were not reprobates, and yet in pain; he had been a Platonick, and retains so much of the Etilian fields, and thought that praiers for such souls, is a propitiation to God for their relief, as followeth. But after the 600. year, this opinion was received by many; especially by the authoritie of Pope Gregorie the I. that praiers and oblations should be offered for the dead; to the end, their torments in Purgatorie may be eased or ceased. Now if we compare the practice of the Fathers in the preceding 400. years, with the opinion of Gregorie, and of the Roman Church after him, we find that both sorts praied for the dead, but with great difference. The Greeks thought that the elect souls were not in Heaven (yet, or any of them in pain) and therefore they would pray for increase of their blessedness; but the Latines believe they are all in Heaven, and gave thanks for them; and praied for the increase of their glorie, by the resurrection of their bodies, and so forth, as is said (except only Augustine, who thought that some of the elect may be in torment.) And of them Fra. Junius, in his Notes on Bellarm. *de Purgat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. observeth, That the former ages sought only an increase of good things; but the latter ages do pray for relief or ease of torments: the first opinion (saith he) is tolerable, and the other is contrarie unto veritie, and to the vertue of Christ's death: For as Augustine *de verb. dom. ser.* 37. saith, In thy two evils, one is a fault, and the other is punishment; the fault is, thou art unjust; and the punishment is, thou art mortal: But he [Christ Jesus] that he might be thy neighbour, took on him thy punishment, but not thy fault; and if he took it, he took it to abolish, and not to commit it; and by taking on him the punishment, and not the fault, he hath abolished both the fault and punishment. And *de temp. ser.* 66. Now is the time of forgiveness, to them who repent; but the time of vindication, to them who have neglected to confess their sins. But after this age arose another difference; for Pope Innocentius the III. being asked, what his judgment was in this matter? he answered, Some be verie good, they need no prayer of the living; some are verie bad, they cannot be helped; some are mid-way good, to them prayers are profitable for expiration; and some are mid-way bad, to them prayers are profitable for propitiation, Bellarm. *de Purg. lib.* 2. c. 18.

will not approve this judgement of his ghostly father; he gives assent unto the first three parts of that distinction, and he makes a gloss on the last part, saying, I suspect that Innocentius hath forgot himself; when he thinks that Augustin's division hath four parts, which hath only three; for they who are mid-way good, are the same who are mid-way bad. And in the beginning of that 4. chapter, he saith, It is certain, the prayers of the Church are profitable neither unto the blessed, nor the damned; but onlie unto them who are in Purgatorie. Augustin's division is in *Enchir. cap. 110*. Prayers avail not unto all who are departed; and why not, but for the difference of life, which everie one hath made in the bodie? Therefore when the sacrifices of the Altar, or of Alms, are offered for all them who were baptized, and are defunct; for the verie good, they are thanksgivings; for the not verie bad, they are propitiations; for the verie bad, although they do not help the dead, yet they are comfortable to the living: but to whom they avail, they avail to this end, either that there may be a full remission; or that their damnation may be the more tolerable; and because we know not what is their estate, we should pray alike for all, that our benefit may be superfluous rather then deficient. To conclude this point, seeing praier for the dead, as it was used in the second age of the Church, is now condemned by the Romish Church; and such prayers as are now used in the Romish Church, are a branch of the opinion of Purgatorie (which the Ancients knew not) their prayers now for the dead are but a noveltie; and (as we may say) a plant of that third age, and unknown unto the Church of Rome in this seventh Centurie: For in the Synod at Toledo, *an. 627*. (when were assembled 62. Bishops) it was ordained that the dead should be conveyed to the graves, with the voices of men singing Psalms, onlie in hope of the resurrection; they forbid all mourning, and they will have no word of prayers for them; which they would not have omitted in such a place, if they had thought upon any necessity or utilitie thereof. *Conc. Toleta. 3. cap. 22*. But the Romanists say, These oblations are comfortable to the living. It is true, the Priests and Monks receive no small gain for them; but the other people are handsomlie cheated.

Prayer unto
the dead,

5. A third question of this age and nature is, Whether living Christians may lawfullie pray unto the departed Saints? The Council at Trent hath discerned, That they think wickedlie, who denie that Saints should be invocated, *Sess. 25. cap. 2*. Therefore it ought to be inquired, when, and how this honour was given unto the Saints? Here we may borrow some help from the Jesuits. Salmeron on *1 Tim. 2. disp. 8*. answereth, it was not the custom of the Old-Testament, nor was so great honour due unto them. *Ibid. disp. 2*. Nothing is found of this matter in the Epistles of Paul, or Canonical or Catholick books of others. But possible somewhat hereof is found in the Evangelists or Revelation. No, saith he, *Ibid. disp. 7*. It is not expressed under the New-Testament in the Scriptures, but by tradition; for in the primitive Church it had been hard to command such a thing unto the Jews; and occasion had been given to the Gentiles, to think, that instead of manie Gods whom they had left, they had received manie other Gods: yet, saith he, without doubt the Apostles delivered this Doctrine unto the Churches. But he telleth not, unto what Churches, whether Jews or Gentils, or if there be a third. *Bellarmin. de beat. Sanct. lib. 1. cap. 19*. saith, Before the coming of Christ, the Saints entered not into Heaven; neither saw they God, nor ordinarilie could they know the prayers of them, who did invoke them: therefore it was not the custom of the Old-Testament, to say, Holie Abraham, pray for me: but the men of these times praied onlie unto God. I will not quarrell with him, that some of his words seem contrarie. *Io. Eckius in Enchir. loco. comm.* saith more, The in-

invocation of Saints was not commanded in the Gospel, lest the converted Gentiles would believe, that according to their former custom, they should worship the Saints not as Patrons, but as Gods; as the Lycaonians would have sacrificed unto Paul and Barnabas; and if the Apostles and Evangelists, had taught that Saints should be worshipped, it might have been judged their arrogancie, as if they had craved such glorie after their death: Wherefore the holy Spirit would, not by expresse Scriptures, teach the invocation of Saints. We see then by the testimonie of Papists, that praier to the departed Saints, hath no warrant in Scripture, but is grounded on tradition onlie. If this tradition was first revealed by the Apostles, how was the scandal of Jews and Gentiles taken away by the tradition? If it were concealed, induring the more general conversion of the Jews and Gentiles, then it was not in use for a long time in the Church; whereunto the practice of the Reformed Church is agreeable. How began it then? Eusebius *hist. lib. 4. cap. 15.* hath a large Epistle of the Church of Smirna, concerning the martyrdom of Polycarpus, neer the end they say, The envious and malicious enemie of just men, seeing the glorie of this Martyr so great, procured that his bodie should perish from among us; for there were manie that indeavoured, and fully purposed, to have been partakers of his blessed bodie by burial: many pricked forwards Nicetes, the father of Herod, and his brother Dalces, to move the Proconsul, not to deliver unto the Christians his bodie; lest that (say they) they leaving Christ, fall to worship him: This they said, when the Jews egged and urged them forward, which continuallie watched us, lest we snatched him out of the fire; being ignorant of this, that we cannot forsake Christ, ἡ ὑμεῖς πάντες ὁσμοὶ τῷ ὡζομένην ζωῆς παύσαντα [the Translator omitteth τῷ ὡζομένην, and should have translated thus] who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of them who are saved, that we can worship none other; for we worship Christ as the Son of God; the Martyrs we love as his Disciples, and followers of the Lord, and that worthilie for their invincible good love they bear to their King, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶμεν ὡς ἑαυτοὺς, that is, and we wish, we may be their companions, or communicate with them. Out of this Epistle we see, Christians did worship Christ, and could not worship any other man. Origenes *contra Celsum lib. 5.* holdeth, that Saints that are in blessedness, do pray for the Church on earth; yet (saith he) we pray not unto them, for God willeth it not; and he refuteth the similitude taken from the example of Kings Courtiers. Cyprian, unto Cornelius Bishop of Rome, saith, If any of us two depart before the other, by the mercies of God, let our love continue, and let not our praier cease with God, and the mercie of the Father, for our brethren and sisters. But in Cyprian, was no praier unto Cornelius when he was dead, nor to any other that was defunct: nevertheless, this opinion of Cyprian, made way unto the invocation of Saints afterwards. Georgius Trapezuntius, the Translatour of Eusebius, once made me believe, that Eusebius, and the Church in his time, did worship the Saints: for in *lib. 13. de prepar. Evang. cap. 7.* he translateth thus, We honour all those who have lived well, howsoever they died; we do this dailie, honouring the servants of true godlines, as the friends of God; we go also unto their graves, and make praier unto them, as to holie men; by whose intercession we hope to be helped with God: but the original words are, τὰς εὐχὰς πρὸς θεὸν ποιῶμεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς μακαρίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς, that is, we pray besides their graves, and honour their blessed souls. Where Eusebius hath nothing for praier to Saints: and in *lib. 4. cap. 5.* he saith, We are taught to worship religiousie God onlie; and *cap. 10.* he saith, Worshipping him onlie, adoring him onlie; in these places, Trapezuntius hath omitted the particie onlie. The

first Authours of any note, whom the worshippers of Saints can alledge true, were about *an.* 370. for then some, as Basilus, Nissen and Nazianzen, did pour forth prayers unto the Saints; but with this addition, *ἐς πρὸς αἰδομένης*, and *ἐν δὲ πρὸς ἐμῇ καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρῳ ἐστὶ λόγος*, that is, if you have any feeling, and if thou hast any regard of me and mine. And at the same time, sundrie other Fathers did not onlie abstain from, but did impugn this novation. Chrysostom in *Pf.* 4. saith, At all time thou maiest pray unto God, neither needest Porters to bring thee in, nor Prædictors nor friends; but when thou comest by thy self, then especially doth he hear thee: we do not so well please him, when we request by others, as we may by our selves; for when he awaits our love, he doth all things that may make us trust in him; for when he seeth that we come by our selves, he granteth most, &c. Epiphanius condemneth this errour in the Collyridians and the Antidicomarionites. It were long to recite particular Authours, we have their testimonies being assembled in Councils, at the Council of Laodicea in Syria *an.* 368. in *cap.* 35. the worship of Angels and Saints is forbidden, as idolatry and forsaking of Christ: Caranza in translating, hath put *angulos* for Angels: But Theodoret on the Epistle to Coloss. *cap.* 30. saith expressly, the Laodiceans, in that Synod, forbid the worshipping of Angels. And the third Council at Carthage *cap.* 23. saith, When it is stood at the Altar, let prayers be alwaies made unto God. And in that which is called the fourth Council at Carthage, *cap.* 14. Altars are commanded to be cast down, that were erected to the memorie of Martyrs, under the pretence of their apparitions: and the furiousness of the people is hinted at in that place, when they add, If it may be done; but if it be not permitted by the tumults of the people, let the people be admonished that they haunt not those places. Whence it is clear, that the Fathers were forced to tolerate some things that they could not amend. But what need I to bring the orthodox against these doubting Fathers? seeing even they do (upon other occasions) condemn that practice. Basilus in *Moral. reg.* 80. *cap.* 22. saith, Seeing whatsoever is without the Scriptures, is not of faith, it is sin: and Nazianzen in *Orat. in Basil.* saith, Seeing I am a creature, I cannot adore any creature; and although Ambrose called unto his brother Satyrus for help, yet in all that Oration, he speaketh but passionately and rhetorically; as appeareth clearly, by these (and other) words, Give me leave, and permit unto my sorrow, that I may speak a little more largely of him, with whom now I may not speak. But behold what he saith without passion, *de fide ad Gratian. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. Paul forbiddeth me to serve any creature, but commandeth me to serve Christ; Christ therefore is not a creature; the good servant, who acknowledgeth the Lord, even he forbiddeth us to serve a creature: how then would he have served Christ the Lord, if he had thought that Christ was but a creature? And in *comm. in Rom. cap.* 1. saith, They being confounded with shame do use a miserable excuse, saying, they go unto God by creatures, as we are wont to go unto a King by his Courtiers. When he calleth this a miserable excuse: he declares, that the practice did not please him; but he continueth refuting that excuse, saying, We go unto a King by his Courtiers, because he is a man, and knoweth not to whom he may concredit the Common-Wealth; but to procure Gods favour (who surely knows all our works, and nothing is hid from him) we need not any Intercessour, but only a devote mind. Bellarm. *de Sanctor. beat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 20. replieth, The first part of these words is to be understood of them, who give the proper honour of God unto the Saints; and the last part meaneth, God hath no need of information, but we have need, saith he. This is (to use the words of Ambrose) a miserable excuse; for he speaks of our need of an Intercessour, and

hesaith, We need not an Intercessour, but a devote mind; because God is not ignorant, who comes unto him; as a King knoweth not, till he be informed by his Courtiers. Here it is to be observed, that Ambrose speaks there against the Heathens, who would have excused their idolatrie; but his words serve no less against all prayers unto any meer creature. Another great preparative to the invocation of Saints, was made by sundrie solemnities, which may be thought to have been done in no ill mind, but with a bad success; as the building of Churches, and keeping of daies in remembrance of particular Saints, whereupon followed the nomination of Mercates, &c. When such things began, some Fathers did not perceive what inconveniences were following (for some were bickering against the heresies, concerning the Trinitie and person of Christ; some against the Pelagians, and some were not so zealous; others did rejoice that the Heathens could be turned from gentilism) and others foresaw the danger, but saw the people so headstrong in their presumptions, that they durst not freely rebuke the people, for eschewing the offence of some good persons, and of some who were turbulent; as Augustine confesseth of himself in *Ep. 119. ad Ianuar.* Untill the daies of Gregorie no such thing was found in the Liturgies, but only remembrance of the Saints names; and men prayed only unto God, that he would give them grace to follow their examples; and when the form of Gregorie began, the invocation was not yet brought into the Liturgie; in his works are found (and very rarely) proper to Saints, but not any one to the Virgin Maria; which we may think, he would not have omitted, if he had believed, that she is a Saviorefs or a Mediatrix. But after him are few found, who speak against the invocation of Saints; in so far, that *an. 755.* in a Synod at Constantinople, it was confirmed by authoritie of a Canon, even by them who at the same time condemned the worship of images; and yet the invocation that was allowed then, was but a blot, in respect of the impietie whereinto the Church of Rome did thereafter degenerate. For they say not, Pray for us, if you have sence of our miseries: but sometimes they direct their prayers unto the Saints, that they help them in their miseries, and grant their petitions; as to the Virgin Marie they say, Marie mother of grace, mother of mercie, defend us from the enemy, and accept us in the hour of death; *Offic. beat. Mariae pag. 54.* which was allowed by Pope Pius the V. *an. 1571.* and *ib. fol. 226.* in the hymn of the Apostles they say, Ye unto whose commandment the health and sickness of all men is subject, heal the sick in manners, and restore vertue unto us. Sometimes they pray unto God to hear them for the merits of the Saints, as *ib. fol. 38.* Let the Lord grant us salvation and peace, for the Virgin mothers sake; and *fol. 46.* O Lord, protect thy people who trust in the patrocinie of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and of other thy Apostles; preserve us continually, we beseech thee, O Lord, let all thy Saints help us everie where, that when we think on their mercies, we may find their patrocinie. And *fol. 228. in Natal. S. Martyris, nec virginis, nec martyris,* O most gracious God, for her sake forgive us our sins, and spare our iniquities: hereafter we will find more such blasphemous prayers. Thirdly, in imitation of the old Heathens, they divide the government of things below unto several Saints: the Patron of Spain, is Saint James; of France, Saint Dennis; of Germanie, Saint Martine; of England, Saint George: Towns have their particular Patrons, Rome hath Saint Peter, Venice hath Saint Mark, &c. yea Janus hath given the keys of Heaven unto Peter; Jupiter Pluvius hath given the Rain unto Genivieve; instead of Æolus, Seamen call upon Saint Nicolas; Ceres hath given over the Corns unto John and Paul; Esculapius gives Medicine unto Saint Cosm; Bacchus the Vines unto Saint Urban; Mercurius the Oxen to Pelagius, and a thousand more such toies they

have. And as if all this were not abomination enough, they give the same worship unto the Creatour and creature: Bellarmine in the end of his Books, saith, Praise to God, and to the Virgin Marie; and in the end of the Book, *de cultu Sanctior*. Printed *Lugduni an.* 1596. Praise to God, and to the Virgin-mother Marie; and also to God Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, be praise and glorie; where he preferreth the Virgin before Christ. So doth Gregorie Valentia, in the end of his Book *de Missa*, and *de Purgator*. Praise to God, and to the blessed Virgin Marie, and to Jesus Christ. Viega is plain in his Comment on *Revel. 12. sect. 2. num. 31.* saying, She is set above the creatures; and whosoever boweth his knee to Jesus, doth also humble himself unto his mother: and I think (saith he) the glorie of the Son with the Mother, to be not so much common, as the verie same. These particulars are blasphemous without exception, so that I have seen an Edition of Bellarmine, where the above-named Doxologie is omitted. And before him Lud. Vives, in his Note on *August. de civ. Dei. lib. 3. cap. ult.* complaineth, saying, Many Christians do sin often in good things, that they do worship he-Gods and Goddeses; no otherwise than they do God; nor see I in many what difference is, betwixt their opinion concerning the Saints, and what the Heathens thought of their Gods. And *Pol. Verg. de invent. rer. lib. 6. cap. 23.* saith, The multitude have more trust in images, then they do in Christ; but if they trust so unto images, they will trust no less in Saints, whose images they are. These practices of the Romish Church, are clear unto all who are acquainted with their books, or who behold their fopperies in their Churches. So that Agrippa *de vanit. Scient. cap. 57.* after he hath related a great number of their tricks, he derideth their pretences; as if Jupiter had imparted his power unto the lesser Gods: and concludeth thus, he is superstitious and ungodly, who instead of miracles, turneth prodigious lies, as it were sporting fooleries, into a Historie; and gives them unto the simple people to be believed instead of Oracles; and they are fools who believe such tales. Hereby certainly he understandeth their *Legenda aurea*, or the History of the Saints Lives and Miracles, which are publickly read on the Feast-days.

The worship
of Images.

6. In this Centurie, the worshipping of Images came into question: but first see what the more ancient Christians thought thereof. Origenes *contra Cels. lib. 7.* saith, Christians and Jews, when they hear [the Law of God] Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven image, nor---not only refuse these Temples, Altars, and Images of Gods; but indeed, chuse rather to die. And then speaking of the Images of the true God, he saith, Neither do we regard images, for we frame no Image of God, because he is invisible and incorporeal. Lactantius *Instit. lib. 2. cap. 19.* saith, There can be no true religion, where there is an image. Epiphanius hath an Epistle unto John, Bishop of Jerusalem, which is translated by Hierom, and is extant in both their works; there he saith, I hear that some do grumble against me, because when I was going to the holy place called Bethel, and saw in the Village Anablatha a lamp burning, and having asked what place that was, I was informed that it was a Church; and going to pray, I found at the entrance a dyed and painted cloath, having the Image, as it were, of Christ or some Saint (for I remember not well, whose image it was; but I saw the image of a man) hanging in a Church of Christ, contrarie to the authority of Scripture; I did cut it, and did advise the keepers of the place to wrap a poor dead body in it: and they grumbling said, If he will tear it, he might have given another vail, and changed it: which when I heard, I did promise to send another shortly unto them. But now I pray you, command that no such vails, as are contrary to our religion, be hung hereafter in a Church of Christ; for it becomes your fatherhood

hood rather to have care of banishing such superstition, unfit for Christ's Church and the people concredited unto you. But from gathering many testimonies, *Pol. Verg. de invent. rer. lib. 2. cap. 23.* spareth our travel, saying, To the end the memory might be continued of the defunct, or of them who are severed in place (as none doubteth) were images devised; but seeing God is every where, nothing was thought more foolish from the beginning, than to represent him. Only I add that of the Council at Eliberis *cap. 36.* It pleaseth to forbid images in Churches, that it be not painted on walls, which is worshipped. This Council was held in the daies of Constantine the Great. Bellarmine *de imagin. Sanct. cap. 9.* bringeth many answers of his own sort, to clude this authoritie, and rejects them: amongst others, he reporteth the answer of Nic. Sanderus, That that Council forbad images for that present time; because then it was feared, the heathens might believe that we worship stocks and stones. This is a good answer, saith he, and yet he hath another, The Council forbad not images on Boards or Vails, but on Walls; because images on Walls are most spoiled. But the Fathers made no difference of the matter; for generally (as *Pol. Verg. de invent. rer. lib. 6. cap. 13.* saith) all the old Fathers almost [he might have truly omitted this, almost] did condemn the worship of images for fear of idolatry; then which, is no sin more execrable. Moles repeateth nothing so oft (as is manifest in Exodus and Leviticus) as that the people worship not any thing made with hands. And the Prophet saith, Let them be confounded who worship graven images, and glory in images. Then he addeth, how Serenus, Bishop of Marsilia, did not only take Images out of a Church, when he saw the people worship them, but broke them in pieces, and burned them. Observe, this takes away Bellarmine's answer, seeing he burned the Images, and not the Church Walls. And upon this occasion Pope Gregorie the I. writ unto him, *Ep. 119. lib. 7.* saying, Verily we commend thy zeal, that thou wouldest have no man to worship that which was made with hands; but we think, thou oughtest not to have broken those images; for the Pictures are set up in the Church, to this end, that the unlearned by seeing and beholding them, may at least behold on the Walls, what they cannot read in Books. Out of *Ep. 9. lib. 4.* it is clear, that Serenus did maintain both the breaking, and the worshipping of images; and therefore Gregory chideth him, as affecting singularity; and yet he addeth, If any man will make images, forbid him not; but by all means stop the worship of images. In this Epistle it appeareth, that at that time images were in many other Churches, and that in former times also; but only for ornament or for instructing the ignorant, as he saith. But certainly no image was in a Christian Church, before the Emperour Constantine's time; and after that, many did oppose them altogether; and they who had them, did pretend historical use, but with a bad success: for Gregory *lib. 7. Ep. 53.* professeth that he did prostrate himself before the image of Christ; and from worship at the image, is the ready way to worship the image; as *Pol. Vergil.* complaineth in the fore-named place, The first establishing of images, saith he, was in the daies of Pope Agatho; and it were to be wished, that Priests would instruct their people more diligently, how they should regard images; which because they do not, and it is commonly thought, that they are silent for their own commodity; therefore men are come to this madness, that this part of pietie differeth little from impietie; for almost all the rude and ignorant people worship the images of stone, or wood, or bras, or painted on walls in sundry colours; not as signs, but as if they had sense; and they trust in them more than in Christ or the Saints, to which they are dedicated: whence it is, that they add foolishness to foolishness, and they offer unto them gold, silver, rings: which

error hath so waxed, that we think, Religion consisteth in riches, &c. The same saith Agrippa, *de vanit. scient. cap. 57.* where having spoken of images amongst the Heathens, he subjoineth, Which corrupt custome and false religion of the Heathens, after they were brought to the faith of Christ, did infect our religion also, and brought images and statues into our Churches; whereas there was no such thing amongst the primitive and true Christians: neither can it be told how great superstition, I will not say idolatry, is fostered amongst the rude people; and the Priests wink at these things, because they do reap no small gain thereby. We should learn not from the forbidden books of images; but from the Word of God, the book of Scriptures: he who will know God, should not seek knowledge from images or statues; but let him search the Scriptures, which testify of him; and Christ saith, My sheep hear my voice. And then Agrippa, as fearing to be censured for his boldness, makes some shew of recanting; but anon falleth afresh to it, saying, Covetous Priests and greedy men, seeking matter of their avarice not by wood and stones only, but by the bones of the dead also, and reliques of Martyrs, have found means of covetousness; they open the graves of the Confessours; they take out the reliques of Saints, and do sell a touch or a kiss of them; they busk up their images, and adorn their feasts with great pomp; they call them Saints, and proclaim their praises, whose life they will not follow, &c. And to the end we may see the worship of images, is not the error of the ignorant only. *Thomas Aquin. in Sum. pag. 3. quest. 25. arg. 3.* saith, The same reverence should be given to the Image of Christ, which is given to Christ himself.

Of Reliques. 7. Concerning what Agrippa speaks of the reliques of the Saints in his time, it is observable, how Gregory the 1. writ unto the Empress Constantia, *lib. 3. Ep. 30.* The Majesty of your piety, who are famous for study of religion, and love of holiness, hath commanded, that I should send the head of Saint Paul, or some part of his body, for that Church which is builded in the Palace, to the honour of the same Saint Paul, the Apostle: and while I was desirous that these things might be commanded unto me, in which I giving most ready obedience, might have the more abundantly provoked your favour toward me, the greater sadness hath overtaken me; because you command that which I neither can, nor dare do. And he addeth examples of some, who had attempted to remove the bodies of some Saints, and were smitten with sudden death; and others were affrighted and dispersed with the fear of Thunder; and therefore he saith, Let my most gracious Lady know, that it is not the custom of the Romans, when they give the reliques of Saints, that they presume to touch any part of the body; but only a band is sent in a box, and that is layed by the holy bodies of the Saints; and that is taken up again, and sent unto the Church which is to be dedicated. Whether these examples be true or not, believe Gregory they who will. But if other stories can be believed, many bodies of Martyrs, and Confessours, were carried from place to place, before his time and after it, and in many places of the earth. Nor can it be denied, that the removing of their bodies, which in the fury of persecution had been buried in obscure corners, was commendable; if restless minds had not turned charitable offices into excessive superstition. And sundry Ancients do record, that miracles were wrought in these places, where they were buried, as Augustine *de civit. Dei lib. 22. cap. 8.* and Chrysostom in his Book against the Heathens. And no less certain is it, That Satan took occasion upon their esteem they had of dead bodies, to deceive many, and that many waies. Augustine in *Confess. lib. 6. cap. 2.* sheweth, how his mother Monica, when she came to Millain, would have brought her portage, bread

bread and wine into the Churches [or, as he calleth them, Memorials] of the Saints, as was the custom of Affrica; the door-keeper did hinder her, because the Bishop of the place had forbidden it; and he did admire, how his mother, so soon, did rather condemn her former custom, than call into question the countermand; because the custom was like unto the superstition of the Gentiles. Jerom *to. 2. Ep. 2.* against Vigilantius telleth, how he said, Why shouldest thou with so great honour, not only honour, but adore also, I know not what thou worshippest in a little vessel that thou carriest about? Why doest thou with adoring kisse dust covered in a cloath? we see a custom of the Heathens brought almost into the Church, under pretext of religion; that whilest the Sun shineth, heaps of wax-torches are kindled, and they kisse and adore every where a little, I know not what, dust in a small vessel covered with a precious cloath: These men give (forsooth!) great honour unto the most blest Martyrs, whom they think to make glorious by their silly Torches; when the Lamb, who is on the midst of the Throne, glorifieth them with the splendour of his Majesty. Jerom writeth very bitterly against Vigilantius for writing so, and denieth the fact, saying, O mad head! who ever did adore Martyrs? who thinketh man to be a God? &c. There he saith, Constantine had caused to transport the bodies of Andrew, Luke and Timothy to Constantinople; and the Emperour Arcadius, had brought the body of the Prophet Samuel from Judea unto Thracia; and some Bishops had transported other bodies, but none did adore the bodies. Hence appears his judgement, and the practice of the Churches where he did live, or which he knew; but it seems he knew not what was done where Vigilantius did live: of whom I add here the words of Erasmus, in the Argument before that Epistle, Vigilantius by nation a Gall, and Presbyter of the Church at Barcelona in Spain, writ that book, wherein he did teach, that Reliques of Martyrs should not be adored, neither should there be Vigiles at their graves; which at that time, was done in great religiousness; and so against this man falleth Jerom a scolding with reproaches, that I wish he had been more moderate: as for the night Vigiles they did not please the Church-men, as is clear enough, that by their authority they are taken away, the name only remaining; and of that custom is Affrica and other places. Augustine *de civit. Dei lib. 8. cap. ult.* saith, We do not erect Churches, Priesthoods, Holy things and Sacrifices unto the Martyrs; because not they, but their God is our God; we do honour the remembrance of them, as of the holy men of God, who have for the truth foughten unto the death of their bodies; to the end, the true religion may be known, all false and feigned religions being convinced. But what faithfull man ever heard a Priest, standing at an Altar, builded upon the holy body of a Martyr, for the honour and worship of God, say in his prayers, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian, I offer a sacrifice unto thee; when at the memory of them, it is offered unto God, who made them both Men and Martyrs; and hath joined them, with his Holy Angels, in heavenly honour; to the end, that by that solemnity we may both give thanks unto God for their victory; and by calling upon him for help, we may exhort our selves to the imitation of their Crowns and Palms, in the renewing of their remembrance? Therefore whatsoever obsequies of religiousness are performed in the places of Martyrs, are ornaments of their memorials, and not holy things or sacrifices of the dead as Gods: and whosoever bringeth meat thither, which truly is not done by the better Christians, and in most part of the earth is no such custom; nevertheless whosoever doth it, when they have layed it down, they pray, and take it away again, that they may eat it, or give a part thereof unto the indigent; they desire to have it hallowed there, by the merits of the Martyrs, in the name of the Lord of

Martyrs : That these are not sacrifices of the Martyrs, he knows, who knows this one thing, that the sacrifice of Christians is there offered unto God ; and so we worship not the Martyrs, neither with divine honours, nor with human crimes. So far he. On these last words, Lud. Vives hath this Annotation, concerning the practice of his own time, Many Christians do often sin in a good thing, that they worship [*divos, divasque*] their gods and goddesses, no otherwise than God himself; neither do I see in many, what difference is betwixt their opinion concerning the Saints, and that which the Heathens thought of their Gods : Impious was the opinion of Vigilantius, who deprived the Martyrs of all honour [if he did so :] Foolish was that of Eunomius, who would not enter into the Churches of Martyrs, lest he were compelled to adore the dead ; Martyrs are to be revered, and not adored as God, as Jerom writeth against Vigilantius. And in his next Annotation he saith, But now the fashion is, when religion is solemnized unto Christ, who delivered mankind by his death, to shew plaies unto the people, nothing differing from the old scenical plaies; although I say no more, he will think it fitly enough who shall hear it, sports are made of a most serious purpose : He continueth shewing their abominable sports. Hither may be referred another History in Chrysostom *to. 1.* in his book against the Heathens, The Apostate Emperour Julian, went to the Temple of Apollo at Daphne; and with great instance did ask a response, concerning a purpose intended by him : and it was answered, This place of Daphne is full of dead bodies, which hath averred the Oracle : whereupon Julian commandeth to take away the body of Babylas. There Chrysostom argueth against the Emperour, that Babylas were mightier then Julian's God. But the good man did not conceive the policy of the Devil, by subtilly instilling into the minds of imprudent men a superstitious fancy, concerning the reliques of the dead and their power, as Bellarmine *de cultu Sanctor. lib. 2. cap. 2.* would prove from the same example, that the reliques should be adored. And whereas he alledgeth, that the miracles that were done at the graves of the Martyrs, were done, to the end these reliques should be worshipped : Augustine *de civit. Dei lib. 22. cap. 9.* saith contrarily, Unto what faith did these miracles attest, save unto that, where Christ is preached to have risen in the flesh, and to have ascended into Heaven in the flesh? for even the Martyrs, were Martyrs, that is, witnesses of this faith; they giving testimony unto this faith, did indure the enmitie of the world and did overcome them, not by fighting, but by dying; for this faith they died, who may obtain these things from the Lord, for whose name they were killed; for this faith their wondrous patience hath gone before, that in these miracles so great power might follow; for if the resurrection of the flesh eternally, hath not gone before in Christ, or shall not be, as is fore-told by Christ; or was fore-told by the Prophets, who had also prophesied of Christ; why can the Martyrs do so great things, who were killed for that faith, by which the resurrection is preached? For whether God worketh by himself in a wondrous way, whereby the eternal worketh temporarie things, or if he doth those things by his servants; and the same things that he doth by his servants; whether he doth some of them by the spirits of the Martyrs, as by men that are as yet in the bodie; or all these by his Angels, whom he commandeth invisibly and without bodies; so that what things are said to be done by Martyrs, are done by them praying and obtaining, and not working; or whether these things be done some one way, and some another, which can no way be comprehended by mortals; nevertheless they give testimonie unto that faith, which preacheth the resurrection of the flesh for ever. So far he. Hence we see, that Augustine will not say definitively, that the miracles were done by the Saints; and that he holdeth, that they were for confirmation of

the faith which the Martyrs did believe and preach, and for no other faith. But most certain it is, not any Martyr did ever teach, or believe, that Saints or their reliques should be worshipped. Add the testimonie of Ge. Cassander in *Consult. art. 21*. We read (saith he) that of old they made vows, and undertook pilgrimages unto places, famous for the reliques of Martyrs; which then was profitable, while the memorie of the Martyrs was yet fresh and certain; and while God, by undoubted miracles, did shew that their souls do live, whose bodies were dead; thereby confirming the faith, which they did profess. But abuses did by little and little creep in, for Basil did complain that in his daies this custom was corrupt; and in the time of Augustine, the custom of bearing meat unto the graves of Martyrs, was forbidden by Ambrose; as is clear in Augustine *Confess. lib. 6. cap. 2.* and in latter times, too much hath been given to the reliques and memories of Saints, when wicked men began to put false confidence in foolish worship: which abuse is condemned by the Council at Cabilon, *Cap. 45.* and other corruptions were added; to wit, for gain, false reliques were daily suggested, and feigned miracles were reported; superstition was thereby fostered, and by illusion of the Diuel, new reliques were invented; which abuse is condemned by a Council at Lions; at this day the world seems to be full of reliques; so that it may be feared, that upon due examination most detestable impostures may be manifested, as in some places it is made manifest: as of old it hapned unto Saint Martine, who did find under the famous name of a Martyr, the monument not of a Martyr, but of a wicked Robber. Wherefore it seems good to abstain from all ostentation of reliques, and to stir up the people to reverence the true reliques; that is, to follow the examples of their godliness and vertues that are extant, written by them, or of them. Thus Cassander hath observed two corruptions, to wit, superstitious confidence in the worship of true reliques; and a sacrilegious forging of false reliques. But now the superstitious custom of Rome, is come to such height, that Jesuit Vasques is licentiated to send in publick, That the very worms may be worshipped with a good intention and sincere faith; as if the worms, consumers of the holy reliques, were filled with some vertue; yet not to be worshipped publickly. *Vasq. lib. 3. adorat. cap. 8. num. 114.* and *Bel-larm. li. cit. cap. 4.* saith, The reliques of Saints, to wit, their bones, ashes, cloaths, &c. are to be adored, although not with the same kind of adoration, as the spirits of the Saints, yet with more than human or civil worship; to wit, with religious supplication, kissing, circumgession, thurification, lighting of Tapers, &c.

8. In former times many were desirous to see Jerusalem, but others did dissuade them; as Jerom *to. 1. Ep. ad Paulin.* saith, It is laudable, not to have been in Jerusalem, but to have lived well in Jerusalem; for that Citie is to be sought, which killed not the Prophets, nor shed the blood of Christ; but which maketh the currents of the flood glad; which being on a mountain cannot be hid, which the Apostle calleth the mother of the Saints; in which he rejoiceth that he had freedom with the righteous. Neither in saying so, do I reprove my self of inconstancie, or condemn what I do; that I seem in vain, after the example of Abraham, to have forsaken my kindred and countrie; but I dare not inclose the omnipotencie of God in narrow bounds, and restrain him in a little part of the earth, whom the Heaven cannot comprehend: Every one of the believers are weighed, not according to the diversitie of places; but by excellencie of faith; and true worshippers do adore the Father, neither at Jerusalem, nor on mount Garizim; because God is a Spirit, and his worshippers must worship him in spirit and truth: the spirit bloweth where he pleaseth; the earth is the Lords; and the fulness thereof: since the Fleece of Ju-

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dea is dried up, and all the World is wet with the dew of Heaven; and many comming from the East and West are set down in the bosom of Abraham; God hath ceased to be known in Juda only, and his name to be great in Israel; but the sound of the Apostles hath gone thorow all the World, and their words unto the ends of the earth. Our Saviour, being in the Temple, said unto his Disciples, Arise, let us go hence; and unto the Jews, Your house shall be left desolate: seeing Heaven and Earth shall pass away, certainly all earthly things shall pass away; therefore the places of the Cross and Resurrection, are profitable unto them who bear their Cross; and they rise with Christ daily, who shew themselves of so great habitation. Moreover they say, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, let them hear from the Apostle, Ye are the Temple of the Lord, and the Holy Ghost dwelleth in you: both from Jerusalem, and from Brittan, is the gate of Heaven equally patent; Antonius and all the multitude of Monks of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Pontus, Cappadocia and Armenia have not seen Jerusalem, and without this Citie the gate of Paradise is patent unto them: Blessed Hilarion, although he was born and lived in Palestina, saw Jerusalem but one day only, that he might not seem to despise the holy places for their vicinitie, nor yet include the Lord in one place. You will say, Why go I so far off? To the end thou shouldest know, that nothing is deficient to thy faith, though thou hast not seen Jerusalem; and that thou think not us the better, that we enjoy the habitation of this place; but whether here, or there, thou shalt have alike reward according to thy works. Augustine also, in his book *de morib. eccl. cathol. cap. 34.* complaineth, that many did adore graves and pictures; and some did drink upon the dead, and luxuriously burie themselves upon the buried; which abuses the Church indeavoureth daily to amend. Agreeable unto this complaint, is that passage in Gregorie *lib. 9. Ep. 71.* Whereas the English were wont to sacrifice Oxen to their Gods, and on that day they did feast and make merrie: Gregorie adviseth Augustine, to turn that Divelish solemnitie into a feast of dedication, or birth-day of some Martyr; and then to kill the Oxen not to the Divel, but to praise God when they did eat; to the end, that the hard-hearted people be not discouraged, for want of a merrie day, to forsake their idolatrie; and because they who will climb high, must go by degrees. And *lib. 12. Ep. 31.* speaking of the English, he saith, according to the Apostle, who saith, I gave you milk to drink, and not strong food, I have yeilded now these things unto them; but not to be held, or continued, in after-times; lest the good which is lately planted, and yet but of a tender root, be pulled up; but rather being begun, may be strengthened and carried to more perfection: Truly, if those things that we have done, be otherwise then we should have done; know thou, that it was not done for the thing it self, but by commiseration. Whence it appears, that not only these feasts at the graves, but many other rites, came into the Church by condescending unto the rudeness of the Gentiles: and they who at first did indulge them, did not simply allow these rites; but would by degrees bring the people unto the Christian faith; and they would not have used them, if the rude people would have imbraced the puritie of God's worship. But afterwards, especially in the Western Churches, religion did consist, for the most part, in such rites; and if people would observe these, little care was to inform them in the faith. Then, as in the preceding 200. years, people had affection towards Jerusalem; so when the Bishop of Rome, was called the Universal Bishop, people forgot Jerusalem for a space, and looked towards Rome, and would go thither to confess their sins, as we will find more particularly; and yet even then many did reprove it, as followeth; for the present, I will add but one testimonie of Bernard in *Ep. 113. ad Lelbert. Abbat.*

Way was given unto rites for a time.

S. Michae, saying, This your son having forsaken, by my counsel, his peregrination, though he undertook it by your licence, hath returned; for when we knew that he had attempted it in levitie, and you had yeelded because of his importunitie; we reprov'd him sharply (as he was worthy) and perswaded him to return, repenting (so far as we could guess) of his levitie and improbitie, and promising amendment hereafter; we judging righteously, that howsoever one be guiltie, he should exerce repentance in his own Monasterie, rather then by going from Province to Province; for the purpose of Monks, is not to seek the earthly, but heavenly Jerusalem; and that not by walking on foot, but by amending in affections: thus Bernard. And when the worship of Saints and reliques was once received, it was easie for Priests to perswade pilgrimages unto this or that monument; either for penance, or some special remedie to be found there, more than in another place, *Bellarmin. de cult. Sanct. lib. 1. cap. 20.* Of this hear *Pol. Vergil.* saying, We read not go to any part of the earth to seek God, who is everie where; but some have no such intention, but rather go to behold the image of some Saint, never thinking (in all their journey) of God; far contrarie to the worship that was prescribed by the Fathers, Against such men may well be applied that of Persius, O souls prone to the earth, and void of Heaven! Why should we use such rites in our Churches? and in the way they feed themselves delicatelie; and lest they wax sad, they have with them some Pleasant (I will not say their Whores or Mistresses) to cause them to laugh; and tell them merrie sports, as it were, to refresh their wearied minds: O vain travel! we should sojourn, that being sequestred from domestick cares (which divert us from thinking upon the other life) to dart the bodie; and cause it to do service unto reason, and give unto the poor, as Christ commandeth. *Vergil. in Interpret. Orat. Dom.*

9. Out of what is said, may be partlie seen, what was the estate of the Western Church in the daies of Pope Gregorie the 1. and that after him a thicker mist arose out of the Sea; as indeed puritie of Doctrine perished more and more, and the Church was wondrously darkened with mens Traditions; apparitions of spirits were frequent: which when the Bishops and Priests did receive, they were deceived, and made no small Apostasie from the true faith, into the confidence of merits and mens satisfactions. So that *Iohn de Molin in Specul. Carmel. cap. 6.* hath truly observed, that from the time of the Emperour Heraclius, unto his own time, The day declined to the evening, and the Church hath suffered an Eclipse, yea and almost made defection, *Io. Bal. cent. 1. 74. appr. 2.* About these times (saith another) men were (as it were) made for barbaritie; and many of the Ancients, in whose books was the doctrine and acts of antiquitie, being forsaken through negligence, did suffer another and worse death. In all which following calamities, the Monks were not the least Agents; for when the Monkish life was had in admiration, the Popes thought them the fitter instruments in prosecuting their pleasure. Before that time they had not authoritie to preach the word, nor administer the Sacraments: as may be seen at length in *Gratian. caus. 16. especially qu. 1. cap. Adi-cimus*, there is an ordinance of Pope Leo I. that none but the Priests of the Lord should preach the word; whether he were a Monk or Laick, whatsoever measure of knowledge he had: and *Cap. hinc est etiam*, it is said, The Ecclesiastical historie testifieth, that untill the daies of Eusebius, Lofinius and Siricius, Monks were only Monks, and not Clergie. And Gregorie *lib. 4. Ep. 1.* No man can serve in the Office of a Church-man, and continue in a Monkish rule ordinarily. And they all were Laicks, except the Abbott, saith *Bellarmin. de Monac. lib. 2. cap. 4.* and *Spalatens. de Rep. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 12.* proveth it at length, but they were subject unto the Priests of the Parish, in receiving the

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Sacrament; or if they were many they had their own Priest; as Epiphanius ordained Paulinian, Priest of Saint Jerom's Monasterie. *Bellarmin. de not. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 10.* But Pope Boniface the IV. gave them libertie to preach, and his successors gave them power of binding and loosing; and although they had not charge of souls, they made them equal in power, everie where, with the Priests in their own Parishes, *Gratian. caus. 16. qu. 1. Sunt tamen.* They did cloak their idleness with profession of povertie, according to the order of Saint Basil, Augustine and other fathers: which rules of the late Monks, were so far from the institution of the Fathers, that they never had dreamed any such thing could follow: saith *Pol. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 7. cap. 3.* for according to the institutions, Monks had nothing of their own, neither did live chargeably unto others; but upon the works of their hands, and they gave their works unto their Decanus: saith *August. de mori. Eccles. Cathol. lib. 1. cap. 31.* and in *Reg. 2. tradita Fratrib. cap. 2.* he commandeth them to read some hours, to pray some hours, and to work some hours. *Chrysost. hom. 59. ad pop. Antioch.* saith, They know not begging: and *Bellarmin. de monast. lib. 2. cap. 43.* and *Dura contr. Whitak. fol. 387.* out of Jerom, Epiphanius, and others, shew that all the Monks in old times did work, as the Apostle had commanded, except one Monasterie of Saint Martin: so writeth Basil in *exercit. ser. 4.* But in the seventh Centurie they had fair Cloisters, Princely Abbies, rich Revenues, and what did they not purchase? But no work at all amongst the most part of them: so that Bernard crieth in *Apolog. ad Guil. abbat.* O how far different are we from the Monks in the daies of Antonius! And in *Epist. 42.* he saith, Work, dark places, voluntarie povertie, these do nobilitate Monks; but your eies behold everie thing; your feet tread in everie market; your tongues are heard in all Counsels; your hands do pull unto you everie patrimonie: As they were not sloathfull in their own affairs, so when the Popes and Bishops began to have more care of policie, preferment, and such earthly things; and each one to strive against the usurpation of another, more then they did study the Scriptures: Then the Benedictines (and afterwards other sorts of hypocrites) were sent under colour of preaching Christ; but indeed to deceive the world, and to perswade men to submit themselves unto the See of Rome. The Monks propined the cup of fornication to all nations; they perswade Kings to subject their Crowns unto the High priest; and they were the sowers of his superstitious rites, and other errors: as may be seen at length in the Historie of the Council at Trent, in the Congregations of the 4. and 5. Sessions, where the Bishops and Rulers, sought to take these liberties from Monks; but the Romish Courtiers would not. The Bishops of Spain and Galicia in the 4. Council at Toledo, did espie this hypocrisie, and *Cap. 52.* did ordain, That Bishops should restrain all Religious persons (so did the Monks call themselves, as if there were no religion in others) who were not of the number of the Clergie, and went from place to place: And each Bishop should compell them within his Diocie, to return into some Monasterie, or take them to a Parish; unless they were dismissed for age or sickness. This Act could not stand, for the mystrie of iniquitie must go on. So that justly doth *I. Hooper*, Bishop of Glocester, and Martyr *an. 1555.* call the Monks the pale horse, saying, This pale horse, is the time wherein hypocrites and dissemblers entred into the Church, under pretence of true religion; they killed more souls with heresies and superstition; then all the Tyrants that ever were, did kill bodies with fire, sword, or banishment; as it appears by his name who sitteth upon the horse, that is, Death: for all souls who leave Christ, and trust to these hypocrites, live unto the Divil in everlasting pain; these pretenced and false hypocrites, have stirred the Earthquakes, that is, the Princes

of the World against Christ's Church. *Letters of Saints and Martyrs*, Printed *an.* 1564. *pag.* 116. By their Sermons they did commend the primacie of the Pope everie where: and Boniface the V. and then other Popes, gave them so many Prerogatives, that they who had the greatest desire of libertie, became Monks, *Erasmus in Vita Hieron.* Yea and Kings forsaking their Scepter, be- took them to a Monkish life, as Bambas King of the Goths in Spain; and some retaining their Crowns, professed themselves of the Order of Monks by dispensation: With provision, that they give Revenue to one Abbey or more; and the Church (that is, the Popes and their Members, the Monks) suffer no loss; or in a word, that Monasteries may be enriched. At first out of the Monasteries (as Colledges) were chosen Presbyters, who were esteem- ed of an higher degree, *August. Epist.* 76. *ad Aurel.* and Pelagius the I. Bi- shop of Rome, writing to Antonia and Decia, saith, I wish that those who are nourished by us in this habit, and in Monasteries, may when they shall be of ripe age and approved life, be promoted not unto the Office of contention, but of Priesthood, *Gratian. caus.* 16. *qu.* 1. *cap. de presentium.* And *Pol. Vergil de invent. rer. lib.* 7. saith, If any did repent him of his profession, he had libertie to return unto his former life; yet not without the note of levitic (saith he) but they were not tied under the bond of vow. By means of these priviledges, and by opinion that donations to Cloisters, were meritorious before God; the Monks at that time received Palaces of ease, instead of Wil- dernesses in former times; plentie for povertie; fasting for fasting; frequent Convents for solitariness; robes for rags, *Erasm. Epist. ad Granveld. dat.* 15. *cal. Januar. an.* 1520. and *Spalatens. de Rep. Christ. lib.* 2. *cap.* 12. *sect.* 77. They were so managed, that let any one chuse what sort of life he pleaseth, he shall find contentment in one Abbey or other; or he shall find a Convent of the same profession, *Bellarmin. de mon. lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. and so when they profess to have no- thing, they enjoy all things: And it may well be said to them, which he *ibid.* *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. citeth out of *Hieron. Epist. ad Paulin.* Expound the word *Monachus*, which is thy name; What doest thou in a Town who shouldest live alone? Or if ye hear that strange etymologie (and not so strange in Gram- mar, as in practice, in respect of them) which he approveth; *Monachi* have their name from the word, *μόνος i. e.* unitie; because they lay aside all world- ly things, and they studie to please unitie *i. e.* God. Then take also his note of inference, Whereof it followeth, saith he, that properly these are Monks, who give themselves to contemplative life, as the Cassinenses, &c. Upon the same ground *Thomas Aquin.* and other Scholasticks, would not give this name of Monks, unto the Dominicans and Franciscans; because they are not only given to contemplation, but &c. Seeing then Monks went over all, ha- ving no certain Parish; yet preaching, and exercising the Office of a Priest, wheresoever they pleased, or could be received; surely according to both these reasons of their name, about that time Monks were no Monks, and a great noveltie crept into the Church. And seeing their doctrine was principal- ly, for erecting primacie and power unto the Pope; they may justly be called *ὑποδούλοι καὶ δοῦλοι*, servants and souldiers, as the ancient Greeks called them; but not the servants and souldiers of God, but of the Pope, as will be more clear hereafter.

10. Into this Centurie, Bellarmine casteth the first acceptation of the Latine Translation of the Bible, by the Church universally; which Translation is called Jerom's. In *lib.* 2. *de verb. Dei cap.* 8. he sheweth, that another Trans- lation, which was called *Itala* or *Vetus Latina*, was in use in the Churches, before this of Jerom; and in the daies of Gregorie the I. the Church of Rome did use them both, [as Gregorie testifieth, in the end of his Epistle to Leander,

*The Latine
Translation
of the Bible.*

before his Morals.] And after that (saith Bellarmine) all Latine Translations went out of use, save this which is called *Verus Latina*. And in *Cap. 9.* he saith, That some Books or Chapters of the old common Translation; especially the Psalms, and some books of Jerom's Translation, which is now in use in the Roman Church: and in the next Chapter saith, this is of authentical authoritie, as if all the Churches had used it only; all Preachers have expounded it only; and Councils have determined all controversies from it only: but he bringeth no proof of his so bold assertion, except a verie imperfect induction. In the contrarie it is certain, 1. Though all were supposed, which he saith of that Translation; yet before Jerom it was not, and before Pope Gregorie the I. it was not authentical; and therefore it was but a Novation, when it was taken to be authentical. 2. No other Church but the Romish did ever call it authentical, not the Greeks, &c. 3. Jerom did not call it authentical; for in his preface before the Books of Moses, he saith, to them who were emulous, Why dost thou fret with envie? Why stirrest thou the affections of the unlearned against me? Ask the Hebrews, advise the Masters of sundrie Towns, what they have of Christ, thy books have not: it is another thing, if the testimonies used afterwards by the Apostles prove against them; and the Latine copies are falsere then the Greek, and the Greek than the Hebrew. It is true many editions of that preface have, *Emendatiora sunt exemplaria Latina quam Græca, & Græca quam Hebræa*; and so did Nicolaus de Lyra, and others in his time read the words. But so, that sentence is contrary to his purpose; and therefore many of the School-men, and Erasmus, have been puzzled in reconciling that sentence with the preceding words. But I have had by me, these 50. years, an Edition of Paris in the year 1523. by John Prevèl, which hath, *Emendatiora sunt exemplaria Latina, &c.* And this one Edition, in this particular, is of more credit than a thousand other Editions; because it agrees with the preceding words, and with the truth: And with the same, Jerom in an Epistle to Damasus before the four Evangelists, saying, If the truth is to be sought out of many Translations, why go we not to the Greek original, and amend the things that have been ill translated by vitious Interpreters; or have been amended by unlearned presumptuous men. Let that be the true interpretation, which the Apostles have approved; I speak (saith he) of the New-Testament, which without doubt is Greek. And *tom. 1. Epist. ad Lutin.* he saith, As the credit of the old books, are to be examined by the Hebrew books; so the credit of the new, requireth the rule of the Greek language. If we confer altogether, what is more clear, then that Jerom did prefer the Hebrew in the Old-Testament; and the Greek in the New, above all Translations whatsoever; yea and above his own. 4. Neither was any Latine Translation accounted authentical, before the Council at Trent; for all the Interpreters, have in many Texts forsaken it; as is clear by their Commentaries, as Nicolaus de Lyra, Paulus Brugensis, Armachanus, Card. Cajetanus, and Bellarmine himself departeth from it in the Psalms; and Erasmus Rotterodamus, Xantes Pagninus, Francis Vatablus, and Arias Montanus, were approved for sitting forth other Translations. Pope Leo the X. did approve by his Seal the Translation of Erasmus, and gave him thanks for his travel in translating the New-Testament, Erasmus in *Epist. Thoma Card. Eborac. dat. Louan. cal. Febr. an. 1519.* 5. In the Council at Trent, that Translation was called into question, for Frier Aloisius Cataneus spake against it, and did confirm what he said, by the authoritie of Card. Cajetanus and Jerom, and by good reason; and was seconded by Isidorus Clacus, a Benedictine Abbot; so that (as the Writer of the Historie saith, *lib. 2.*) there was great contention concerning the Latine Translation: and in the end they did

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conclude, that it is to be approved as authentical; yet so, that they who are more diligent, should not be forbidden to quench their thirst out of the Hebrew and Greek Fountains. And after that Council, two other Editions were published by Pope Sixtus the V. and Clemens the VIII. with infinite alterations, as followeth in the 16. Century.

11. The Popes did endeavour to take libertie of marriage from the Clergie; and where they could prevail, adulterie and murder of babes was multiplied, as is touched. In sundrie Nations great opposition was made, for Arnulph Bishop of Metensis, was the father of Anchises, the father of Pipin: Britain would not receive this bondage. In Crete John a Priest had a wife, and therefore was reproved by Pope Vitalian. What may I speak of one Greek? The Greeks are, for the most part, married untill this day. In the fourth Council at Toledo, *Cap. 43.* Marriage was approved, and Fornication prohibited. More of this hereafter.

The single life of Church men is opposed.

12. Divers Nations then received the faith, the Gothi and Suevi in Spain, forsook Arianism by authoritie of their King Reccared. Ghent brake down the Altar of Mercurius, whom they had served; and began to serve the true God, by the preaching of Amand, a French-man, *an. 613.* who was exiled for reproving King Dagobert of luxurie and veneric. Other Flandrians were converted by his Countrie man Agidius, *an. 649.* The sound of the word had been through the world, but the Nations persevered not; and being instructed but in few persons, Paganism continued; and the Barbarians disturbing the Realms, did also disturb the estate of religion.

Some Nations hear of Christ.

13. In that Centurie lived sundrie Divines, although not equal to their forefathers; John Bishop of Alexandria, called the Almons, *an. 610.* who for his rare example of hospitalitie and bountifulness to the poor; is no less worthy to have place amongst good men, than he is followed of few. He was wont, at all occasions, to propound unto the people, questions out of the Scriptures; because multitude of heresies were then on foot, and he exhorted the people to propound their doubts unto him. If any did presumptuously move curious questions, he could cunningly turn to another more profitable. When any of the unlearned moved trivial doubts, he accepted them calmly; and commanded that thereafter such persons should not be admitted; to the end, others seeing such men checked, should be the more wary. In the daies of Boniface the IV. John Bishop of Gerunden, a Spaniard, was instructed at Constantinople, in the languages and reading of Scriptures; thence he returning into his Countrie, did with dexteritie, refute the heresie of Arrius; and therefore was exiled to Barchinona: but after the death of the Arrian King Lemungild, he returned, and wrote many books. Of the same country was Euphrasius, Bishop of Valentia, worthy of remembrance for godliness of life, and sinceritie of faith. Then also lived Hldefonsus, Bishop of Toledo, who (as another Augustine) is called the Hammer of Hereticks. France did never want famous witnesses of the Gospel: at that time was the fore-named Arnulph, Bishop of Metensis; Projectus a Martyr in Aquitania, *an. 610.* Eustathius Abb. Luxovien, the Disciple of Columban, *an. 624.* Modoald Bishop of Trevers; Renald the successour of the above-named Amand; we have heard of Serenus, Bishop of Marsilia, where succeeded Projectus, who is said to have suffered martyrdom in *agro Cameracen. an. 678.* Eustasius a Preacher in Bavie, *an. 640.* Lambert Bishop of Tungri, was put to death, *an. 658.* because he rebuked Pipin for marrying another wife, the first being yet alive; Dodo the brother of the second wife, was the Executioner, and shortly thereafter died of vermine. Ulfranius Bishop of Senonen, hath been a diligent labourer in the Lord's harvest in Frisia, *an. 660.* Leodagarius Bishop

Some worthy men.

of Augustodunen, suffered death at the command of Theorick, King of France, because he oft reproved him of tyrannie. Victor Bishop of Carthage, *an. 646.* writing to Pope Theodore, retains the old Titles, saying, Unto the most blest and honourable Lord, his holy brother Theodore, Pope; the works of your most blessed brother-hood are acceptable unto God, &c. There he affirmeth, that all the Apostles were of equal authoritie and honour.

Isidor. Hist. palen.

14. Isidorus Bishop of Hispala (called the latter) did write many books of the Christian faith, and the History from Adam untill his own time, 624. he hath many errors, but in many things is sound. In his book *de summo bono cap. 28.* he saith, In the holy Scriptures, as on high mountains, both the learned find sublimities of knowledge, whereunto as Harts, they may lift up the steps of their contemplation; and the simple men, as lesse Wights, may find mean things for their capacitie; to which, they may humbly have refuge; the holy Scripture seems unto the babes of understanding, to be base in words, in respect of the historie; but it wadeth more deeply with the more learned, opening unto them the mysteries thereof; and it remains common to the learned and unlearned. *Lib. 7. etymolog. cap. 9.* Peter received his name from the Rock, which is Christ, on whom the Church is built; the Rock hath not the name from Peter; but Peter from the Rock: therefore the Lord saith, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock, which thou hast confessed, will I build my Church; for the Rock was Christ, upon which Peter himself was built. *Lib. 8. cap. 5.* he noteth it as a fault in the old Catharists, that they did glorie in their merits; and that they denied forgiveness of sins to the penitent. *Lib. 6. cap. 19.* The Sacraments are baptism and chrism, the bodie and blood of Christ. Here he nameth but two, because the custom was then, to anoint them who were baptized. *De offic. lib. 1. cap. 18.* Bread, because it strengthneth the bodie, is therefore called Christ's bodie: and Wine, because it worketh blood in the flesh, therefore it hath relation to Christ's blood: these two are sensible, but being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, are changed into the Sacrament of the Lord's body. The Papists now in our daies, would gather out of these words Transubstantiation; but hereafter (God willing) it shall appear, that neither word, nor thing, was thought upon, in 500. years after that time: and Isidore saith, *Transseunt in Sacramentum.* And *de doctrin. & fide art. 33.* saith, That marriage is evil, or to be compared with fornication; and to believe that meat is evil, or the cause of evil unto the eaters, is not Christian; but properly Manichean or Encratitish.

Agrestin.

15. Agrestin was Clark to King Theodorick, and then entred the Abbey Lexovien with all his Wealth; he became wearied of the superstitious rites, and left the Abbey. Then he went to Aquileia (which for that time was not under the yoke of the Romish Pope) and from thence he writ unto Abbas Bobiensis, against the rites of the Monks; and unto Eustasius, Abbot of Lexovien, exhorting him to leave those rites. Eustasius and his Convent, exclude him out of their society. He had his refuge to Apellin, Bishop of Genua, who with some others, drew King Lotharius to their side. For removing of this controversie, was assembled the 4. Councel at Matiscon in Burgundy: there Agrestin accuseth Eustasius of many superstitious ceremonies, contrary to Canonical institution; for example, They did use to lick a Cockle marked with a cross; they use hallowings when they went in or out of a house; they multiplied prayers and collects in the Masse; they ridiculously cut off their hair, and abstained from the company of men. Eustasius replieth, The sign of the Cross, was able to put away the plague of the enemy; for it is written, The Lord will keep thy coming in, and thy going out, from henceforth and for ever: as for prayers, Christ and his Apostles, have commanded to pray

continually : the Bishops did condemn Agrestin. Hence we see, that many did not allow the rites creeping in, and the inventers of them were but private persons; and the abettors were pleased with the least shadow of reason. *Catol. test. ver. lib. 7. ex vna Eustas. abb.*

16. About that time the number of Patriarchs were augmented; unto the former five that were authorized at Nice and Ephesus, were numbred the Sees of Thessalonica, Ephesus, Trimatus, Creta, which are so named in the sixth general Council; and in the West Ravenna, Caralis, Aquileia, Gradus, Millain, Toledo, Canterbury, York, &c. The Bishops of all these places were named Patriarchs, great High-priests, Primats, Arch-priests, &c. They had under them some more, and some fewer Bishops, and the world was possessed with ambition. Among them all, two only were called Universal Bishops, with great emulation; to wit, Rome and Constantinople, for they and their followers did entitle them so; but neither of the two would give it unto his Competitour; *Spalatens. de Rep. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 10. Sectio. 16.*

More Patriarchs.

17. When the Bishops of Rome were exalting themselves in the West, and the heresie of the Monothelites spreading in the East, and ambition waxing in both; the Empire of the Mahumetans began in Asia. The Ancients (as Epiphanius in *Panar. cap. 1.* and Jerom in *Ezek. 25.*) call them Sarazens; Suidas and some others, derive the name from Sarraca, a City in Arabia, where they lived; others derive it from the Hebrew word Sarac, which in *Ier. 2. 23.* is translated, Travelling; because they did live by robbery. They themselves deduce the name from Sarah, and called themselves the seed of the promise, and heirs of the world: they were people of Arabia, and first brought into a Monarchy by Mahumet. Writers do vary of what Parents he was; he was bold and publick, and enriched by marriage; his Kingdom began, and after him was increased by dissension of Princes, as the particular Histories declare. The first occasion of their rising was, they had foughten with Heraclius, against the Persians, and after the peace they sought their arrears. One of the Emperours Treasurers said, We have it not to pay the Roman and Greek souldiers, and this kennel of dogs are most impudent. They were so wrathfull at these words, that immediately they invade Syria, and took Damascus, Phoenicia and Mesopotamia; they exercised great cruelty against the Christians, and fought, by all means, to extinguish the very name: Heraclius fought divers times against them, and might have destroyed them; but he thought it enough to disperse them. Left diversity of religion, might occasion sedition among them, Mahumet with advice of Sergius, a Monk (who was banished from Constantinople for Nestorianism;) and of John, an Arrian Priest; and of Selas, a Jewish Astrologer; and Barras a Persian, patched a new religion amongst all these Sects, and pleasant to natural men; that so he might the more easily draw many unto him, and hold them together. The sum of his Alcoran (that is, the book of his religion) is, he continueth the doctrine of the forgiveness of sin in the blood of Christ; he denieth the two natures of Christ, and that his sufferings was a ransom for our sin; he despiseth the Mediation of Christ; he acknowledgeth Christ a Law-giver, but very silly and unmeet for government; he calleth himself the great Prophet sent from God, and sufficiently powerfull (not by miracles, as Christ and Moses, but) by sword to hold men under obedience of his worship and doctrine; he retains some Precepts of the law; to wit, the general and natural principles; he holdeth Circumcision, to confirm his people in the promise made to Abraham, as belonging unto them; he permitteth to eat all sorts of flesh, except Swines flesh, and what is strangled; he teacheth to offer sacrifices, but for the most

Of the Mahumetans.

part votive; that is, in sickness or danger to vow a lamb or bullock, according to the diversity of the person's estate; neither should these sacrifices be burned as the Jews did; but when the beast is killed, the skin, head, feet and fourth part of the flesh is given to the Priest; another fourth part is given to the poor; a third quarter is sent to the neighbours; and the offerer keepeth the last quarter to himself and his companions. Bart. Georgieviz an Hungarian, *de origin. Imper. Turcici.* saith, They keep the Friday holy, for difference from Jews and Christians; they have prayers five times daily, 1. Before the Sun-rising. 2. At the Rising. 3. At Noon. 4. Before Sun-setting. 5. Two hours thereafter. Unto all who observe his religion, he promiseth victory and wealth in this life; and then pleasures, with all delights in meats, drink and venery in Paradise: in a word, he gathered all heresies into one; he damneth wine with Severus; he contemneth the Sacraments with the Messalians; he denieth the immortality of the soul without the body with the Ambians; he maintaineth the deliverance of the most wicked with Origenes; and the imaginary suffering of Christ with Basilides; he believeth not the Trinity with Saturninus; he permitteth polygamy, and divorcement, upon any occasion, with the Jews: he derideth the Gospel, because it compelleth not to obedience, and forbiddeth revenge; to which his religion directeth by all means. He saith, The Monarchy of the World is promised to his Nation, as descending from Sarah; and therefore all others are to be compelled to accept Mahumetism, or abide in perpetual bondage. He promiseth, That they who fight courageously in Bartel, should be blessed, and their souls go straight with their bodies into Paradise; where they shall not be wearied with heat or cold, but cloathed with fine Vestures; and have the company of women, and daintiest food, &c. By such promises he tieth Souldiers to their Captains, and maketh them to despise all dangers. He commandeth strictly Discipline in Wars, that none dare plunder without permission; or if any do, he is punished without mercy. He appointed ordinary attendants on such things as may fall amongst the Souldiers in their march, that none of them durst take an Apple, without the licence of the owner, upon pain of death. The people, being bewitched with such fair inducements, did submit unto him as their Prince, Doctour, and Law-giver. He deceived some by words, and compelled others, with the sword, unto subjection. The Persians (as is touched) were easily brought to his obedience. When they prevailed over Christians, they dealt with them without mercy; in Jerusalem they shewed more then beastly cruelty; in a Church of Cæsarea, they massacred above 7000. Christians; they made Cyprus once without one Christian; about the year 700. they slew in Iuverna 150000. and kept 7000. captives. At that time Homar, their Prince, excused all this cruelty with pretext, that he did only pursue the worshippers of images; for about that time images were frequent in Christian Churches, and the Sarazens could not look on an image for religion. We may say then, Homar was the rod of God, correcting the idolatry and will worship of Christians; and the same images did give great advantage to this common enemy, by dissention of Christians, as followeth in the next Century. About the same time, arose two several Kingdoms of the Sarazens; the first in Asia, whereof the chief City was builded by the ruines of Babylon, and was called Baldac, or Baldacut, *an.* 630. after two years Mahumet was poisoned by Albunar, one of his Disciples; to the end he might have experience of his Prophecies; for Mahumet had said, that within three daies after his death, he would rise again: But when Albunar had waited 12. daies, he found his body torn by dogs; and gathered his bones, or what was remaining, and buried them in a Pitcher at Macha

in Persia. He delivered other Prophecies, but his followers have not as yet found the truth of them. Not many years after the erection of this Kingdom, the Egyptians were wearied of the Roman Empire, and sent for the Sarazens unto their aid, but it was to their greater woe. For the Sarazens made a prey of them, and erected another Kingdom in Affrick, whose Seat was Alcair or Babylon in Egypt. In both Kingdomes the Supream Governour, both in Policy and Religion, was called Calipha; and they ruled the Provinces by Presidents, whom they called Sultans or Soldans, who were also High-Priests.

CHAP. IV.

Of BRITAIN.

1. **T**He Papishes do brag, that the Roman Church is the Mother of all Churches; and that all Countries who ever believed in Christ, were first converted to her faith; by such as were precisely sent, or at least had their authority from the Pope, who lived in the time in which they were converted. This (say they) is so openly set down, in the History of the first conversion of every Country; as no Protestant, were he never so impudent, can without blushing deny it. So speaketh Thomas Hill, a Doctour of Doway, in his 4. reason *Of his Catholick Religion*. If the like lies were not frequent amongst them, it may seem a wonder how men can be so impudent, if they but read the Acts of the Apostles, where we have a conversion of Nations, without the mention of a Church at Rome: And the like may be said, if they had read the Recognitions of Clemens, whom some call the first Bishop of Rome; and some call him the second, and some the third; all these Books are concerning the conversion of Nations; and yet in them, is little or nothing of a Church in Rome, till he came to the last book; and neither is there one word of sending Teachers from Rome into other Nations: so that many Nations were converted, before any Christian Church was at Rome. Other Nations can shew, by whom the light of the Gospel came unto them. But for Britan (say they, it is clear, That Gregory the I. sent Augustine, who is called, The Apostle of the English. And was not the Christian faith in Britan before that time? Read the second Apology of Athanasius, and in the first page you shall find, that in Constantius time, some from Britan were at the great Council in Sardis: and in the former chapter *sect. 8.* we have heard the testimony of Jerom, That from Jerusalem and from Britan, the Gate of Heaven is equally patent; and in other places he mentioneth them: and 200. years before him, Tertullian against the Jews sheweth, That the places of Britan, which were unaccessible unto the Romans, were subject unto Christ. And what places these were, *Baronius in Annal. ad an. 186. sect. 6.* teacheth, That it is certain that the Romans did possess the South part of Britan; and Adrian caused a Wall to be made betwixt Cart-den and Dumbarton, to be a partition between them and the Scots: But (saith Baronius) the Britans, who did possess what was on the North-side of the Wall, did often pass over, and provoke the Romans unto Battel. In the time of Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, Lucius King of South Britan, was a Christian; and Baronius cannot deny, but long before that, the Gospel of Christ had been brought into Britan; as (saith he) *Testatur Gilda sapiens*. And at the same time Donald, King of Scotland, was a Christian: and in the daies of Dioclesian, when the persecution was hot in the South part, many Christians took their refuge

The Roman Church is the Mother of all other Churches.

Especially not of the old Britans nor Scots.

into the North part, where the King Crathilint received them; and for safety sent many of them into the Isle of Man, and there builded a Church unto them, that they might serve God freely. It is true, the South part did change their Inhabitants; for division falling amongst them, the one party sent for the Saxons for their aid; and these were Heathens, and subdued all the country (except that which is now called South and North Wales) and that for their prophaneness and contempt of Religion; as Gildas testifieth in a little book *de excidio Britannico*, which is in *Bibliotheca Patr. de la Bigne tom. 5.* About the year 600. Ethelbert had married Bertha (Gregory the 1. *lib. 9. Epist. 59.* calleth her *Aldiberga*) a Christian, who brought with her Lethard, a Preacher, *Beda hist. lib. 1. cap. 25.* calleth him a Bishop; he preached in a Church at Canterbury, called Saint Martin's, that had been long time before. When Augustine was sent by Gregory, and came thither; he stayed in the Isle of Teneet, untill he knew the King's will. *Beda ibid.* By means of Bertha licence was granted, and he preached before the King. After his conversion, Augustine had intelligence of the Britans, and sent unto them, and craved a meeting with them: three of them came unto him; he did speak at first fairly, and desired them to join with him in conversion of the Heathens. They answered, We have our own Bishops, without their knowledge we may do nothing. Then by authority and procurement of the King, he inviteth them to a Synod, at a place (which from him, was called Austin-oke or Austin-gate) *an. 602.* Seven Bishops, and one Arch-Bishop prepared to go: On the way, they came to a certain Anchorite, and did ask his counsel, whether they should leave their traditions, as they heard that Augustine did require? He answered, If he be a man of God, follow him. They say, How may we know whether he be a man of God? He answered, The Lord saith, Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, that I am humble, and meek, and lowly in heart; therefore if the man be meek, and humble in heart; it is credible, that he beareth the yoke of Christ, and offereth it to be born of others; but if he be proud, it is certain, that he is not of God, nor should we hear his words. They ask again, how they should know whether he was proud, or not? He answered, Procure you, that he, and his company, be in the place of the Synod before you; and if, when ye approach, he ariseth unto you, then ye may know, he is a servant of Christ, and hear him obediently: But if he despise you, and will not arise at your coming, who are more in number, let him be despised of you. And as this Anchorite did advise, so did they; for when they came into the place, Augustine was there, and did sit in his chair, but did not move from his place. When they saw it so, they did think of his pride; and were resolved to resist whatsoever he should propose. The sum of his Oration is, In the name of Gregory, Bishop of Rome, he chargeth them, that they should preach the Word of God unto the Saxons; that they should acknowledge him as their Arch-Bishop; keep Easter, and administer Baptism, according to the custom of the Roman Church; and although in other things, ye do contrary unto our custom (said he) yet if ye will obey in these three things, we will willingly bear with other things. The Britans answer, We will do none of those things which thou requirest; nor will we acknowledge thee for our Arch-Bishop. *Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.* Especially Dinot, an Abbot, said, They were not obliged to preach unto their enemies, seeing the Saxons had spoiled them of their lands; and did still continue to prey upon them. For the celebration of Easter, and administration of Baptism, they defend themselves by the authority of the Eastern Church, and their own continual practice by Joseph of Arimathea; which they do judge of no less authority, then that of the Ro-

man Church was, which Augustine did barely object. *Beda. loc. cit.* If we consider the proposition of the one, and the answer of the other, we may see the points of difference were many; whereof four are expressed, and the rest are couched, in generality; of the particulars let the Reader judge; but the greatest was the matter of subjection. So before that time, they knew of no such thing, as the subjection of their Church unto the Roman Church. Then did he menace them, that if they would not submit, they should feel the force of enemies: *Beda* expoundeth this, as proceeding from the spirit of prophecy: But the Authour of *Catal. test. ver. lib. 6.* sheweth (from Galfrid a Cardinal, who about the year 1150. did write *Histor. Britan.*) when Edelbert King of Kent, saw that the Britans refused subjection unto Augustine, and disdained to preach unto them, he took it very ill; and did stir up Edilfrid King of Northumberland, and the other little Kings of the Saxons, to raise an Army, and to cut off Dinot and those Presbyters who had despised them. They followed his counsel, and when they had levied a great Army, they entred into the Province of the Britans; came unto Leicester, where Bremael, Mayor of the City, was waiting on them; innumerable Monks and Eremites did come to that City from sundry Provinces of the Britans; namely from the City Bangor, that they might pray for the safety of their own people: There Edelfrid fought with Bremael, who had the least number, yet made great havoc on the enemy, but at last fled. Then Edelfrid entred the City, and knowing for what end they were gathered there, he commandeth to put them to the edge of the sword; so on that day 1200. of them were honoured with martyrdom (saith he) and obtained place in the Kingdom of Heaven. When that Saxon Tyrant was going against Bangor, his madness being made known, he was rencountred by these Dukes of the Britans, Blederic of Cornubia, Margadud of Demeti, and Caduan of Venedoti; in the fight they wound him, and cause him to take the flight; and of his Army they slue 10066. and on the Britans side Blederic was slain, who was Commander in chief. *B. Parker in Antiquit. Britan. cap. 18.* sheweth out of *Aman. Xerxes*, a Friar Minorite, that this War was raised for their disobedience to Augustine; and the Saxons, who were converted, would have them to obey him. And hence it is gathered to be false, which some alledge, that Augustine was dead before the War. See Morton in his Protestants Appeal, *lib. 1. cap. 4. & 9.* It remains to inquire what other things were those, among the Britans, contrary to Rome, and which of the two were erroneous. We can find the particulars expressed nowhere; but of the general, the Romish Authours of the *Catholick Apology* (as they call it) give us sufficient proof; for in their Text they say, It is undoubted that our neighbours, the Britans of Wales, received the faith, by the Preaching of the Apostles, and held that faith at Augustin's coming; not being (in the mean time) altered or corrupted by the Roman Church. And in the margine they have added out of sundry Authours, affirming (say they) truly, that the Britans were converted by Joseph of Arimathea; whereof his Sepulchre yet in Glassenbury, and his Epitaph affixed thereunto, and sundry ancient monuments of that Monastery, are a sufficient proof, neither should we doubt thereof; and that the Britans, after the receiving of the faith, never forsook it for any manner of false preaching of others, nor for torments; and that this Land did never receive the doctrine and ceremonies of the Latine Church, before the coming of the Saxons; and when Augustine came hither, they were not subject to the Romish yoke; neither would acknowledge Augustine to be their Apostle. So far they. Baronius specifieth the year 35. to have been the year of the conversion of the Britans; *ex M. Sc. Histor. Angl.* in the Vatican Bibliothek; and Gildas *loc. cit.* saith, in the daies of Tiberius

Cæsar. Hence it is clear, 1. That the Roman Church was not their Mother-Church. 2. By the sentence of these Romish Apologists, the Britans were not corrupted in the faith, nor subjected to the Bishop of Rome. And therefore seeing Augustine said that they were contrary to Rome in many things; it must follow, that the Romans were corrupt in many things; and especially, that they did not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome for their Patriarch. These Apologists say also (and it is likely, others do use the same deceit also) that in the end of that Synod, the Britan Bishops confessed, that it was the right way of justice and righteousness which Augustine taught. But it is clear from Beda, that the Britans did oppose all that he spoke; and they who said so, were at the first meeting, when Augustine had not discovered himself. Likewise out of the Interrogatories that Augustine sent unto Gregory the I. and are, with the answers, in the end of Gregory's works; it is easie to be seen, that the first Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, was no learned Clark, but very superstitious; and especially, in the eighth answer, that he was ambitious, in that he did aim to have the Bishop of France subject unto him. After the death of Augustine, Laurence (who did come from Rome with him) took his charge; he did invite the Scots, dwelling in the same Island, unto a Synod, and thought to have found them (*meliores*, saith *Beda lib. 2. cap. 4.*) readier to his mind than the Britans were; but he found no less opposition by them, for the Scots differed nothing from the Britans; Dagan and Columban did refuse all communion with him, and would not lodge in the same Inn where any Romish Bishop was. If we compare all these premises, we may see the cause why our Writers have spoken so diversly of Augustine; some calling the English conversion, a perversion and inebriation; and othersterming it a gracious conversion; to wit, when they consider, how Pagans, by the light of the Gospel, were brought unto the faith, though tainted with some errors; they do, with the Angels of Heaven, rejoice in remembrance of that English happiness; but when they consider, that the old Professours of the ancient faith, were by the importunity and ambition of Augustine and his successors, intralld in multitude of new inventions, and in an unjust subjection; yea and that so many were martyred by means (at least by suggestion) of Augustine, justly have they termed this work of Augustine, a perversion of the faith; so giving this twofold censure in the spirit of discretion, and not of contradiction; even as Christ knew and approved the works of Ephesus, but he had some things against her.

Difference
for Easter.

2. The difference in observing Easter was thus: The Romans in remembrance of Christ's resurrection, did observe the first Sunday, after the full Moon of March; and the Eastern Church, as also the Britans kept the fourteenth day of the Moon, on whatever day of the week it fell. For this matter was no small debate between the Greek and Latine Churches long before; as also in Britain about the year 657. betwixt Finnan a Scot, and Bishop of Lindsarn; and Ronan another Scot, and coming lately from Rome: Finnan was so revered by the Romish faction, that nothing was altered in his daies; and he writ a book *Pro veteri Paschatis ritu*, *Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 25.* This jar was renewed about the year 670. by Wilfrid, Bishop of York, who had been at Rome. Colman a Scot, and Successour of Finnan; and Cedda (who afterwards was Bishop of York) defend the old custom; alledging (as is before) that this Island had received their rites from Asia, and had kept them, from the beginning of their conversion, untill this time. Wilfrid, and Agilbert a Bishop, and Agatho a Priest, and James a Deacon, said, Rome should be preferred above Asia; because the bones of Peter were at Rome: Colman answereth, that Anatolius, and Eusebius Pamphili, do
evi-

evidently declare what were the rites of Asia, and the same were received from John the Evangelist; and were followed by Columba, whom they could not deny to have been a good and devote man. Wilfrid replieth, The authority of Peter is greater; for Christ said to him, Thou art Peter---and to thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Then another question was propounded, concerning the shaving of the Clergy mens heads, which the Scots did refuse: But *Beda* hath not recorded the dispute. In the end, King Oswin said, Seeing these rites were received by Saint Peter, and now he is Porter of Heaven, I will follow him, lest he thrust me back when I come thither. *Beda loc. cit.* When Colman saw that the authority of a rude Prince did overweigh, he would stay no longer; but excluded his Bishoprick with Eata Abbot of Melrose; and thereafter he carried a Convent of Monks into one of the Isles Hebrides, where they lived by the works of their hands, *Beda ibid. cap. 26.* Wilfrid after that contest, was accused of pride and misdemeanours; but refused to answer, and fled. Then Theodore, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, set another in his place: thus the controversy for Easter, was ended in England. And to end it altogether, after other contests about the year 716, Ecbert or Bereft (as some call him) an English man, did so prevail amongst the Scots, that Easter was kept in the Isle Hu, after the Romish manner the 24. of April, but he died suddenly. The suddenness of his death, *Beda lib. 5. cap. 23.* calleth a confirmation of his doctrine. He might as well have said, The Lord did approve the fact of Lot's wife.

3. About the year 600. Brude King of Peichts (though a Christian) had conjunct Wars with Ethelfrid King of Northumberland, against Aidan King of Scots, and Malgo a Duke of the Britans. The Scots did prevail with great loss. The report is (saith *Buchan. hist. Scot. lib. 5.*) that Columba (Boetius calleth him Colm) Abbot of the Monastery in Colmkill or Jona, did assure his fellows of the victory the same hour of the fight. After some years Ethelfrid renewing his forces, came against the Scots: Aidan waited for the Britans in vain, and was put to flight with great slaughter on both sides. After that fight Columba died for grief; and Aidan was so commoved for the unlucky success, and for the want of good Columba; and for fear of the apparent danger of Christians from that cruel Pagan; that within few weeks he died. Not long after Ethelfrid was killed by the Britans, as is said before. Edwin succeedeth him, and thereafter was settled in the general government of the Saxons. Then the friends of Ethelfrid (amongst whom were his seven sons and one daughter) fearing cruelty, fled into Scotland. King Eugenius the 4. son of Aidan, not regarding the hostility of their fathers, accepted them, and caused them to be instructed in the Christian faith. Edwin was slain in Battel *an. 633.* by Penda King of Mercia, and Kedwalla King of the Britans; there was never a more cruel Battel in this Island; for Penda pursued the new converted Christians, and Kedwalla would destroy the Saxons; wherefore their rage did spare neither age nor sex, *Buchan. hist.* Then Northumberland was divided into two Kingdomes, Osfrich cousin german of King Edwin, was King of Deira; and Eanfrid, or Andefrid, the eldest son of Ethelfrid, was King of Bervici or North part; they were both Christians, the one instructed by Paulin, Bishop of York; and the other in Scotland, but they both made apostasie, in the first year, and were slain by Kedwalla. *Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 1.* Oswald the second son of Ethelfrid, succeeded unto them, and overthrew Kedwalla. Oswald did hold nothing so dear, as to promote the Christian religion; and sent unto Donal the 4. King of Scots, for Preachers, when Segenius was Abbot of Colmkill; because the Scots language was not understood by his Saxons: Oswald would often expound sentences

The Conversion of the Saxons in Britain.

or passages of their Sermons; for in the time of his exile he had learned that language. Amongst these Preachers, the worthiest was Aidan, the first Bishop of Lindsarn; he had no care of earthly things: what was given him by the King, or Potent men, he was wont to part it amongst the poor at the first occasion. He ceased not to go from town to town, and from house to house; not on horse, but on foot, alwaies catechizing whether he met with rich or poor; if they were Pagans, he taught them; if they were Christians, he confirmed them in the faith; and exhorted unto the works of piety and charity; especially, to read the Scriptures diligently: he died *an. 651. Beda lib. 3. cap. 4 & 5.* From Northumberland the Word of God was spread among many others of the Saxon Kingdoms. Pope Honorius sent Byrinus unto the West Saxons. *Ibid. cap. 7.* Last of all Suffex, or the South Saxons, and the Isle of Wight were converted. *Fox in Atk. & moni.* Siebert King of Essex, had learned the Christian faith in France; and opened the first School in Cambridge, *an. 636. Paul. Iovius in Angl. reg. Chron.* He was perswaded by his Monks to enter into a Cloister; as if it had been a shame or sin, to reign with David; his end was lamentable, for when he had given over his Kingdom to his cousin Egrik; the fore-named Penda entred his Kingdom with an army; his Subjects forced him to go into the fields, where both he and Egrik were slain, *an. 652.* His son Penda was baptized by Finnan, and accepted as a Bishop and Presbyter from him, for instructing his Subjects. *Beda lib. 3. cap. 21.*

*A despirer
of admoniti-
on brought to
repentance.*

4. Ferchard II. King of the Scots, was odious to all his Subjects, for his impiety against God, cruelty against men, for covetousness and drunkenness; he spared not the life of his own wife, and defiled his two daughters. Herefore he was separated from the Communion of the Church; and the Nobility did speak of putting him to death; or to do unto him, as they had done to Ferchard the I. But the fore-named Colman stayed them, and assured them before him, that God would shortly punish him. Within few daies, as he was hunting, a Wolf did bite him; and he became aguish, and then vermin did consume his body. Then he with tears did confess that he had deserved all these things for vilipending the admonitions of Colman. Who said, he should be of good courage, and trust in God, whose mercy is greater to a penitent sinner, then any sin of man can let him. To shew his repentance, Ferchard caused to cover his bed with course coverlets, and carry him abroad where he might make publick confession of his sins; he died *an. 664. Boet. hist. lib. 9. cap. 21.*

*Famous men
of Britain.*

5. From Colmkill, as a most famous Seminary of learning, at that time sprang forth, not only who did resist the beginnings of Antichristian pride at home, and in our neighbour country, but they sowed the seed of the Gospel in other Nations. Such was that famous Rumold, about the year 600. who was called *Mechliniensis Apostolus.* Gallus brought Helvetia from Paganism, and (as Pappus in *hisor. convers. gent. witnesseth*) built sundry Monasteries there. Columban a man of excellent holiness and learning (saith Trithemius) lived sometime in Bangor in Ireland, and thence went into Burgundy, where he began the Monastery Luxovien; and taught the Monks of his own Country, especially to live by the works of their own hands, *Bernard in Vita Malachie cap. 5.* Afterwards because he rebuked Theodorick for his leacherous life, he was forced to flee, and visited sundry parts of Germany; thence he went into Italy, and began another Abbey on the Apennin Hills beside Bobium in Tuscany. *Platin. in Bonifac. 4.* Levin was industrious for the name of Christ; about the year 630. he turned many to the faith about Ghent and Esca; but some hardned person killed him; he was held in such

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reverence, that 200. years after his death, his body, as a holy monument, was carried from Church to Church; and at last *an.* 1007. it was layed in the Church of Saint Bavo in Ghent. Furseus and his brother Fullan, with two Presbyters Gobban and Dicul, obtained land from Sigebert King of Essex; and built the Abbey of Cnobsherburch; then bewailing the oppression of that country by Penda; he commendeth the charge of that Monastery unto his brother; and passing into France, he began the Abbey at Latiniac, where he died. He was famous for his piety, and *Beda lib. 3. cap. 19.* speaks of his visions and miracles. Diuma was ordained first Bishop of Mercior, where he converted many unto the faith, in the reign of the Christian Penda; and for rare gifts the Bishoprick of Middlesex was committed to his charge, *ib. cap. 21.* unto whom succeeded Cella a Scot. Also Florentius went to Argentine or Strawsburg, and was the first Bishop thereof; he opened the first School in Alsacia about the year 669. he is said by his prayers to have restored Rathildis, the daughter of Dagobert King of France, unto her sight and tongue, whereas she had been both blind and dumb. Chilian or Kilian the first Bishop of Herbiopolis or Wortsburg, did first instruct the people of East France (saith *Bale*, or high Germany, as *Io. Pappus* speaketh) in the Christian faith *an.* 668. because he rebuked Goibert, Prince of Herbiopolis, first privately, but in vain; then publickly for having his brothers wife Geilana, she caused him to be slain; Colonat a Priest, and Thetnat a Deacon, followed him in all his travels, and were put to death with him. Burcard or Rurcard succeeded after him, to whom Pipin gave a Dukedom; and from hence among all the Bishops of Germany, only the Bishop of Herbiopolis, carrieth a Sword and Priest's Gown in his badge, *Hen. Olaus in Nomencl.* Unto these Scots, *Io. Pappus* joineth some Britans, as Willibrod Reformer of Frisia; and two brethren Evaldi, the one surnamed the Black; and the other, the White. *D. Morton* in his Appeal, seems to doubt what doctrine they did teach; because of the diverse opinions concerning them (they lived about the year 689.) yet *Io. Pappus* saith plainly, They converted the Westphalians to the Christian faith, and suffered martyrdom near Brema. *Io. Bale* sheweth their death, the barbarous people slue the younger with the edge of the sword; and they tormented the elder with a lingering death, and pulled in sunder his members; and at last threw them both into the River.

6. Pope Agatho sent John (the arch-chanter of Saint Peters in Rome) into England, to compose the difference betwixt Honorius and Wilfrid, the two Arch Bishops; and withall, to deliver them the Acts of Pope Martin the I. and to teach them to sing the Liturgy, according to the custom of Rome, *Beda lib. 4. cap. 18.* Upon this occasion, Sir Henry Spelman, sheweth out of an old Manuscript, a Catalogue of twelve or thirteen Liturgies, that were then used; and others have other forms that he hath not. Behold Novations are multiplied. *Novations.*

7. Benedictus Biscopius, a Noble-man of England, was famous for his journey to Rome in the service of the Church; and for bringing many books into the Monasteries of Tinnmouth and Wirmouth. The first glass in this Island is said to be his gift.

8. Here it is to be marked, what *Beda in hist. lib. 3. cap. 26.* relateth of the manners in this time. In these daies (saith he) they never came into a Church, but only for hearing the word and prayer [no word of the Mass;] the King would come with five or six, and he stayed till the prayer was ended. All the care of these Doctours was to serve God, and not the world; to feed souls, and not their own bodies; wherefore in these daies, a religious habit was much revered; so that wheresoever a Clark or Monk did come, he

Customs of those times.

was accepted as a servant of God; and if he were seen journeying, they were glad to be signed with his hand, or blessed with his mouth; and they gave good heed unto the words of his exhortation: and on the Lord's day, they came in flocks unto the Church or Monasteries, not to refresh their bodies [not to hear Masses] but to hear the word; and if any Priest entered into a Village, incontinently all the people would assemble, being desirous to hear the word of life; for neither did the Priests go into Villages, upon any other occasion, except to preach, or visit the sick; or in a word, to feed souls. These Clarks did so abhor the filthy pest of Covetousness, that they would not accept any lands or possessions for building Monasteries, unless they had been compelled with secular power. Out of this, *Io. Bale Cent. 14. appr. 21.* hath marked, that whereas Beda was wont, before this time, to call the Preachers, Presbyters; now he calleth them Priests, when they had but lately received shaven crowns as the mark of the Beast. At that time also (saith he) the Clergy, and Monks, in England had liberty to marry; he nameth some, and then saith, and others without number.

CHAP. V.

OF COUNCELS.

*Synodes were
assembled by
Kings.*

1. OF all the Councils in this Century (excepting these at Rome) it is said generally, that they were called by the authority of Princes within their Dominions; as is plain out of the first words of each of them almost (but never any syllable to the contrary) where it is read, By command, or at the calling of the King; or, The King commanding. Of the General Council at Constantinople (in this point) is spoken before. Concerning France, we see in Gregory the I. *lib. 9. Ep. 52, 53, 54.* the Bishop calleth not a Council; but beseecheth the King to call one: his words are, *Iterata vos pro vestra magna mercede ahortatione pulsamus, ut congregati Synodum jubetis.* In England a Synod, *An. 694.* beginneth thus, Withred the glorious King of Kent, with the reverend Arch Bishop Brithwald, hath commanded the Synod to be assembled in the place called Bacancelot; the most gracious King of Kent Withred preceding [Nota] in the same Synod; and the same reverend Primate of Britan; and also Tobias, Bishop of Rochester, with Abbots, Abbotteses, Presbyters, Deacons, Dukes and Counts; together considering of the affairs of the Churches of God in England, &c. Sir Henry Spelman in *Concil. & constitut. pag. 191.* This is to be marked against the Papists who hold now, that a Synod cannot be convened, but by the authority of the Pope. *Bellarmin. de conc. lib. 1. cap. 12.*

*Synod at
Bracara.*

2. About the year 610. was the second Council, at Bracara or Braga in Portugal. 1. Out of the Greek Councils many Acts were read and ratified. *Ca. 2.* If any Bishop exercise not his calling, in the Church committed unto him, he ought to be excommunicated; and if afterwards, through compulsion, he will obey, let the Synod use their discretion concerning him. *Ca. 19.* A Bishop, being called unto a Synod, should not contemn, but go; and if he can, he should teach things profitable to the good of the Church, and of others; or he should hear, if he be ignorant; but if he will not go, he should be guilty of censure by the Synod. *Ca. 45.* It shall not be lawfull to read or sing from the Pulpit, but to them who are approved by the Church. *Ca. 84.* If any man enter into a Church, and hear the word; and then withdraw himself from the Sacrament, let him be excommunicated, till he shew the fruits of repentance.

3. The

3. The Authour of *Catalog. test. verit.* sheweth out of *Aventi. Annal. lib. 3.* Synod in Bo-
that under Lotharius was a Synod in Bojaria, against the new ceremonies of *Jaria.*
Columban and Gallus; but he declareth not what they were. But we have
seen, that these two were Scots, and did not agree with Augustine nor Law-
rence, and did oppose their Ceremonies.

4. *An. 618.* Was the IV. Council (called the Universal) at Toledo, of *The IV. Synod*
70. Bishops. *Ca. 2.* It pleaseth all the Priests who embrace the unity of the *at Toledo.*
Catholic faith, that from henceforth we have no variety nor contrariety of
rites in the Church; lest any difference amongst us, seem unto strangers and
carnal men, to favour of error, and give occasion of scandal to any; there-
fore let one order of praying and singing be kept thorough all Spain and Ga-
licia, and no more diversity; because we are in one faith, and one King-
dom; although the old Canons heretofore, ordained each Province to keep
their own rites. *Ca. 6.* Some Parishes are noted, who have no preaching
on the Friday before Easter; now it is decreed, to preach of Christ's passion
that day; that people may be the better prepared to receive the Sacrament
of Christ's Body and Blood, on the Feast of the resurrection. *Ca. 7.* Because
the Universal Church passeth that whole day in sorrow and abstinence for the
Lord's passion; whosoever on that day, except little ones, and old or sick
persons, should interrupt the Fast until the Church service be done, let him
be debarred from the joy of Easter; and not be admitted to the Sacrament of
the Lord's Body and Blood. *Ca. 9.* Because some Priests in Spain do omit
to say the Lord's prayer, except on Sunday in publick service; therefore it is
decreed, that every day both in publick and private worship, none of the
Clergy omit the Lord's prayer; under pain of Deposition: seeing Christ
hath prescribed this, saying, When ye pray, say, Our Father----and it is
called the daily prayer, by the Doctours and Fathers. *Ca. 16.* The book of
Revelation should be read yearly in the Church, between Easter and Whit-
sunday. *Ca. 18.* A pernicious custom should not be kept; contempt of an-
cient statutes hath perturbed all the order of the Church; while some by am-
bition, and others by gifts, do usurp Priesthoods and Bishopricks; and some
prophane men and souldiers, unworthy of such honour, have been admitted
into the holy order; they should be removed: But lest great scandal arise in
the Church (what hath been done is past) it is expedient to prescribe, who
shall not hereafter be admitted into the Priesthood; that is, he who hath been
convicted of any infamous crime; who by publick repentance hath confes-
sed gross sins; who hath fallen into heresie; who hath been baptized in he-
resie, or is known to be rebaptized; who hath married a second wife, or wi-
dow, or divorced, or corrupt woman; who hath concubines or whores;
unknown men or young Scholars, who have been Souldiers or Courtiers;
who are ignorant of Letters; who are not 30. years old; who ascendeth not
by the degrees of the Church; who seeketh honour by ambition or gifts; who
were chosen by their Predecessours; whom the People and Clergy of the
City have not chosen, or the authority of the Metropolitan, and consent of
the comprovincial Priests have not required. Whosoever is required unto
the Office of a Priest, and is not found guilty in one of these, and his life and
doctrine being approved, according to the Synodal Decrees; he should be
consecrated by all the comprovincial Bishops, at least by three, upon a Sab-
both day; and the rest sending their Letters of approbation; and especially
by the authority, and presence, of the Metropolitan. A comprovincial Bishop
should be consecrated, in the place where the Metropolitan should chuse him;
the Metropolitan should not be consecrated, but in his own See, when the
Comprovincials were assembled. *Ca. 24.* Priests are commanded to read

the Scriptures diligently, that all their doings might serve for instruction to the people, in knowledge of faith, and good example of life. *Ca. 35.* Every Bishop should visit his Diocē, once every year, in proper person; and if sickness or weightier business did hinder him, then by the most grave Priests. *Ca. 46.* At command of our Lord and King Sisenand, the holy Council ordaineth, That all Clerks for the service of Religion, should be exempt from all charges and labours of the Common-Wealth. *Ca. 74.* So great is the falshood of many Nations (as they report) that they keep not their Oath of fidelity unto their Kings; and in a word, they feign the profession of an oath, but retain in their minds the impiety of falshood; they swear unto their Kings, and transgress against their Oath, nor fear they the judgement of God against perjurers: What hope can such have when they War against their enemies? What faithfulness can other Nations expect in peace? What Covenant shall not be violated, since they keep not their Oaths unto their own Kings? If we will eschew the wrath of God, and if we desire him to turn his severity into clemency; let us keep religious duty, and fear God, and our promised fidelity to our Princes; let there be no ungodly subtleties of infidelity amongst us, as amongst some Nations; let none of us presumptuously usurp the Kingdom; let none raise seditions amongst the Subjects; let none attempt the murder of Kings, but when the King is departed in peace, let the Nobles of the Realm, with the Priests, in a Common-Council of the Kingdom, appoint a Successour; that when the unity of concord is kept by us, no dissension can arise by violence or ambition; and whosoever among us, or of all the people of Spain, by any conspiracy or design whatsoever, should violate the Sacrament of his promise, that he hath promised for the standing of his Country and Kingdom of Goths, or for safety of the King; or attempt to murder the King, or to deprive him of his Royal Power, or by presumptuous tyranny shall usurp the Kingdom; let him be accursed in the sight of God the Father, and of the Angels; and let him be debarred from the Holy Church, which he hath defiled with perjury, and let him be estranged from the assembly of Christians, with all the complices of his impiety; because they all should be subject in the same punishment, who are guilty of the same fault. Which we repeat, saying again, Whosoever among us, &c.

Synod at Altitudore.

5. About the year 616. was a Council at Altitudore or Auticum. *Ca. 5.* All vigils which were wont to be kept to the honour of God, are forbidden, as divinations. *Ca. 18.* It is not lawfull to baptize at any time, except at Easter; unless it be such that are neer unto death, who are called *grabbata-ryj.* *Ca. 21.* It is not lawfull for a Presbyter, after he hath received the blessing, to sleep in a bed by a Presbyteress. Here they ordain not to put away the wives, nor forbid they cohabitation; but sleeping together. *Ca. 40.* A Presbyter should not sing nor dance at a feast. In this Council 7 Abbots, and 34 Presbyters had decisive votes and subscribe.

The VIII. Synod at Toledo.

6. About the year 650. was the VIII. Council at Toledo, to the number of 52 Bishops; where first was recited, and approved a rule of faith (little differing from the Nicene Creed) as taught by the Apostles, allowed by the Orthodox Fathers, and approved by the Holy Councils; here is no mention of Christ's descending into Hell, and in the IV. Council at Toledo, that article was not omitted. In many of all these Spanish Councils, the sleeping of Presbyters with their wives, is condemned as sinfull and execrable; but some would maintain their liberty, and would not obey, as is manifest in the sixth and seventh chapters of this Council.

Synod at Cabilone.

7. In the year 655. was a Council of 45 Bishops at Cabella or Cabilone in Burgundy. *Ca. 1.* The fore-named Creed is approved. *Ca. 10.* When a Bishop

Bishop of any City dieth, another should be chosen, only by the Clergy and indwellers of the same Province, otherwise the election is nul. *Ca. 17.* if any shall move a tumult, or draw a weapon, in a Church, so giving scandal; let him be debarred from the Communion. *Ca. 18.* We not ordaining a new thing, but renewing the old, do ordain, That no manner of husbandry-work, be done on the Lords-day. *Ca. 19.* Many things fall out, that are lightly punished; it is known to be very unseemly, that unholy Feasts, women in tribes use to sing filthy songs; when they ought to be praying or hearing prayers; therefore Priests should abolish such things; and if such persons continue in their wickedness, let them be excommunicated.

8. About the year 673. was a Synod at Hertford or Herudford in England; *Synod at Hertford.* where it was decreed, 1. That Easter should be kept, thorow the Realm, on the Sunday, the 14. day of the Moon, in the first month. Hence it is clear, that then they did reckon March to be the first month, after the manner of the Jews; which was the custom in Scotland till the year 1603. and is still the custom of England; whereupon ariseth difference in computation of years. 2. No Bishop should meddle with the Diocy of another. 3. No Clark shall forsake his own Bishop, and go into another Diocy, without Letters of commendation from his own Bishop. 4. Provincial Synods should be observed, at least, once a year. 5. Let no Bishop prefer himself before another, but by priority of their consecration. 6. Let no man put away his wife, except (as the Gospel teacheth) it be for fornication; and if he put her away, let him remain unmarried. *Beda hist. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 5.*

9. In the year 682. was the general Council of 150. Bishops (or as some write 171.) at Constantinople, against the heresie of the Monothelites. *The VI. general Council at Constantinople.* Of this Council somewhat was spoken before. Here the Emperour Constantine was present, and President, propounding, questioning, commanding silence upon occasions, ruling, and dismissing in every Session; or in his absence, a Nobleman, whom he ordained. The Nobleman sate on his right hand; and on his left, were the Legates of Pope Agatho, George Bishop of Constantinople, Macarius Bishop of Antiochia; some Presbyters for the Bishops of Alexandria and Jerusalem (for then these two Cities were under the Sarazens) and the other Bishops. There they were accursed, who hold that there is but one Will in Christ; and a Confession was published against this errour, and they made no other Canons. George did confess his errour, and did receive the sentence of the Council; but Macarius, and his Predecessours Cyrus, Sergius, Pirthus, Paul and Peter, were accursed; and Theophanius, an Abbot in Sicily, was made Bishop of Antioch. *Beda de 6. atat.* In the 12. Session, the Epistle of Honorius, Bishop of old Rome, unto Sergius, Bishop of Constantinople, was examined; he was anathematized, and his Epistle was condemned to the fire: *this Council sate 2. years. Within 4. or 5. years, by authority of the Emperour Justinian, the same Bishops were assembled, and about 100. more; they sate in the Palace, and therefore it is called Trulliano, from Trullo the name of the Palace; also it is called *πεντήκωτη*, because it was neither fifth nor sixth, yet they set in form the constitutions of both. *Bellarmin. de conc. lib. 1. cap. 7.* In *Gratian. decr. dist. cap. 16. Habeolibrum*, Peter Bishop of Nicomedia testifieth, that they made 102. Canons, which are not extant, but some are preserved. *Mart. Kemniti. in examin. Conc. Triden. pag. 3.* citeth from Nilus, Bishop of Thessalonica, and the Greek Nomocanon; the thirteenth Canon in these words, Because we understand, that it is delivered in the Roman Church as a Canon, that they who are thought worthy of the Order of a Deacon or Presbyter, should profess, that they should not bed with their own wives thereafter, We

following the ancient Canon of Apostolical, genuine, and orderly constitution, ordain, That the lawfull cohabitation of holy men, with their own wives, from this day, in time coming, should be valid, ratified, and firm; no way dissolving their conjunction with their own wives, or depriving them of conjugal society, which is in due time; and therefore he who is thought worthy the honour of a sub-Deacon, or Deacon, or a Presbyter, shall not be hindered from that degree, because he dwelleth with his lawfull wife; neither shall it be required of him at his ordination; or shall he be compelled to profess, that he shall or should abstain from lawfull copulation with his own wife; and yet they shall not have copulation with their own wives indifferently, but shall abstain in time of their course: and therefore if any shall presume, contrary to the Apostolical Canons, to deprive Deacons and Priests (after ordination) of society with their lawfull wives; let him be deposed; and also they who are ordained, if they put away their wives, under pretext of piety; let them be excommunicated. Hence it appeareth, that the Council did defend the marriage of Church-men to be Apostolical and orderly; and therefore the contrary constitution of the Roman Church, was not ancient, Apostolical nor orderly. And nevertheless the same Council saith, *Ca. 3.* Because the Roman See, in respect of the marriage of Priests, hath observed the highest rigour; and the Constantinopolitan *Antinean* meekness or gentleness, let us set a middle between the two, &c. And so they ordain, that who is twice married, or who hath married a widow, or a divorced, or a servant, or a whore, should not henceforth be admitted: and the liberty of Priests, which in *Ca. 13.* is called Apostolical; is denied unto Bishops in *Ca. 12.* and the wife of a Bishop, is ordained to go into a Monastery, *Ca. 48.* And Priests, Deacons and sub-Deacons, are forbidden to marry from thenceforth. When they say, from thenceforth; they declare that it was lawfull before. These Canons are also in *Gratian's* Decrees, with great alteration; but the known practice of the Greek Church, sheweth the reality of these Canons. Likewise in *Ca. 55.* they say, Because we have found, that some in the Roman Church, in time of Lent, do fast on the Sabbath daies, contrary to the received custom of the Church; it seemeth good unto this sacred Synod, that the Canon shall also bind, every way, the Roman Church: which [Canon] saith, If any Clerk should be found to fast on the Lord's day or Sabbath, except one Sabbath only; let him be deposed: and if he be a Laick; let him be excommunicated. The Papishes in these daies do glory, saying, That the Roman Church is the Mother-Church, Judge of all Churches, and can be judged of none: But behold! In this Synod a Bishop of Rome, is condemned in two particulars. And in *Ca. 36.* it is decreed, That the See of Constantinople hath (and should have) equal Priviledges with the See of Rome; and in Ecclesiastical matters be equally magnified *Gratian, decr. dist. 23. Edit. Paris. an. 1585.* where the gloss saith, that the Canon is amended from a manuscript in Greek.

*The XI. Synod
at Toledo.*

10. In the year 684. was the XI. Council at Toledo. There first Quiricus the Metropolitan, lamenteth the long omission of National Councils, and the X. was held *an. 674.* *Ca. 2.* So far as one excelleth another in honour of preferment; so far ought he to excel in godliness, by having continually in his mouth the sword of Truth; and in his hand the work of Light; for we should at all times be mindfull of the degree of order, and manner of conversation; seeing we have taken upon us the Office of preaching; and no care ought to distract us from reading the Scriptures: therefore who are advanced to eminent places, ought to take care that they who are within their charge, perish not by famine of the Word; also Metropolitans should watch over
their

their neighbours, and others subject unto them, and each Prelate over his inferiours. *Ca. 4.* As every one who loveth his brother, is born of God; so every one who hateth his brother, is of the Devil. Now it is dilated unto us, that some Priests love not their brethren; nor the Sun-setting (as Paul exhorteth) bringeth them from wrath; neither the yearly course of time hath brought them to the grace of love; to wit, the Sun of righteousness hath gone from their hearts: therefore we ordain, that such Priests presume not to come nigh the Altar, to receive the grace of communion, untill they be knit together in true reconciliation. *Ca. 15.* It pleaseth to ordain, that according to the determination of our Fathers, we should be ready to assemble, once in the year, at the time the will of the King, or the Metropolitan shall appoint; and if any Bishop absent himself, except at inevitable necessity; let him be punished with excommunication for a year. There also it is decreed, that no Bishop, or other Clark, should meddle with the judgement of blood; under the punishment of perpetual excommunication: That they who are ordained Bishops, shall give their Oath, before they be received into their Episcopal seat, that they neither have given, nor shall give unto any man, any reward for purchasing their dignity. Here many abuses of discipline in the Roman Church are condemned.

T H E
T H I R D A G E
Of the
C H U R C H,
O R

The History of the Church Fading, and of Anti-
Christ Rising, containing the space of 400. years, from the
Year of our Lord 600. untill the year 1000.

C E N T U R Y V I I I .

C H A P. I.

O F E M P E R O U R S .

*Contention
between the
Emperour
and the Bi-
shop of Rome,
both of them
mixing a good
cause with an
evil.*



PHILIPPICUS was crowned *an. 712*. He was eloquent and infortunate; in his time the Bulgarians wasted Thracia, and the Sarazens prevail mightily in Asia; he was a Monothelite; he deposed Cyrus Patriarch of Constantinople, and advanced John in his See. In a Synod he accurseth all the Bishops of the sixth general Council, and sent the Acts of this Synod unto Pope Constantine, willing him to subscribe them. Who refuseth, and set up all the pictures of those Bishops who had been in the Council, in the Gallery of Saint Peter. When Philippicus heard that, he caused thorow all the royal City to cast down all the images of those Bishops; and he commanded, that all images should be taken out of all the Churches throughout the Empire. Then Constantine assembled a Synod at Rome, and decreed, that images should be worshipped with great reverence; and brought the Emperour in contempt, calling him a Schismatick, a Monothelite, &c. And the people of Rome called him an Usurper, and not Emperour; and ordain, that no mention should be made of his name in publick or private Acts; and that no Medals should bear the name of that Heretick, either in brass, silver or lead, &c. Neither was his image brought into any Church, or his name mentioned in the Mass, *Abb. Vrsperg. in Chron. Edda de sex atat.* The Emperour contemneth this manner of proceeding, saying, It was contrary to the practice of David towards Saul, even when the Spirit had left him; and contrary to Christ, who refused not to pay Tribute to the heathen Cæsar; and to Peter, who exhorted Christians in Pontus (where were most cruel Kings) to fear the King. Philippicus reigned not above one year and six months; for (as Zonaras writes) when he had invited his Senatours unto a Feast; after dinner they laid hands on him, picked out his eyes, and cast him into Prison. Thus began the controversie of images, and untill that time the worship of images was not confirmed by Decree; and we may learn, that images at first

were

were put into Churches for history only; for who can imagine that they would set up the images of all these Bishops to be worshipped? Both the Emperor and the Pope did mix a good cause with a bad. All the Emperours following (except Theodosius) for the space of 160. years, did condemn the worship of images, and the error of the Monothelites.

2. **ANASTASIUS** Antemius was Secretary to Philippicus, and then elected by the Senators of Constantinople. He approved the Acts of the sixth Council, and writ to Pope Constantine that he was a follower of the Catholic faith. *Bedaloc. cit.* He deposed John, the Heretical Bishop of Constantinople, and did put Germanus in his place: he sent a great Army against the Sarazens in Ægypt, but his Army within few daies left the Siege of Alexandria, because he made John, a Priest, their General; they kill him, and salute Theodosius (a Treasurer) Emperour against his will. When they returned through Asia unto Constantinople, Anastasius met them; and after a fight at Nice, when he heard that the Constantinopolitans had given their keys unto Theodosius, he rendreth himself, and voweth to become a Monk, if they would do him no more harm: So he was sent into Thessalonica in the 15. month of his Empire. *Zonar. & Mexia.*

3. **THEODOSIUS** was unfit for government, and set up images in the Churches. In the second year, his souldiers proclaim Emperour Leo their General. Theodosius would not fight, but turned Monk; and so did his son Theodosius, after he had such assurance, as he gave to Anastasius.

4. **LEO** Isaurus received the Crown. *An. 717.* In the beginning of his reign the Sarazens, raised such a huge Navy of Ships and Souldiers, that it was thought the World would be a prey unto them: Leo durst not resist them; so they did overrun all Thracia; they pass thorow Greece into Bulgaria, only the Bulgarians prepared some resistance. The Sicilians despair of aid from Leo, and chuse a King Tiberius. When Leo had been in this perplexity three years, and the country had been plagued with famine and pestilence; then Leo and all they who had been imprisoned within the Walls of Constantinople, gave themselves unto continual and earnest prayers. God heard their cries, and within a short space, partly by the death of Amurathes, and dissension amongst the Sarazens about the election; partly by extreame famine and coldness on land; and partly by storms on Sea, that fearful enemy was brought to nought, *Beda de sex atat.* and Leo possesseth all that he had before in the Continent and Isles. The Mahumetans spake against nothing so much amongst the Christians, as against the worship of images; and therefore Leo would have taken them out of the Churches, but was obstructed by Germanus the Patriarch. Wherefore he assembleth a Council, *an. 730.* where the question was discussed, and images were condemned: Germanus would not subscribe, and renounceth his Bishoprick; the Synod placed Anastasius in his chair, *Paul. Diacon. lib. 2. rerum Roman.* Then Leo causeth the images and statues to be burned in the market streets; he did inhibit the worship of them; and sent unto Pope Gregory the II. to do the like at Rome, and through Italy; and shewed how he, in a Synod, had caused to be examined, the controversies against the worshipping of images; the intercession of Saints, and the keeping of relicks of the dead: he had found that intercession of Saints was a fable; the worship of images was idolatry, and contrary to God's Word; and the keeping of relicks is become superstitious. The Pope holdeth another Synod at Rome, and excommunicateth the Emperour, perswading the greatest part of Italy, that they should not acknowledge the Emperour; as amongst the Greeks writ *Zonar.* and some late Papists; but *Paul. Diaconus* (who did live not long thereafter) writ that all the

*In extremity
prayer pre-
vaileth.*

*Anti-Synods
for and a-
gainst ima-
ges.*

people and souldiers of Ravenna and Venice, did resist the Emperours precept; so that the revolt of Italy began at the people and souldiers, and not in a Synod; and all do accord, that the Election of the Emperour was stayed at that time, by the Pope; and we find, that after that time, the Romans sought aid from the Emperour, as their Sovereign: and *Sabell. Ennead. 8. lib. 7.* addeth another reason, that Italy was vexed by the Lombards, without any help from the Greeks; so that sundry Cities in Italy then did chuse Dukes to themselves. The Pope did hinder the election of another Emperour, because he thought Leo would take to heart what was done and attempted, and would be better advised. *Blond. lib. 10. dec. 1.* Also another conspiracy was moved in Greece, by the worshippers of images; the chief were Agallian and Stephen, who levied an Army: the Imperialists rencountred them by the way, and burned their Ships; many souldiers were drowned; Agallian leaped into the Sea; Stephen and some others were taken, and beheaded at Constantinople, *Zonaras* and *Bellarmin* call them Martyrs, *de imag. Sanct. lib. 2. cap. 6.* In the mean time some call Leo a Tyrant. He answered, they were justly punished, who neither worshipped God, nor revered the Imperial Majesty; but did oppose themselves unto the laws. At that time John Damascenus, was a Patron of images in Syria; and he, with some Bishops and Monks, excommunicateth the Emperour. Nevertheless he continueth in his purpose, nothing afraid of their vain curses and opprobrious words; they call him *εἰκονομαχ* & *ῥεῖσμα*, a fighter against images and God. Then doth Luithprand, King of the Lombards, make conquest of Italy and besiege Rome. Gregory the III. seeing that Leo neither would nor could send aid (as the Emperours were wont to defend Rome) sent unto Charls the father of Carloman, and grand-father of Charls the Great; desiring him to defend the City from Luithprand. At the intercession of Charls, Luithprand left the siege. At that time were great Earthquakes in Bithinia and Thracia, wherein Nicomedia and Nice were sore ruined, and the Walls of Constantinople were shaken; wherefore the Emperour layeth a Tax for repairing the Walls. This gave occasion to the image-worshippers to call him covetous, and more given to lucre than government: he died of a dysentery, *An. 741.*

The Pope seeketh aid from France.

Against images.

5. CONSTANTINE Copronymus succeeded his father both in Empire and religion: He made preparation of War against the Sarazens; when he was in Egypt, the worshippers of images gave out a report that he was dead (it is no new thing, that Hereticks do lie) and Artobastus was crowned Emperour, by Anastasius the Patriarch: therefore Constantine must return, he suppressed Artobastus, degraded Anastasius, and another Constantine was made Patriarch. At that time Aistulph, King of the Lombards, taketh up Arms against Rome. Pope Stephen sought to pacifie him with soft words; and when those had no place, he sent unto the Emperour, exhorting him to deliver his own Kingdom from Aistulph; who had taken the Exarchate of Ravenna, and was besieging Rome. The Emperour delayeth to send an Army, and sought to avert Aistulph by Ambassadors. The Pope thinking that the Emperour had little regard, gave himself (saith *Bellarmin. de concil. lib. 2. cap. 8.*) unto the patrociny of the French King; but *Card. Cusanus in fascic. rer. expetend.* saith, that the Emperour sent a Messenger unto Pope Stephen, and these two did obtain of Pipin, that he would comply with Aistulph to restore what he had taken from the Empire. Pipin did send, but prevailed not; thereafter he promised unto Stephen, that he would by force take those places from Aistulph, and give them to blessed Peter. When the Emperour's Ambassador heard this, he returned; whereby it is manifest

The Emperour loseth in Italy France prevailed there.

(saith

(saith *Cusanus*.) that Constantine gave not the Western Empire unto the Pope; and it is continually read, that the Emperour, as before, did with full power possess Rome, Ravenna, Marchia with other places; and this is proved by *Gratian. dist. cap. 96. Bene quidam*. The Emperour understanding what the Pope had done, and ere Pipin came the second time into Italy, sent unto Rome, promising to come unto their aid. But Pipin was then passing the Alps, and did compel Aistulph to render all the Cities that he had taken; and Pipin gave them (saith *Bellarmin. de Ro. Pont. lib. 2. cap. 17.*) to the Church of Rome, reserving the Princely authority over them, as followeth; and from that time (saith he) the French had Rome. *Alb. Crantz. in Chron. Saxon. lib. 2. cap. 1.* writing of this purpose saith, Some say that Constantine gave Italy, Germany, and I know not what other places unto the Church of Rome. It was Charls who did enrich the Roman Church, and long before the Goths in their time; and thereafter the Kings of the Lombards had given some things. The Emperour, at that time, had Wars with the Sarazens, and was like to be overthrown, if God had not stirred the Turks against the Sarazens. At that time Pipin conquered Ravenna, and called it Romandiolia, to extinguish the Republick and the name. Then the Emperour, by Ambassage, craved of Pipin to restore unto him Ravenna and other Cities, which the Lombards had taken from his Ancestours. Pipin answered, that he was Lievtenant of the Bishop of Rome; and all belonged unto Saint Peter that he had taken by Arms. So Pipin and the Pope, did joint to rob the Emperour. Thereafter Constantine set his heart to order Church-affairs; he calleth a Councel at Constantinople, where they condemn not only the worshipping, but the having of images in Churches; and then he caused them to be cast down every where, and perswaded the Christians to do the like in Armenia, Palestina, Syria, and in all other Provinces under his subjection. Immediately the Bulgarians molested the Emperour, but he forceth them to beg peace; which he granted, on condition that they would put all images out of their Churches. Then Pope Stephen, in a Synod at Rome, charged the Emperour of sundry crimes, and called him the slave of sin; let the impartial Reader consider the crimes. He misliketh the Monks, not so much for their profession, as for their hypocrisie; and therefore he calleth their habits, the garments of darknes. 2. He would not let the relicks of the dead be reserved; and called it an heathenish worship which is given unto the dead: he said also, that God would have the burial of Moses unknown unto the people; lest it might occasion idolatry amongst the Israelites. 3. He calleth intercession of Saints Fig-tree-leaves to cover idolatry. 4. He contemneth all images, and forbiddeth the worship of Mary, *Zonar*. But the Emperour was not afraid of the curses of Image-worshippers. Not long thereafter Desiderius, King of the Lombards, incoacheth again upon the lands of the Empire in Italy: wherefore Pope Hadrian the I. sent unto Charls the Great, then King of France, for aid; he sent also unto the Emperour. But the Emperour did so envy the Roman Bishop, and his ambition, that he was nothing sorrowfull for his grief; and when the Pope's Nuntio presented the Letters of supplication, he said, You have temporality, defend your selves; or restore unto us our lands, and we will defend you, as we are bound, *Catal. test. ver. lib. 8. ex Chron. de Duc. Bavar*. And because a certain Stephen, did speak in defence of the Pope, he caused him to lose his life. But Charls was glad of the occasion, and came quickly into Italy, and abolished the Kingdom of the Lombards; and confirmed the Donation of his father Pipin; and moreover, he gave other Lands and Isles unto the Church of Rome. So all Italy (except *Magna Gracia*, that is, Calabria, Pulia and Napels, which remai-

ned unto the Greek Emperours) was in subjection unto Charls; and from thenceforth he was called King of France and Lombardy, *Patricius Romanus*. The Emperour died *an.* 777.

6. LEO Charaza succeeded his father: he discharged from his Court James, Papias and Theophanes, because they had spoken in favour of the Image-worshippers: he took a Crown of Gold out of the Church of Saint Sophia, which was adorned with some stones of great value, and had been offered, by the Emperour Maurice, unto the image of Saint Mary; and Leo did set it upon his own head. Of these stones some were so cold, that (as *Platina* writeth in *Adrian* the I.) by coldness thereof he died shortly after, in the first year of his Reign.

7. CONSTANTINE was ten years of age, when his father died: his mother Irene governed the Empire 10. years, to the great prejudice of the Common-Wealth and Church; for the Sarazens made a great part of the Empire Tributary: she calleth a Council at Constantinople for restoring images, as followeth: she took up the body of her father-in-law, and burnt it, and cast the ashes into the Sea; because he had demolished images; she did cause the Souldiers to swear that they should not acknowledge her son, so long as she was in life; but the Armenian Band would not violate their Oath of Allegiance. The young man coming to age, caused her to renounce the government, and live without authority 7. years. He began to follow the steps of his father in demolishing images; wherefore Irene moveth a conspiracy to make his Uncle Emperour. The treason was discovered, the Traitors severely punished, and Nicephorus was banished, but he spareth his mother. Again she insnareth him, caused his eyes to be picked out, and scarcely spared his life. Then again, she alone had the Empire 4. years. *Zonar*. The Empire then was contained in Greece, Thracia, Magna Græcia, the Islands of Archipelagus, Sicily, Candia, and the Provinces of Asia the less.

CHAP. II.

Of P O P E S.

1. JOHN the VI. hath left little written of him, except that he repaired three Churches in three years. *Platina* saith, Some call him a Martyr, but he sheweth not for what nor under whom. *Io. Baleus* (out of *Pe. Pramonstraten*.) saith, he entred not lawfully, and therefore his name is not written amongst the Popes.

2. JOHN the VII. builded an Oratory unto Saint Mary, in Saint Peter's Church: he sate 2. years, and died *an.* 706.

3. SISINNIIUS or Zosimus. sate 20. daies.

*Kissing of the
Popes foot.*

4. CONSTANTINE was the first Pope, who had his foot kissed by an Emperour; and his Successours have been so bold as to ask it, as due unto them; which was done unto him not of self-accord only; but (as *Pe. Mexia* speaketh) with unmeasurable shew of humility and obedience. Hence it is, that the Pope accepteth the adorations, prostrations, and kissing of his foot; which an Angel would not accept from Saint John, saith *Antonin*. Bishop of Florence, *Summ. Theolog. tit. 22. cap. 5. sect. 4.* he giveth this reason, because the Pope is of more worth then an Angel; not indeed in nature (saith he) but in authority and representation of God; for God hath not assumed the nature of Angels, nor hath he given them the power of the keys.

But

But certainly Pope Constantine did neither require nor expect such reverence; yet having once received it, his heart was so lifted up, that he durst countermand and oppose the next Emperour. Onuphrius in his *Annot. on Platin.* saith expressly, that he was the first who durst withstand an Emperour to his face. *Pol. Virgil. de invent. rer. lib. 4. cap. 13.* marketh, that this practice was far from the mind of Saint Peter, who would not suffer the Centurion to fall down before him, *Act. 10.* O that many to day (saith he) would remember that they are men! Who because they have attained unto a Priesthood, do exhibit themselves the most imperious Lords, that are recorded of; neither are they common fathers, as they ought to be. *Index Expurgatorius* ordained to blot away these words, and not the words following immediately. And so it is come in use, that we kiss our Pope's foot; and I may say, that this is ordained by the High-Priests of Rome, that the old fashion of kissing amongst the worshippers of the Gods, should be usurped to true piety. So far he. In this Pope's time, was controversie between the Bishop of Millain, and the Bishop of Ticine for superiority. The Bishop of Millain alledged, that the other was his suffragan. The question is referred to Pope Constantine; he appointed that the Bishop of Ticine should be subject unto Saint Peter only: he late 7. years.

5. GREGORY the II. was busied in repairing of Churches, and establishing the worship of images, in despite of the Emperour Leo, as is touched. In *Com. 3. Concil.* is the Oath, that Boniface, Arch-Bishop of Ments, gave unto this Gregory, thus, I Boniface, Bishop by the grace of God, do promise unto you, blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles; and to thy Vicar, blessed Peter, Gregory and his Successours, by the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the inseparable Trinity, and this thy most holy body, That I shall shew all faithfulness and purity unto the holy Catholick faith, and continue in the unity (God working) of the same faith; in which the salvation of Christians is without doubt; that I shall for no mans perswasion, in any way, consent against the unity of the common and universal Church; but (as I said) shall exhibit my faithfulness, purity and concurrence in all things unto thee, and the utilities of thy Church; to whom the power of binding and loosing is given by the Lord God, and unto thy fore named Vicar and Successours: But if I do know, that High-Priests shall do things contrary to the ancient institutions of the holy fathers, then I will have no communion or society with them; but rather I will forbid them, if I may; or else I shall dilate it faithfully unto my Apostolical Lord: And if (which may be far from me) I shall attempt to do any thing, in any way, or upon any occasion, against the tenour of this promise, let me be found guilty of everlasting judgement, and incur the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, who did presume to deceive even you in their own property, and to speak falsely. This tenour of Oath, I Boniface, a mean Bishop, have subscribed with my own hand, and this Oath being laid on thy most holy body have I made, God being witness and judge, which I do also promise to keep. The Author of *Catal. rest. ver. lib. 8.* within two pages after these words, sheweth out of *Lib. Pontific. & Sabell. Ennead.* That this Pope ordained 150. Bishops in several places, whom he did ingage with the same Oath. Here many particulars are remarkable, I will relate a few, 1. The Pope calleth himself not the Vicar of Christ, but of Peter; they were not as yet accustomed with that Title. 2. Though the Bishops swear by God, they are not ingaged unto God; but unto Peter and his Vicars, and the utilities of the Church; 3. The Church is not called God's Church, nor Christ's Church; but Thy Church, say they unto Peter. 4. They swear by the body of Peter, as by God. 5. They swear to continue

An Episcop
pal Oath un-
to the Pope.

in the purity of the ancient and holy faith, wherein they acknowledge the salvation of Christians to consist; and to maintain Peter and the utilities of his Church. But if that which they call Peter's Church, continue not in the ancient and holy faith, and only seek their own utilities; what should a Bishop do in this case? Certainly they should follow the holy faith, wherein the salvation of Christians doth consist: but this they did not; as all Histories shew. In his third Epistle unto the Clergy and People of Thuringia, he saith, We have given a command unto Boniface, that he promote not unto holy Orders, one who is *bigamus* twice married, or hath not married a Virgin, &c. And in his eighth Epistle, he expoundeth the word *bigamus*, not him who marrieth another, the former being dead; but him who having many wives together, when they are dead, will marry two other wives. Hence it appeareth, that polygamy was then amongst Christians, although contrary to the Word of Christ. He sate almost 17. years, and did die *An.* 731.

*Novations
and forgery.*

6. GREGORY the III. followed his Predecessour in multiplying and enriching Churches and Monasteries. In a Synod he did excommunicate all those who worship not images. *Platina* saith, he first brought into the Canon of the Mass, the clause for relicks, beginning, Whose solemnities too day in the sight, &c. as also the offering for the dead was established by him. In *Catal. test. ver. lib. 3.* is marked a forgery, in the book of Councils; to wit, *Aventinus in Annal.* relateth, that this Gregory in an Epistle unto the Bishops of Bavaria exhorteth, That at the command of Utilo their Duke, the Synod of Priests, Bishops, Nobles and of the Nation should be called; and their true Priests should be chosen by the accord of them all; and the wicked who have been convicted of any crime, should be deposed; the Synod should be held twice every year, for the good of the people, by the Danube, where he pleaseth. But in the third *rome* of Councils, the Epistle saith, In what place Boniface shall command you to convene in a Synod, whether by Danube, or in Augusta, or wheresoever he shall appoint; be ye ready to convene for the name of Christ; to the end, we may know of your meeting at his command, &c. Hence may be understood, what credit may be given unto their records that are lately written. In the same Annals is another Epistle unto Boniface, wherein Gregory ordereth to give the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ unto the leaprous, if they be believing Christians; but not with them who are in health: He sate 10. years.

*Hot and cold
out of one.*

7. ZACHARIAS keepeth friendship with the Lombards, and received in gift from King Luithprand, the Territories of Sabineum, Narnia, Humana, the Valley of Sutirino; and all the lands that the King had taken from the Emperour about Emilia and Ravenna. *Blond. decr. 1. lib. 10.* His Predecessours had a rich Bishoprick, and he may be called the first Prince of all the Popes. At that time he called the Lombards, the Patrons of the Church; but when Aistulph would have reclaimed what was said to have been given unto the See of Rome, by his Ancestours; Zachary called the Lombards the children of the Devil, and unworthy the name of men, and he inciteth the French against Aistulph. As Pope Gregory the I. had forbidden the marriage of sisters-children; so the Epistle of Boniface unto Zachary, sheweth that Gregory the II. gave dispensation to a Noble-man in Germany, to marry his Uncle's wife; and the same woman, had married the same man's cousin-german, and had forsaken him; and in his life-time had married the other. Although this was authorized by the Pope, yet Boniface writeth to Zachary, that it was scandalous to his new converts; so that Zachary gave a command to divorce them, as his responsory Epistle beareth. Boniface complineth al-
so

so of many disorders amongst the Priests; especially on New-years evening, they compass Saint Peter's Church after the same manner of the Heathens; and he complaineth of women using other Pagan rites; all which (saith he) were scandalous unto his people. Zachary resolved his scruples, not by God's Word, but by the Romish Canons; and he willett Boniface to be instant in Reformation according to these Canons, but not one word of Scripture; for he endeavourt to bring Subjects to the See of Rome, and not souls to Christ. His words are, I rejoyce of you, Beloved, that ye are converted with good affection unto him who affecteth you, a Magistrate appointed by God, and the blessed Prince of the Apostles; your faith and fame is laudable, because ye are wise, as ye should be wise; and now (God cooperating) your Holiness is gathered unto our society in one sheep-fold. Boniface did ask him, whether they might make oblations for the dead? His answer is, in *Gratian. cap. 13. quest. 2.* The Church holdeth that each one may offer for their dead, who were Christians, and the Priest may mention them. If this had been an Ordinance before, Boniface could not have been ignorant of it. 2. Observe that each one might offer for their dead, then the offering was not the proper work of the Priest; and till that time, sacrifice was not offered for the dead. In another Epistle unto Boniface is these words, As for these things whereof you demand, what should be received, and what refused; especially of Fowls, as Jaws, Crows and Storks, Christians should never eat of these; and far rather should they abstain from Hares, Bevers and wild Stags. Like a Manichean he speaketh against the Apostle 1 *Tim. 4.* In another Epistle he biddeth Boniface exact a Tribute of the Sclavi, lest sometime they challenge their own land; and by paying Tribute they may know, that their land hath a Superiour. Who gave him their land? he now will inroach. Nevertheless in another Epistle he saith, he did swoond, when he read in a Letter, that Boniface had sold Palls for money: He sate about 10. years, and died *an. 752.*

8. STEPHEN the I. died on the third day after his coronation. Some do not reckon him.

9. STEPHEN the II. was offended with Aistulph, who exacted Tribute from the Church-lands; and because it was refused, took up Arms. Stephen seeing no appearance of aid to come from the Emperour, did advise with the people, that some writings might be directed unto Pipin: The Letters began thus, Unto the most excellent Lords, Pipin, Charls and Carloman, three Kings and our Roman Patricij, and unto all Bishops, Abbots, Priests and Monks, and to the glorious Dukes and Counts, and unto the whole Army of the Kingdom of France: Stephen Pope, and all the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, Dukes, Counts, People and Army of the Romans, all being in anguish [*Observe, this was not of the Pope only, nor of the Clergy only; but likewise of the Dukes and other people; and 2. the names of the Kings, is set before the Pope's name.*] With how dolefull and bitter grief we are compassed on every side; with how great perplexity and doubtfulness we are distressed, and how many tears our eyes do shed; because of the continual troubles which are multiplied upon us, we think that the smallest parts of all the elements do declare; for who beholding our tribulations will not mourn? Who hearing our calamities will not howl? Therefore let us remember the words of good Susanna, Affliction is on every side, and we know not what to do. O ye most truly Christians, behold! The daies of trouble, the daies of mourning and bitterness are come upon us; seeing it is come, as we were fearing, from the Lombards; for we are afflicted, distressed, and on every side besieged, by their most ungodly King Aistulph, and that Nation; and

*The Popes
Letters unto
France.*

with the Prophet we pray the Lord, saying, Help us, O Lord of our salvation, and for the honour of thy name deliver us; and again, Take the sword and the shield, and arise to help us: For behold! please to know, how the Covenant of peace is violated by the foresaid wicked Aistulph and his Nation; and we could obtain nothing that was capitulated and confirmed by bond of Sacrament: And now because no condition is kept unto us, and on the first day of January all the Army of the Lombards have made their rendezvous in Tuscya; and have camped at the Gates of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and the Gate Portuen; and Aistulph himself with another Army have fixed their Tents at the Gate of Salaria and other Gates; and hath oft said unto us, Open unto me the Gate of Salaria, and I will enter into your City; and give me your High-Priest, and I will shew clemency unto you: If not, beware, lest when I have battered down your Walls, I kill you altogether with the sword; and let me see, who can deliver you out of my hands. Wherefore we could scarcely direct this Bearer by Sea with these Presents unto your Christianity; we have written them with many tears: Wherefore our Beloved, I beseech you, and as if I were present, I adjure by the mysteries before the true and living God, and before Saint Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, that with great speed you help us, lest we perish; seeing, under God, we have committed all our lives into your hands, forsake us not. Our Beloved, come forward and help us, who (under God) lie unto you; that when you have brought forth good fruit, may in the day of the future trial, say, Our Lord Peter, Prince of the Apostles, behold us thy clients; we perfecting our course, have kept the faith; the Church that was commended unto thee, we have defended and delivered from the hands of the oppressours; and we standing without spot before thee, do offer unto thee the children, which thou didst commit unto us, safe and sound from the hands of their enemies: Then both in this World, and that to come, ye shall receive the joys of heavenly rewards.

Another Letter in the name of Peter.

After this the Pope sent another Epistle, in the name of Saint Peter, as if it had been written from Heaven; it beginneth thus: Peter called an Apostle, Grace and Peace and Power, to deliver the holy Church of God, and the people of Rome, committed unto me, from the hands of their enemies, be fully given from the Lord our God, unto you most excellent men, Pipin, Charls and Carloman, three Kings; and to the most holy Bishops, Abbots, Presbyters and all religious Monks, and also to the Dukes, Counts, and all the general Armies and people of France: I Peter Apostle, whilst I am called by Christ, the Son of the living God, through the pleasure of the Supream clemency, and ordained by his power to be enlightner of all the World; the Lord himself, our God, confirming it with these words, Go, teach all Nations; and again, Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye forgive--- Wherefore all who hear and fulfill my preaching, may truly believe, that in this World, at the command of God, their sins are loosed; and being pure and without spot they shall enter into that life. Therefore I Peter, the Apostle of God, who have you my adopted children, to defend from the enemies hands this Roman City, and the people, committed of God unto me; or to deliver the house (wherein I, according to the flesh do rest) from the prophanation of the Gentiles; provoking all your love do exhort, and protesting do admonish you to deliver the Church of God, which by Divine Power is commended unto me, seeing they suffer very great afflictions and oppressions, by the most wicked Nation of the Lombards; think not otherwise, but trust it for certain, that I my self am standing alive in the flesh before you. And our Lady, the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, with us, doth adjure you with the greatest obligations, and protesteth, and admoni-

sheth,

sheth, and commandeth, &c. Behold with what fooleries and impieties they would bewitch the World ! But Pipin nor his brethren, did not levy an Army, untill Pope Stephen came into France; when he took his journey, he commended himself unto Saint Mary, and his sheep unto Saint Peter. *Lib. Pontific.* Pipin hearing of his coming, sent his son Charls an hundred miles to meet him; and when he came within three leagues of Carisiac, Pipin went forth unto him, and returned on foot, and the Pope on horse. Then Pipin was crowned again, for the greater pomp, by the Pope. He went into Italy, and forceth Aistulph to give hostages, that he shall render unto the Pope all due right. So soon as Pipin was returned into France, Aistulph raiseth a greater Army, and did more harm unto Rome, then it had suffered in 300. years before. Then Pope Stephen writ another supplication unto Pipin, who made no delay, but forceth Aistulph to perform the former conditions, and gave unto the Pope the Exarchate of Ravenna. Within a year Aistulph dieth, then a division falleth between Rachis and Desiderius for the Kingdom; the people, for the most part, were for Rachis; and Desiderius agreeth with the Pope, to ratifie what the Kings had given; and to give more, if he would procure aid for him. Wherefore Pipin writ his fourth Epistle unto Pipin, giving him thanks for his aid; wishing many blessings unto him, and shewing that Aistulph was stricken by the hand of God, and drowned in the bottom of Hell; and that by the hands of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and by thy most powerfull arm [speaking unto Pipin] Desiderius a most mild man was ordained King of the Lombards, who had sworn to restore unto Saint Peter, the Cities Faventia, Insubres and Ferraria, with all their Territories; and also Ausimo, Aucona, Humana, Bona with all their Territories; and he had sworn to keep peace with the Church of Saint Peter, and to be loyal unto the Crown of France; and intreated Pipin to approve the Coronation of Desiderius upon these conditions. Henceforth the Pope listeth up his head, and having large Territories given unto him, will not rest untill he be Monarch of the World. When Stephen had peace, he begun to repair the Churches, which Aistulph had caused to be thrown down, and died in the sixth year of his Papacy.

10. PAUL the I. succeeded his brother. He did write many Letters unto King Pipin. In the first, he speaketh of his brothers death, and ingageth himself to continue the League contracted by his brother and the King; and he craveth that Pipin would do so. In the 3. He giveth thanks unto Pipin, for his defence against their enemies; and promiseth to cause the Monks to learn the songs of Carloman. In the 4. He sheweth that he did suspect Marinus, a Priest of Rome, to consult with the Emperour's Legates; and to withdraw him, he had sent him unto the King, and craved that he would make him a Bishop there. In the 5. he sheweth, that his Nuntio was not returned from Constantinople. In the 6. he giveth thanks for his exalting the Church of Rome; and sheweth his confidence, under God, to consist in the arm of the most puissant King Pipin; and craved to send a Resident, by whom he might communicate the purposes and attempts of the Greeks. In the 8. he sheweth, That the Emperour is already in Arms, intending to recover Ravenna and Rome, and craved his aid against the Greeks. In the 9. he sheweth, that he will speak with Desiderius, and prepare what is needfull against the Greeks. In the 10. he purgeth himself, that he had never said, that Pipin could not help the Romans now in their distress; and he giveth him liberty to deal with Marinus, as he will. In the 12. he sheweth, that the Beneventans had taken some parts of Campany, and made them subject unto the Governour of Sicily; he admonished them once again to desist, and

*Letters of
Pope Paul to
France.*

if they would not, he was resolved by the power of God, and help of Pipin, to send an Army against them, as the enemies of blessed Peter and Pipin; and he craved that the King would chide them by Letters, and if they will not obey, that he would consent unto the expedition. In the 13. he giveth thanks for his defence of the Church, and for the peace betwixt him and Desiderius; and craved that Pipin would send back the hostages; to the end he might have the City Imola. In the 14. he sendeth some treasonous Letters of Sergius, Bishop of Ravenna, and craved aid. In the 16. and 22. He speaketh of the Emperour's Legates residing in France, and giveth thanks that the King had so honourably accepted his Nuntio with the other, and had imparted unto him what he had done with the Emperour. In the 19. he giveth thanks for the safety of the holy Church; and craved the honour, to receive his lately born son from the holy Fount of Baptism. In the 21. he promiseth that no favour nor terror should divert him from the King's favour, in whom he hath the greatest confidence under God, and his Mother, and the Apostles. In the 26. he writeth much of the cruelty of the Lombards, and that he had not sought the return of the hostages; but that he might have free passage thorow Lombardy; and now he exhorteth and adjureth him fearfully to detain them; and to cause Desiderius to restore all the goods of blessed Peter, that in the coming of the Lord he might shine as a glorious sun. In one Epistle he saith, that blessed Peter had chosen Pipin, Charls, and Carloman, three Kings, and had consecrated them by his Vicar, that they may be defenders of the orthodox faith, and maintainers of his flock. In an Epistle unto the French Army, he calleth Peter Protectour of France. In another he writeth, that it is lawfull that the Bishop of Rome should reign as the Princes of the Nations do, and possess Kingdomes on earth and the glory thereof; and to undertake Wars, and to vindicate unto himself the emoluments of the Roman Empire. In an Epistle to Crodegangus *Epist. Meten.* he saith, Unto us albeir unworthy, in place of Saint Peter, is committed the Universal Church of all the World. In *Catal. test. ver. lib. 8.* many other of his Letters are mentioned. Those declare the rising of Peter's Vicar, though himself did never attempt or claim such things. Paul sate 10. years. After his death, Desiderius King of the Lombards, sought to have the friendship of a Pope towards him; wherefore his brother Toto, Duke of Neper, with some souldiers entred into Rome, and himself followed by the advice of the Emperor Constantine; and caused his own brother Constantine to be chosen, who in one day (saith *Onuphr. in Indict.*) was made a Deacon, a Priest and Pope; and Desiderius compelleth the people (who did favour Philippus) to swear unto Constantine. Nevertheless he could never obtain the favour of the Romans, because he was so nigh unto Desiderius, and a friend to the Emperour, and a hater of images. He sought the favour of King Pipin, and by his Letters promiseth to keep the amity begun betwixt him and his Predecessours. The Romans in a tumult kill Toto, and thrust Constantine into a Monastery, *an. 768.*

11. STEPHEN the III. would immediately assemble a Synod, and sent unto King Pipin, craving that he would send the most learned of his Bishops unto Rome for reformation of the Church. In the mean time Pipin dieth, and his sons Charls and Carloman governed both their own part of the Kingdom with small kindness; nevertheless they sent 12. Bishops out of France and Germany. Behold what a Reformation! He annulleth the election of Constantine; he causeth him to be whipped, and picked out his eyes; he annulleth all his Consecrations and other Acts; he censureth the Synod at Constantinople, and ordained that images should be worshipped
by

by all Christians with great affection and honour; and he accursed the Greeks if they did not restore due honour unto images; because if Princes may set up their statues in Towns; and it be not lawfull to set up the images of God and his Saints; their condition were inferiour to Princes. After the Synod, he practiseth against the Emperour, as is touched. Many of his Epistles are extant, unto Charls and Carloman. In one he craveth to be witness of the Baptism of Carloman's son, as his Predecessours had been to King Pipin. In another, he dissuadeth Charls from alliance with the Lombards, as a faithless and base Nation; he adjureth him to obey his exhortation, and if he will not, he assureth him in the name of his Lord, blessed Peter, that he should be excommunicated; be separated from God, and be punished with everlasting fire: But if he will obey, he should deserve the reward of eternal joy, with the Saints of God: In all his Epistles is not any mention of Christ. By these Letters he perswadeth Charls to put away his wife Bertha, the sister of Desiderius, after they had cohabited one year; he did fear, if the alliance had continued, Desiderius might pull his wings: He sate 7. years.

12. HADRIAN or Adrian the I. would be more forward in maintaining images, and did write in defence of them, calling them Lay-mens books. In a Letter to Irene and Constantine, he saith, Ye will rest in, and imbrace, the tradition of the orthodox faith, of the Church of blessed Peter and Paul, Princes of the Apostles, as it hath been done by the former Emperours, who with all their hearts did love his Vicar: For they shall be defenders of your Kingdom, and make all barbarous Nations subject unto your feet; that wheresoever ye go, they shall make you victorious: Seeing they are Princes of the Apostles, who have begun the catholick and orthodox faith; have by their writings, as Enacted Laws, commanded their faith to be observed by all who were to succeed in their seats; and so our Church both worshippeth their holy figures, and our Temples are adorned with their worshipfull images untill this day. Observe 1. That Peter and Paul are conjoined and co-equal. 2. The Pope is the Vicar of Peter and Paul, and not of Christ. 3. He speaketh of the protection of Peter and Paul, and not of God. 4. He saith, the Apostles were the beginners of the Catholick faith, and he calleth it their faith; no word here of faith in God and Christ. 5. He saith, All who succeed in the seats of the Apostles, are commanded to observe their faith. But the Popes of following ages, have not observed the faith which Peter and Paul have left in their writings. *Ro. Barns* in Adrian the I. saith, All the care of the Popes then was on stones or in building Churches, or in making images, or in enriching the Church, or in excommunicating Princes, and in such toies; but in their own ministry they were seldom or never occupied. In *Catal. test. ver. lib. 8.* is made mention of 44. Epistles, written by him unto King Charls: In one he complaineth of Arechis, Duke of Benevento, that after Charls had returned from Capua, he had sent unto the Emperour, and had sought his aid, and the honour of *Patriciatu*s; and therefore he craved the King's aid for advancing the Church. In the 3. He thanketh him, that he had given Rosellæ, Populanium and Benevento unto Saint Peter; he complaineth of their untowardness, and of the enterprise of the Greeks; against whom, he craveth that Charls would have his Army in readines. In the 5. he intreateth his aid against the Venetians who had taken Ravenna. In the 8. he thanketh him for a Cross sent unto him; and sheweth, that he prayeth continually for him, and for his father of blessed memory; he intreateth him to cause them to restore the Territories of Rosellæ, Populonium and Benevento, and promiseth him reward from Saint Peter. Although Charls, when he had taken these Cities from the right owner,

*Letters of the
Pope unto
Irene.*

*And unto
King Charls.*

ner, gave them to the Pope; yet he quitteth not his superiority, as is manifest in the 23. Epistle, wherein Adrian sheweth, that the Greek Ambassadors had consulted with the Relict of Duke Arechis, to take the Dukedom of Benevento from Charls; and therefore he adviseth him to provide for his own security, and for the See of Rome. In the 9. he answereth unto a question propounded by Charls, What should be done to some Saxons who were relapse into Paganism? after long pittance they may be received. In the 11. he exhorteth Bishops and Priests to put on not temporal, but spiritual Armour; that is, they should wait on fasting and praying. Mark that as yet Bishops had not begun to fight Battels, but they perswaded Princes to fight for them; and at that time, when some Bishops would have taken Arms, the Pope did dissuade them. In the same Epistle he saith, the dream of John a Monk was false; wherein he was told, that the Church of Rome had erred from the faith. Note. In the 29, 30, and 31. he complaineth, that Leo, Bishop of Ravenna, would not perform due obedience unto Saint Peter; that under the name of Charls had taken sundry things from Saint Peter, and had attempted to take Pentapolis, which King Pipin had given to the See of Rome; he sheweth that Pope Stephen once deposed Sergius, Bishop of Ravenna, for his disobedience; and in the end, he intreateth him to cause Leo to give him obedience, and to make the Exarchate likewise subject. All the other Epistles are of this stamp, for enriching and advancing the Church, and to expel the Greeks with their adherents out of Italy; commending the worship of images, and setting up Peter in the room of Christ; for he expoundeth Peter, saying, Behold I am with you untill the end; and he calleth Peter the intercessour, the protestour, and rewarder; and he commandeth that prayers be made in the name of Peter. This Adrian, in an Epistle unto the Spaniards, calleth the Roman Church, Head of all Churches; and who separateth from her (saith he) separateth from the Christian faith. He is said to be Author of that Decree in *Gratian. caus. 25. quest. 1. Generali*, By a general Decree we ordain, that it shall be an execrable anathema, and he shall be guilty before God for ever, as a transgressor of the Catholick faith; whosoever, King, or Bishop, or Potentate, that shal from henceforth permit the censure of the Roman Bishops to be violated in any thing. He endeavoureth to have the Clergy free from the power of Princes. But in the year 773. Charls did appoint a Synod at Rome, where the Pope was with 153. Bishops and Abbots. Here Charls recovereth the right, which Constantine Pogonatus had let pass with Pope Benedict the 11. to wit, with common consent, the Judges and Doctors of Law, thorow the City, were ordained to search the ancient Laws and Customs of the Empire, how heresies and schisms may be prevented, concerning the Apostolical See, and the honour of *Patriciatu*s, and the Roman Empire. Then 1. All the people of Rome grant unto King Charls, and transfer into his person, and his Successours, all their right and power in the above-named particulars. 2. After their example, Adrian with all the Clergy and whole Synod, did give unto Charls their right and power of chusing their great High-Priest, and ordering the Apostolical See: and moreover, that all Arch-Bishops and Bishops, throughout every Province, should receive investiture from him. *Theodor. a Nyem.* Secretary to sundry Popes. And *Gratian. dist. cap. 63.* *Adrianus* saith more, That who should act against this Decree, the Synod would accurse; and unless he repent, would adjudge his goods unto the Royal Exchequer: For this cause many waited upon the Court of King Charls, hoping to have Bishopricks and advancement by him, *Avent. Annal. lib. 4.* as he did advance the Bishops of Breme, Manda, Padeburna, &c. Here is some restraint of the ambition of the

King Charls
his power in
Rome.

the Popes for a time. Adrian did sit three and twenty years, ten months, and seven tien daies.

13. LEO the III. perceiveth the Romans aiming by all means unto a free government; and he feared that either the Popes should be brought under the government of the Senate, or they should be overthrown by the Greeks; he thinketh it fittest that Rome should be subject unto the Pope; and that the Pope should be sure of concurrence from France. *Catal. test. ver. ex Regim. lib. 2. & Sigeber. ad an. 796.* Wherefore without knowledge of the Senate he sent Angilbert Abbot of Saint Richarius, to advertise Charls of his election; and presenteth unto him, in token of loyalty, Saint Peter's keys, and the Ensign of the City, or the Eagle; and beseecheth him to send some of his Nobles, who might keep the people in obedience by their Oath or Sacrament, *Ph. Morn. in Myster. ex Aimoin. lib. 9. cap. 89.* So soon as the Romans (namely Paschasius and Campulus) heard of this message, they take the Pope and buffet him till they thought he was blind, and cast him into the Monastery of Saint Erasmus. *Platin.* But *Continuator Eutropij* saith, they beat out one of his eyes, and could not pick out the other, because the mercy of God had preserved him; and others say, both his eyes were stricken out, and restored again by miracle: But *Zonar.* saith, they who were sent, did spare him, and spoiled him not of his sight. Albinus did let him down by the Wall of the Monastery, and he fled unto Charls; he chargeth many of the Romans of usurpation; and he adviseth the King to exact on them an Oath of fidelity. Paschasius or Paschalis was there soon after him, and accused the Pope of adultery, &c. Charls dismisseth them both, and promiseth to be at Rome within few months. In *Decemb. an. 800.* Charls was received in Rome, with all shew of honour; within 8. daies he goeth into Saint Peter's Church, and in presence of all the people and clergy, he asketh, who had any thing to say against Pope Leo. Paschasius and Campulus had published the Pope's crimes by writ; but knowing the King's affection towards both parties, they appear not. The Bishops who were present, answer, The Apostolical seat is the Head of the Church, and ought to be judged of none, *Platin.* But *Ph. Morn. in Myster.* sheweth from *Aimoin.* That because none did qualifie these crimes, the Pope was absolved upon his Oath. *Platina* saith, his Oath was delayed till the next day; and then he sweareth by God, and the four Evangelists, that all these things were false, which they had layed to his charge. Whereupon the King declareth him innocent, and condemneth his accusers. Within few daies 300. of them were beheaded, in the Lateran field, for their presumption and affected liberty, on the 18. of December; and on the 25. day, Charls was proclaimed Emperour, as followeth; and from that time the French did altogether possess Rome and all Italy, saith *Zonar.* After that, Pope Leo could not live at Rome without trouble; therefore he sate at Mantua, and sometimes did abide with the Emperour. He is the first that Bellarmine can find to have canonized a Saint, *de beat. sanct. lib. 1. cap. 8.* He appointed the supplications of three daies, before the Feast of Christ's ascension; he first brought incense unto the Altars, to the imitation of Jews and Heathens. He sate 20. years, and died *An. 816.*

More power
of Charls in
Rome.

Canonizing
of Saints, and
other novel-
ties.

Of Divers Countries.

The corrupti-
on of Bishops.

I. FEW Pastours of that Country were comparable unto the former, in doctrine, devotion or zeal (as we find in *Catal. test. ver. lib. 8.* from *Aventin. lib. 3.*) unworthy Priests were promoted, covetous, adulterous, drunkards, whose God was their belly; given to hunting and hawking; as also Pope Zachary complaineth in *Epist. ad Bonifac.* and we will see Acts of Synods against these vices. Nevertheless such men were advanced for bribes, or other by-respects. Likewise Bishops were more ambitious, than given to seek souls unto Christ. Monks were thought more religious, but their religion then (for the most part) did consist in superstitious ceremonies and rites; the people did admire them for their shew of austerity; and the Bishops bear with them, because they endeavour to draw all men under the obedience of the See of Rome. So whilst corruption waxeth in all these, Truth faileth; especially, the opinion of merit was not prattled in private, but openly proclaimed; and in the Synods they change the phrase, Men shall be judged according to their works; unto this, Men shall be judged for their works, or according to merits. Preachers did not plead so much the cause of God, as their own; they corrupt the truth with fables; as Gregory in his Epistle to Boniface testifieth; and for constitution of their errors, they alledge visions; as *Io. Bale Cent. 1. cap. 91.* sheweth how Egwin, Bishop of Vigornien, did swear before Pope Constantine, that in a Vision he was commanded to preach unto the people, that the image of Saint Mary should be worshipped; and he writ a Book of Apparitions, which the Pope approved with his Seals, and sent it unto Britwald, Primat of England, with express command to call a Synod at London; and by his authority, to recommend that book unto the people. So Constantine, Bishop of Cyprus, in the Nicene Synod *sess. 4.* said, a certain man, driving a nail into a Wall, pierced the head of Saint Peter's image, and immediately his head became sore; and when he was bidden to draw out the nail again, he did so, and became whole. Many such fables were then preached. Whatsoever was the zeal of King Charls, bad was the success of his putting the sword into the hands of Bishops; as Lullus, Bishop of Ments, was a Warriour unto Charls; Megengard Bishop of Herbiopolis, was called Duke of Franconia, and when he went to Mass, he had a drawn sword carried before him. Charls gave unto Herinbert, Bishop of Minden, a Guard of Souldiers against his enemies: Wherefore *Alb. Crantz. in Metropol. proæm.* saith, Charls (not God) gave to Bishops the sword to still and punish stubborn Rebels. *Luder. Ep. Monaster.* carried in his badge a sword and a Shepherds club. Anepos a Bishop, was Commander of the French Army, against Vilian in Suevia. Yea Bishops took up Arms against Bishops; as Calistus, Bishop of Aquileia, against Amator, Bishop of Friuli. Many Synodal Acts were made against this; and Pope Zachary writing to several of France and Germany, saith, Though we walk in the flesh, yet we should not walk according to the flesh; and the Weapons of our Warfare, are not carnal, but spiritual; and therefore it is not lawfull, that Priests or Pastours do bear Arms. And the same Pope, in another Epistle to Boniface, requireth him to depose all Bishops and Priests, who had defiled their bodies with blood, either of Pagans or Christians. *Concil. rom. 2.* And Carloman in his Laws, None who hath entred into Orders should bear Weapons: and in the Council held at his command, *An. 742.* We discharge all the Ministers of God from bearing Armour, from fighting, from going against an enemy, or into an Army.

2. Concerning the Election of Bishops, the words of *Pol. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 4. cap. 2.* are, From the beginning, the Election of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, was in the power of the Apostles; and then of the Priests of the Cities, not without the suffrage of the people and judgement of adjacent Bishops; as Cyprian testifieth in many places, especially in *Epist. ad Felic. Presbyt.* that this custom continued a long time. This creation of Bishops was turned into another form by Boniface the III. he decreed, That they should be chosen by the people, and society of the Priests, the Prince of the place not resisting; and the Roman High-Priest consenting with these words, We will and command: But this Decree went soon out of use, all these things declining to worse. So far he. Now for the Election in this Century, the words of Waltram, Bishop of Naumburg, about the year 1100. are remarkable, Gregory the I. writ unto Theodoric, Theodobert and Brunichild, King and Queen of Austria, that they should invest Bishops without simony. Long before the Decree of Pope Hadrian, the Kings who were anointed, and Majors of the King's house, had the authority of investing Bishops, as Dagobert, Sigebert, Theodoric, Childeric, Pipin invested these Bishops, Remaclus, Amandus, Audamarus, Antpert and others. The like is read of the Bishops of Spain, England, Hungary, how of an old custom, Bishops entred by their Kings, untill these daies, saith he, *Ph. Morn. in Myster.* Pope Zachary in an Ppistle to Boniface teacheth the same, that Priests and Monks received their places in Churches and Monasteries from *Magister Aula* in France; as is before in Adrian the I. neer the end. Also one having received a Bishoprick from King Charls, and coming before him, casteth himself off his horse, with nimble agility; to him said Charls, So far as I can see, thou art a good horse-man, leave thy benefice unto some weaker man, I have need of thee for another service. *Gratian.* is clear in this point, *Dist. 63.* is an Epistle of Pope Leo the IV. to the Emperours Lotharius and Lewis, saying, The Church of Reate for a long time hath been destitute of Pastoral care; it is expedient, that it be helped by the arm of your excellence; wherefore, the word of salutation being permitted, we intreat your meekness, that it would please you to give that Church unto Colonus an humble Deacon; that he, having your licence thereunto, we may consecrate him Bishop: But if it please you that another be sent thither, let it please your Majesty to give him Tusculum, which is also vacant. And a little before in the same *Disti.* Nicolaus Pope, unto Lotharius King, Undertand that it is reported unto us, that whosoever is advanced unto a Bishoprick in your Kingdom, ye let none be chosen, but who you please; therefore by Apostolical authority with obtestation of God's judgement we injoin thee, that thou suffer none to be chosen, untill our Apostleship be advertized. Here he is loftier then the former, yet he craveth to be acknowledged only in two Bishopricks, neither denieth the King's interest. But afterwards Pope Gregory the VII. ordained, That no Priest should take a Bishoprick from a Lay-man (as followeth) if he did, he should lose it, and be excommunicated, *Gratian. cap. 17. qu. 7. can. Siquis deinceps, & cap. quoniam.*

The Election
of Bishops.

3. We have heard how busie Popes and Monks were, to draw all the world under the obedience of the Roman See; and now they boast of their supremacy throughout all ages. But it is certain, that the Title of Supremacy was not given unto the Bishop of Rome, before the year 606. It is true, when the Emperours left Rome, and did dwell at Millain, Ravenna, or Constantinople, the Bishop of Rome sought to exalt himself; but his pastoral honour was layed in the dust, when the Goths dwelt at Rome; then the Bishops of Ravenna and Constantinople strove for the first place, as if the Bishop of

The power of
the Bishop of
Rome, was
never so
great as the
Papishes do
boast.

Rome had been out of the World; but they were deceived. For Bishop Zosimus did claim more power, then any of his Predecessours had, or did claim. He sent Faustinus, Philippus and Asellus to the sixth Council at Carthage, in favour of Aparius a Priest, who fled to Rome for aid against Diocesan Urban, who had deposed him for lewdness. Amongst other things, Zosimus gave them in charge, to claim this prerogative, that if any Bishop were accused or deposed, and appealed unto Rome; the Bishop of Rome might either write to the next Province to determine the matter, or send one from his side, to represent his person, and sit in judgement with the Bishops there: and for proof, he citeth in writing under his hand, a Canon of the Council at Nice. The Bishops assembling out of all Affrick, to the number of 217. and finding no such Canon in their books Greek nor Latine; direct their answer to Bishop Boniface the I. refusing to restore Apianus; and concerning Appeals to Rome, they would suffer that to be silent for a while, till they could get the Canons of the Nicene Council. And they did write unto the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Constantinople and Antioch, for true Copies of the Nicene Council; which when they had received, and seeing their own Copies agree word for word with them; first by their Decree they deny all Appeals to Rome; and then by their Letters, they charge the Bishop of Rome with ambition and forgery; writing thus: Our due salutations remembered, we intreat and earnestly pray you, that hereafter you would not so lightly give audience, to those that come from hence unto you; neither receive any more, such to the communion, whom we excommunicate; because your Reverence shall easily perceive that order taken by the Nicene Council: For if there appear a *proviso* for inferiour Clerks and Lay-men, how much more ought the Synod to have the same observed in Bishops, who being excommunicated in their own Province, they should not be suddenly or unduly restored to the communion by your Holiness? And likewise your Holiness must repel all wicked refuges of Priests and other Clergy-men, as becometh you; for by determination of the Fathers, is this derogated from the Churches of Affrica; also the Nicene Canons do most evidently commit, both inferiour Clergy-men, and the Bishops themselves, to their own Metropolitans: No doubt they most wisely and rightly provide, that all matters should be ended in the places where they first did arise; nor shall the grace of the Holy Ghost be wanting to any Province, by which equity may be gravely weighed, and stoutly followed, by the Presbyters of Christ; especially whereas every man hath liberty (if he mislike the judgement of those that hear his cause) to the Councils of his own Province, or to a general Council. Or how shall the judgement over the Sea [meaning at Rome] be good, where to the necessary persons of the witnesses either for sex or age, or several other impediments cannot be brought? For that any should be sent from your Holiness side, we find decreed by no Synod of the Fathers. That which you send hither by Faustin, as a part of the Nicene Council; in the truer Copies which we have received from holy Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, and reverend Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople, taken out of the Originals themselves, which also we sent unto Boniface your Predecessour; in them we say, we could find no such thing: and as for your Agents or Messengers send them not, grant them not at every ones request; lest we seem to bring the smoky pride of the World into the Church of Christ, which proposeth the light of simplicity and humility unto those that desire to see God, &c. Here many waies do they withstand the Bishop of Rome; the Appeals which Zosimus claimed by the Council at Nice, they confute by the same Council, and with other pithy reasons; the Legates *à latere*, they reject, as never spoken of

in any Council : Running to Rome , they call a wicked refuge ; and sending Messengers from Rome , they call a smoky pride of the World ; the corrupting the of Nicene Canons , they disprove by true and authentick copies ; and Apiarius whom the Bishop of Rome had restored twice unto the Communion , they utterly banished from the Church of Christ ; and not content therewith they set down a rule , that if thereafter any Priest shall appeal to Rome , no man in Affrica should receive him to the Communion. Each one may judge what these would have done , if Zosimus had claimed to be the head of the Universal Church , or Vicar general of Christ , supream and infallible judge of all men and matters Ecclesiastical , and that not by consent of a Synod , but by grant from Christ. After this Eulalius , Bishop of Carthage , did submit himself unto Boniface the II. but he was the first and last , condemning all his Predecessours , and he had no Successour therein , who would submit. *Lib. Pontific.* in Leo the II. sheweth , that the Affrican Church was called ἀνισκέφαλοι , or heads to themselves. Then who ever heard that the Abylines , or Church of South Affrica , was under the Bishop of Rome ? Thracia and the Greeks would never acknowledge the Church of Rome , in way of superiority , except a short time , when the Latines were Lords of Constantinople. When the Pope conspired with France against their Emperour , the Greeks did write unto Pope Leo , Because you have withdrawn your selves , therefore we withdraw our selves from you. And this withdrawing was not from subjection but from unity , as is manifest by their mutual withdrawing. *Catal. 1057. ver. lib. 8. ex Ranulp. polychro. lib. 5. cap. 28.* Only the Emperour Michael did submit his Kingdom unto Pope Adrian ; and the same Michael did again cast off the same Adrian , and expelled all the Latine Priests out of his Dominions ; *Platin.* in Adrian the II. Armenia , Palestina , and Syria , were never subject unto any forraign Bishop , untill Godifred conquered Jerusalem , *an. 1099.* And many other Provinces of Asia did never submit unto the Pope ; and till this day are many Christians in Asia , who though they be subject unto the Turk and other Princes , yet continue in the same faith or doctrine ; and for the most part , have succession of Bishops from their first Reformation , and were never subject to any forraign man in spiritual things. As for the Western part (as it was called) of Europe , something hath been spoken ; and moreover Egila , a Spanish Bishop , sent Saranus a Deacon , and Victorine a Clark , unto Pope Adrian the I. to ask his counsel in some questions. The Pope returned answer , That he was willing to correspond , if he would submit unto the See of Rome ; and especially , if he would oppose those who did despise the fasting on Friday and Saturday ; as appeareth (saith *Catal. 1057. ver. lib. 3.*) by the Epistle of Adrian to Egila. But he would not accept these conditions ; therefore in another Epistle unto the Bishops in Spain , the Pope did accuse Egila that he followed the errors of Vincentius , and was contrary unto the Catholick discipline. Neither in all the Councils that were in these Centuries within Spain , is any mention of dependance upon the Pope. Behold then Spain was not subject in these daies , unto the See of Rome. And generally what was the estate of Europe , at that time and afterwards , is most plain from the Oration of Arnulph , Bishop of Orleance , in the Council at Rhemes , *An. 992.* as followeth in the own place. Also *Blondus de restaurat. Roma lib. 3.* speaking of the jurisdiction of Rome in his time , could say , Almost all Europe sendeth greater , or at least as great Tribute unto Rome , now as of old : where his boast is bounded within Europe , and with an almost. And *Bellarmin de Ro. Pont. lib. 3. cap. 21.* saith , When Antichrist , as ye will [speaking of the Pope unto the Protestants] began to reign , the See of Rome lost almost all Affrick , the greatest

part of Asia, and all Greece; and in our time (saith he) wherein ye cry that Antichrist rageth most, all things have fallen so prosperously, that he hath lost the greatest part of Germany, all Sweden, Gothland, Norway, Denmark, a good part of England, France, Swisserland, Bohemia and Hungary; and therefore (saith he) it so wax prosperously be a note of the Antichrist, the Pope cannot be called Antichrist, seeing he wanteth so many Provinces. I answer, in the first part Bellarmine saith, that the Pope hath lost what he never had; and in the latter part, he hath lost more; for he might have added Scotland, Ireland, a great part of Poland, Prussia, &c. But all these had given their power and Kingdom unto the Beast, untill the word of God was fulfilled; and they do now hate the Whore, and have made her naked; as it is said, *Rev. 17*. But it is nowhere written in Scripture, nor do Protestants say, that the Beast, or Antichrist, had or shall have dominion over all the earth, although he make such a claim falsely; yea the fourth part of the earth was never subject to the See of Rome at once, or at one and the same time.

The Pope had
no power to
give King-
domes,

4. As the Papishes do glory (in vain) of the Pope's Supremacy over the Church; so they pretend his power over all the Kingdomes of the earth; this they do hold, but with some difference amongst themselves; for the Canonists (as they are called) hold, that all the Kingdomes of the earth do directly belong unto the Pope; and the Jesuits say, not directly, but indirectly; and these two sects write against one another in this matter, as for life and death. But whether directly or indirectly, both do agree that the Pope may give any Kingdom of the earth to whom he pleaseth. Satan did once say so. And in the 9. Century Pope Nicolaus did not say so, as followeth. Let them shew any such practice before this eighth Century. Did all the Bishops of Rome [before this time] give Kingdomes to whom they would? Or were they ignorant of their power? But say they, at that time, Pope Zachary gave the Kingdom of France unto Pipin and his line. So unto this place belongeth that controversie which Bellarmine hath *de Ro. Pont. lib. 2. cap. 17. & lib. 5. cap. 8*. By what means, and by what persons Pipin obtained the Kingdom of France, *Gratian. caus. 15. quest. 6. cap. Alius*, saith, Zachary deposed Childeric, King of France, and placed Pipin in his room. And the gloss saith, *Deposuit, id est, deponentibus consensit*, he consented unto them who deposed him. *Platina* in Zachary saith, By his authority the Kingdom of France was adjudged unto Pipin. The Jesuit *Dion. Petavius* in *Rationar. temp. par. 1. lib. 8*. saith, Pipin, by the authority of Pope Zachary, and by consent of the French Peers, did add a new Title of King unto his Royal Power, which he had not before. If we look to the more ancient Writers, the story is thus: About the year 663, Clotharius, King of France, gave himself to the lusts of the flesh, and committed the government unto Ebroin, Master of the Palace (or, as others call him, Constable.) This example turneth into a custom, and *An. 694*: Pipin, Duke of Austrasia, attained this charge under Clodoveus, or Clovis the III. as *to. Serres* calleth him, and he keepeth it in the daies of King Childebert the II. and his son Dagobert; so that then there was the Title of a King, and all the power was in the hand of the Constable. *Abb. Vissberg. in Chron. pag. 170. Edit. An. 1538*. The King was seen once in the year publicly; to wit, the first day of May, then he received and gave gifts, without any other discharge of Royal power; and all affairs of State were managed by the Constable. After Pipin was great contention for so honourable a place; his son Charls Martel prevailleth, who in the daies of Theodoric or Therric the II. enlargeth the Kingdom of France: and as the fore-named *Petavius* ex *Gest. Franc. Epit. lib. 1*. sheweth, he overthroweth Raginfred (his Competi-

neither gave
he the King-
dome of
France unto
King Pipin.

tour,

tour, or as he saith, who was chosen Mayor) and Eudo, Duke of Aquitania, *An. 718.* then he subdued the Saxons, Alamans, Bavarians, and Aquitans. Eudo hath his refuge unto the Sarazens in Spain, and perswadeth their King Abdirama to invade France. Charls did slay in one Battell 375000. Sarazens, with the loss of 1500. French, at Towns, *Fascic. temp. fol. 45. Edit. Venet. An. 1484.* and *Jo. Serres* and others. Thereafter he did take in Burgundy and Lions, *An. 727.* and the next year, Eudo being dead, he possessed Aquitania peaceably. In the year 731. the Sarazens did come again into France. Charls overthrew them, and did gain Avenion and Narbon from them. Therefore by a more honourable Title, he was called Duke and Prince of France; and under that name he governed the Kingdom 19. years, and died *An. 741. Platin. in Gregor. 11.* He had four sons, Carloman, Pipin, Egidius and Grypho; some say, Grypho was the son of his first wife, a daughter of Bojaria. Pipin made Egidius Bishop of Rotomayum, and left his government unto Carloman and Pipin; and they two divide the Kingdom, and govern either his own part, under the Title of their father, as is apparent by the first words of the Council under Carloman, In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I Carloman, Duke and Prince of the French, in the year 742. from the Incarnation of Christ on the 11. of the Calends of March, by the advice of the servants of God, and of my Nobles, I have assembled the Bishops in my Kingdom, &c. Note these words, and see what power he had. Within 7. years after this Synod, he laid aside his Princely authority (saith *Bellarmin. loc. cit.*) and entred into a Cloister at Soraſte; and then all the authority was in Pipin alone. Grypho rebelled against Carloman; but at last Pipin took him in Italy, and caused him to be beheaded, *An. 753.* Pipin having the government alone (and wanting no occasion) did aim at a higher Title. The Sarazens in Spain were preparing to make new Wars against France; but Pipin did prevent the storm, he seized on the passages of the Pyrene hills, and forced those redoubted enemies to receive Laws from him. Then he did help the Cities that had been spoiled; he disburthened others of publick charges, and established justice; and dealt so valiantly and discreetly both in Wars and Peace, that he gained the hearts of all the countries; also it did not a little add unto his esteem what he had done against the Lombards, and in other parts of Italy. *Blondus dec. 1. lib. 10.* saith, I find in Alcuinus, Paulus and several others, who have written the Acts of the French, that the Nobility and Commonalty of that Nation, duly considering the worthiness of Pipin, and fortitude of Childeric; consulted with Zachary, Bishop of Rome, whether they should tolerate so foolish a King any longer, and defraud Pipin of his deserved Princely honour: And when the Bishop made answer, That he was best worthy to be King, who could best discharge the Office of a King; the French, with the publick consent of the whole Nation, did pronounce Pipin for their King; and Childeric was shaved and made a Monk. And *Aventin. in Annal.* saith, When Volarad a Bishop, and Burchard Abbot of Saint Dionis at Paris, were sent to understand the Pope's judgement; his answer was, I find in the sacred story of Divine Scriptures, that the people fell away from their wretched and lascivious King, who despised the counsel of the wise men; and created a sufficient man, one of themselves, King, God himself allowing their doings; all power and rule belong unto God, Princes are his Ministers in their Kingdoms; and rulers are chosen for the people, that they should follow the will of God, the chief ruler, in all things, and not to do what they list; he is a true King, that guideth the people committed to his charge, according to the prescript and line of God's Law; all that he hath, as power, glory, riches, honour and dignity, he receiveth of the people; the people create

their King, and the people may (when the cause so requireth) forsake their King: It is lawfull therefore for the French and Germans, to refuse this unkind Monster, and to chuse one who may be able, in War and Peace, by his wisdom, to protect and keep in safety their wives, children, parents, goods and lives. So Pope Zachary giveth his advice, and pretendeth not any interest into the matter. Then he writ unto Boniface, Bishop of Mentz, that he might anoint Pipin King of France, and declare all his Subjects free from their Oath of Allegiance unto their lazy Sovereign. And now the Reader may judge, what Pipin did receive from Pope Zachary. This was the work of many years, and so ended *An. 752*. Here observe that Pipin was anointed; but anointing of Kings was not in custom amongst Christians in the daies of Laſtantius, who in *Institut. lib. 4. cap. 7.* speaking of Christ's name, saith, It was commanded unto the Jews, to make an holy oil, wherewith those were anointed who were called unto the Priesthood or Kingdom; and now among the Romans, the Robe of Purple is the sign of their royal assumed power; so unto them, the anointing with oil gave the name and royal power. And Augustine on *Psal. 45.* saith, It was the custom only of the Jewish Nation, to anoint Kings and Priests; whereby was taught, that among none other but the Jewish people, was the King and Priest of the world to be born. Anastasius Patriarch of Constantinople, did anoint Emperour Leo the I. and thereafter that came into custom, to shew, that the Emperour was a true Christian and free from heresie. They want no colours for bringing into the Christian Church Jewish or Heathenish rites.

The custom of
anointing
Kings is late,
or borrowed
from the
Jews.

John Da-
mascen.

5. John Damascen (who was called Chryſoras, for distinction from another of that name, who lived about the year 300.) had been amongst the Sarazens; and for fear of death, did make profession of Mahumetism; but being escaped did write in defence of the Orthodox faith, and began the first systeme of Divinity amongst the Greeks; as afterwards Pe. Lombard among the Latines; he was a maintainer of images; but in many other things, was an adversary to the present doctrine of Rome. *Lib. 1. de Orthod. fide, cap. 1.* he saith, All that is given unto us by the Law and Prophets, Apostles and Evangelists, we embrace, acknowledge and reverence, seeking no further. God therefore being ignorant of nothing, and providing whatsoever is profitable for us to know, hath revealed it; but he hath hid in silence those things, whereof we could not indure the weight; therefore let us love these things, and abide in them; neither should we pass beyond the bounds appointed by his eternal will, nor transgress the Divine Tradition any way. *Lib. 3. Cap. 17.* The Lord's flesh is enriched with Divine Efficacy, because of the hypostatical union; neither doth it fall, or hath it exceeded its proper nature, nor its natural properties. And *Cap. 18.* he saith, The communication of Omnipotency unto Christ-man, or his Man-hood, may be declared two waies; First, That this man Christ is almighty by communication of properties: Next, The proper works of God are given to the flesh, as the instrument of the Deity. And *Lib. 4. Cap. 18.* After he hath at length recommended the reading of the Scriptures, he reckoneth the Books of the Old-Testament according to the Hebrew; and then he saith, The Wisdom of Solomon, and of Jesus son of Sirach, are pleasant and good; but are not numbered among the Prophetical books, nor were put into the Ark. And in *Cap. 25.* he commendeth Virginitie; and then he addeth, this we say, not derogating from marriage: God forbid! for we know, that God blessed marriage by his presence; and it is said, Marriage is honourable amongst all men. In *Cap. 14.* he saith, By invocation, and by working of the Holy Ghost, the Bread and Wine and Water, are supernaturally changed into the Body and Blood of Christ.

Christ. The Papishes make use of this testimony for their Transubstantiation; but there is also a supernatural change of the Water in Baptism, and yet no Transubstantiation; neither do the Greeks believe it to this day, but only a mystical change in regard of the use and effect.

6. In the Epistles of Pope Zachary to Boniface, it is evident, that divers Bishops and Priests, contemned the pretended Apostolical authority, and his excommunications. In the Epistle of Pope Adrian, it appeareth, that Leo Patriarch of Ravenna, with-held many things from the See of Rome; and that he despised the Judges whom the Pope sent thither; and that he opened the Letters that were sent, by some of his Diocly, unto the Pope. Also Regimbald, and other Bishops of Lombardy, did allow their Clergy to marry against the Decree of Rome, *Ex Epist. Adrian. ad Carol.* When Maurice, Bishop of Istria, professed himself to be the faithful servant of Saint Peter, and required Pensions there unto him; the people pulled out his eyes, and said, their land was the Territory of Charls, and not of the Pope. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 8.* Paulin Bishop of Aquileia, in his book against Felix and Eliphand, Bishops of Urgelita and Teleco, commendeth the Holy Scriptures; and condemneth all opinions whatsoever, that cannot be proved out of them; he saith, The Church is built upon the Rock Christ; and it may be shaken by Hereticks, but cannot be drowned; because it is strengthened by the right hand of Christ: he saith, Teachers and every Christian, should fight against heretical opinions, and refute them; for a Souldier of Christ should not be basely afraid for the force of approaching Battel; nor by straying seek the lurking holes of harmles escaping: but being girded with the weapons of their own Warfare, should courageously pierce the hearts of their enemies, with spiritual darts out of the Bow of the Scriptures.

Many in Italy and Spain, did oppose the Popes.

7. Aponius a French man then writ several books, in *Cant. lib. 1.* he saith, The Lord hath given his fiery word unto this World, in the figure of a coal, in the Tongs of the two Testaments; which being lifted from the Altar, did purge the lips of the Prophet Esay, who by the only union of the flesh was free, and lived mixt with the dead; and He [the Lord] by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, causeth that all souls who (like dead coals having their understanding darkned with ungodliness) were not kindled; but now are inflamed with vicinity thereof: now that they are kindled with the flame of the love of their Spouse, it is the proper gift of the grace of God's Word. *Lib. 3.* Christ is made the meat and drink of his Church, by the Sacrament of his body and blood. *Lib. 6.* Whatsoever a Teacher or Pastour of souls teacheth, unless he shew it proceedeth from the Almighty God, in the Old and New-Testament, he is a murderer of souls. And again, The words and examples of them, from whom the milk of doctrine is poured into the hearts of the hearers, should alwaies feed on the flowers, not of the lower writings of worldly men, but of the higher Apostolical Mountains. *Ib. lib. 1.* Because the power of our will is not able to climb so high as we must ascend, running after God; therefore the Church crieth, Draw me after thee. *Lib. 4.* Whosoever would escape from the enemy whose power is in the air, let him keep the right faith, and enter into the holes of the Rock, which blessed Paul demonstrateth.

Aponius?

8. About the year 780. the old controversies, concerning God's Predelination, and man's free-will, were renewed in Spain: Some saying, that Predelination unto life or death is in the power of God, and not in man's power: Others asking, Why should we endeavour to live holily, if it be in the power of God? And others asking, Why should we pray unto God that we be not overcome in temptation, if it be in our power or liberty of will? At

The Pelagian controversies are renewed in Spain, and confuted by Pope Adrian.

that time Pope Adrian did write unto the Spanish Bishops, and propounded unto their consideration, what (upon the like occasion) Fulgentius *Epist. Ruspen.* about the year 455. had written unto Eugypsius, against a Sermon of a Pelagian. The words of the Pelagian were; They who affirm that some are destinated unto life, and others unto death, do trample grace in themselves damnably, while they admit it for them reprehensively only: Behold with what knots of impiety they do tie themselves! If I be predestinated unto good, it is needles that I resist evil; but if I be born unto evil, it availeth me not to do good: And so on both sides the desire of praise and godliness being stopped, one becometh secure, and another desperate; and thereby all exercise of righteousness is made void, prayer ceaseth, and working fainteth: But it is not so, and therefore let us pray uncestantly; because the Lord saith, Pray without intermission, lest ye enter into temptation: And let us strive against all sin, not only by prayer, but with diligence also; because the Lord witnesseth, that each one shall receive according to their own work. The answer of Fulgentius, which Pope Adrian did approve and send, was thus: God hath prepared his works of mercy and righteousness, in his unchangeable eternity; and as he was never ignorant of his future works, so he was never improvident in the preparation of those works; therefore he hath prepared good works for them who were to be justified, and to the same who were to be glorified, he hath prepared rewards; but unto the wicked, he hath not prepared evil wills or evil works, but he hath prepared for them just and everlasting punishments: This is the eternal predestination of the future works of God, which as we know to be continually insinuated unto us by the doctrine of the Apostles, so we preach confidently; for blessed Paul both evidently and often teacheth us, the predestination of them whom God saveth freely; for he saith of God, whom he foreknew, them he predestinated; and whom he predestinated, them also he calleth: Certainly not others, but whom he hath predestinated, them doth he call and justify; nothing in the works is uncertain, because nothing in his predestination faileth; therefore God beginneth the works of his predestination, by vocation; and consummates them by glorification: And yet not in them all whom he calleth, but unto them who love God, all things work together for good unto them, who are called according to his purpose: Therefore let all believers keep the truth of predestination, because whosoever believeth not the counsel of God in this predestination, shall not attain unto the glorious effect of the same predestination; but whosoever is not predestinated unto glory, is without doubt found to be appointed unto punishment, which is known to be predestinated in God's preparation, that thereby infidelity and impiety may be punished. Wherefore the blessed Apostle Jude saith, Certain men are crept in unawares, who of old were fore-ordained to this judgement of our God; but the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost saith warily, that the wicked were ordained not unto sin, but unto judgement; that is, not unto impiety, but unto punishment; for they were not predestinate unto this wicked impiety which they commit, but unto the punishment which they receive in Divine equity. Wherefore whereas the Authour of that sermon, saith, Let us pray uncestantly; because the Lord saith, Pray without ceasing; and then, Let us wrestle against all sin, not only by prayer, but with diligence; let us humbly seek Grace from God, that we may have it continually working with us; by which God would both keep us in diligence, and when the work is done, bring us unto the reward, &c. This Epistle of Pope Adrian, is amongst the Epistles of the Popes, which Charls the Great did cause to be collected into one volumn, *An. 791.*

9. At that time was great contention for receiving the Mass of Pope Gregory into the Churches, first by authority of Pope Adrian, and then of King Charls; some Churches had one Directory, and some another who would not change. When the Pope saw so great opposition (and it may be understood, that it was not small, when the Pope was put to such a shift) he said, he would refer it unto the Will of God, whether he would, by any visible sign, approve the Mass of Gregory or of Ambrose: so these two books were layed together upon the Altar in Saint Peter's Church, and he called upon God to shew which of the two he approved. The doors were shut all night, and the next morning when they returned into the Church, the book of Ambrose was found lying, as it was laid down; and the other, was all torn and dispersed thorow the Church. The Pope maketh the Comment (if we will believe *Jacob. de Voragine in vita Gregor.*) that the Mass of Ambrose should lie untouched; and the Mass of Gregory should be used thorow the World; and to he did authorize and command that it should be used in all Churches and Chappels. But many did expound that sign the contrary way, and would not receive it, till Charls did command all Bishops and Priests to use it thorow his Dominions; he caused the Mass of Ambrose to be burned, and threw many Priests into prison, who refused to accept the new Mass. The Church of Millain would not change: *Walafrid Strabo* (who lived about the year 900.) testifieth in his book *de Exordis rer.* cap. 25. that in his time the Roman Mass was not universally in all Churches; but almost (saith he) in all the Churches of the Latines, and no *Benedictine* Monk did read it. In the sixth *tom.* of *Biblioth. Patr. de la Bigne*, are many books of several Authours, explaining (at that time) the signification of the Ceremonies enjoined in that Mass: Their Dedicatory Epistles and Prefaces, shew that they were put upon that work, by the authority of the King, and some time-serving Bishops; and the great number of those books, is an evident proof of great opposition against that Mass and the rites thereof; although the books of the Adversaries have been kept down by the prevailing party. Hereunto serveth what *Antoninus de Voltolina*, a Dominican, said in the Council at Trent (as is written *hist. lib. 6.*) It is clear by Histories, that of old every Church had their own Rituals of the Mass, brought in day by day, rather of custom than by judgement or constitution; and that the lesser Churches did follow their Metropolitan, or their neighbour greater Churches; but the rite of the Roman Church, was received in many Provinces, for gatisfying the Pope; and nevertheless there be yet many Churches, whose rites differ very much from the Roman: Even in Italy remaineth the rite of Millain, differing from the other in the principal parts thereof; and that the same Roman hath suffered many changes, is clear unto any who readeth the old book, called *Ordo Romanus*: Neither in ancient time only, but within these few ages, certainly before 300. years, the rites of Rome were not the same, which the Priests observe now in the City of Rome; but which the Order of the Dominicans do retain: Moreover (said he) the Vestments, Vessels and other Ornaments, both of the Ministers and of the Altars, which are now in use, are so new and transchanged (as is easie to be observed by looking on the Books and Pictures) that if the old things were brought into the World again, none would know them: Wherefore if the Fathers will bind themselves, to approve the only rites of the Roman Church, they cannot want reproof; as by prejudice condemning antiquity, and the rites of all other Churches, and so expose themselves unto the sinistrous interpretations of men; wherefore it were better to set upon those things which concern the essence of the Mass, without any mention of the rites. And in declaring the differences betwixt the then-present

Gregory's
Mass was
exalted, and
opposed.

sent custom of the Romans, and that which was called *Ordo Romanus*; he nameth especially, that in this the Communion was given under both the *species* unto the people. Some were offended at his freedom of speech; and the Bishop of Quinqueclesiensis, did openly profess, that the Frier had spoken truly; neither could any, who loveth truth, be offended with him. Hence it appeareth clearly, that the Church of Rome hath been subject to novations from time to time; and the Missal now, is not the old book of Pope Gregory the I. More of the Mass followeth in the next Century.

*Amalaricus
Fortunatus.*

10. In the sixth *tom.* of the fore-named *Biblioth. Patr.* is a remarkable piece of Amalaricus Fortunatus (Trithemius calleth him Hamularius, a very learned man in the Latine and Greek languages) a Monk of Luxovia: In the Preface he sheweth, that he had written another book of Divine Service; and thereafter he went to Rome, to enquire of the reasons of the rites different there from other Churches; and so he did write four other books, wherein he describeth what he had heard, and what he thought himself on the contrary; yet in a mild and moderate way, whether for fear to offend, or in hope to prevail with fair information, it is uncertain. He saith, In all that I write, I hang on the judgement of godly men and holy fathers; and withall, I say what I think. What things are done in the celebration of the Mass, are done in the Sacrament of the Lord's Passion; as he commanded, saying, How oft ye do this, do it in remembrance of me: Therefore the Priest in offering Bread and Wine and Water in the Sacrament, representeth Christ; the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, do represent his Body and Blood; Sacraments should have a similitude of those things whereof they are a Sacrament; wherefore let the Priest be like unto Christ, so the offering of the Priest upon the Altar, is like unto that of Christ on the Cross; that which is offered in resemblance of Christ, the Priest commendeth it unto God the Father. Let the judicious hearer consider, for whom are the prayers that the Priest saith after the Communion; and he shall find that they sound for them who are refreshed with the heavenly bread. [No prayer for the dead.] *Lib. 3. in prof.* It is sufficient, that the Bishop or Priest, do only bless the Bread and Wine, whereby people may be refreshed; as in ancient times it was done by the Apostles. *Lib. 1. Cap. 14.* he saith, No creature do I, by reverencing, adore but God; all substance which is not God, is a creature, and a creature is not God; the Cross of Christ may be set before me, but in my mind I hold Christ as hanging on it. The very words of the prayer declare whom we adore, we say, We adore thy Cross, O Lord, and we commend and glorifie thy holy resurrection: Here are no words of praying, but of shewing the adorable Cross, and the commendable resurrection of our Lord. And in another place we say, God who by the precious blood of thy only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, hast been pleased to redeem us; grant graciously, that who come to adore the life-giving Cross, may be freed from the bonds of their sins; to whom I pray, him I adore; I am cast down in body before the Cross, but in my soul before God; I reverence the Cross by which I was redeemed, but I pray unto him who hath redeemed me. Then he hath a story of Oswald, King of England, whom he calleth faithfull and most Christian; how he being in danger of his enemies, caused a Cross to be set up (on a Tree that came first unto his hand) in the Field; and said unto his Army, Let us all bow our knees, and all pray together unto the Almighty, living and true God, that he, of his mercy, would defend us from our proud and fierce enemy; for he knoweth, that we have undertaken Wars for the safety of our Nation. They all did as he commanded, and in the dawning they obtained Victory according to their faith. *Here Amalaricus gathereth no conclusion; but*

ye may see, that Oswald did not worship the wooden Cross, and that no such Cross is to be adored; but that he set his mind on the suffering of Christ, by which Cross or Suffering he did believe to be saved. In the same Chapter he saith, The Apostle saith not in vain, Death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them which had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him who was to come. This figure of him who was to come, I do so understand; as the first Adam was the cause of our death, even unto us who did not eat of the forbidden Tree; so is Christ the cause of eternal life. As the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil, through its own nature had not death; so the Tree whereby eternal life is granted unto us, hath not this vertue of itself; but of his vertue, who although he was infirm for us, liveth by the power of God; which power can never, and in no respect, be resisted. [*This is against the hymns of the Cross, and the resistibility of God's grace.*] In *Cap. 17.* he heweth, that the Romans had then candles and lamps of Wax, and what signification they gave unto them [he had not seen them before; neither is there any record of them before that time] and then saith, By every thing should we bring Christ unto our mind, as Augustine writeth to Januarius; but foolish men who will not be amended, should not think that these candles are to be adored, because by them some similitude of Divine mysteries is figured, seeing from every creature we may bring a similitude. *Doth he not here condemn all the devised rites of men?* *Lib. 2. cap. 5.* he speaketh against the keeping of Lent, and denieth that the Authour thereof can be shewed. And *Cap. 25.* The Office of a Bishop and a Priest, is almost the same; but because they differ in name and honour, they are distinguished by variety of slippers or pantofles. He hath many such rites, and the meaning of them (as seemeth) by way of derision. *Lib. 3. Cap. 24.* Christ took bread-- and also the cup; whereof Cyprian saith to Cæcilius, We find, that we observe not what Christ hath commanded, unless we do also the same things which the Lord did, and so mixing the cup, we depart not from the Divine instruction. Although he [Cyprian] hath concluded this of mixing the wine and water; yet he may understand that it is to be done of the whole institution, wherein consisteth the command of the Lord and of his Apostles. So saith he, and so do the Reformed Churches practice; but the Roman Church doth not so. Afterward Amalarius became Bishop of Trevers, and was sent by Charls the Great, unto the Emperour Michael; and as Trithemius writeth, from the Records of Trevers, by his wonderfull industry and eloquence, he did establish peace and amity between the two Emperours. He died *An. 813.*

11. In the last part of this Century, arose the great men in the service of the Pope; to wit, Johannis Diaconus, surnamed Digitorum, and Riculph Bishop of Mentz. John did forge the Bull of Constantine's donation; wherein he would perswade the world, that Constantine had given unto Bishop Sylvester, and his Successours for ever, the City of Rome, with other Cities and parts of Italy. *Io. Bodin. de Repub. lib. 1. cap. 9. ex Actis Varica.* The fallhood of this feigned donation, was known unto the World by every History; but at that time who did dare to controule it? The Bishops and Clergy thought that it was for their advantage, and there was no established Prince in Italy; yet under pretence thereof, the Pope did enlarge their power; even although many did convince that donation of fallhood. Then Hincmar, Bishop of Rhemes, in his book against the Bishop of Laudun, testifieth, that Riculph in the daies of Charls the Great, gathered together some forged Epistles of the old Bishops of Rome, and brought them from Spain into France; and binding them with the foresaid Donation, gave them forth in the name of Hi-

Romish forgeries.

dore. Of the authority of these Epistles *Gratian* hath written *Dist. 20. cap. de libellis*, there is an Epistle of Pope Leo the IV. directed unto the Bishops of Britan: In the Epistle Leo taketh all the authority from the decretal Epistles, and other Writs of Popes; except Sylvester, Siricius, Innocentius, Zosimus, Coelestine, Leo, Hilarius, Gelasius, Ormisda and Gregory: These (saith he) are all and only, by whom the Bishops do judge, and by whom the Bishops and Clergy are judged; if any doubt cannot be determined by them, nor by Augustine, Jerom, Isidore and other holy Doctours, it should be brought unto the Apostolical See. But all others that were before these, with one dash he contemneth; that is, he renounceth all the writings of the Bishops of Rome, who lived the first 300. years, as suppositions. The Authour of *Catal. test. ver. lib. 8.* is very large in describing the usurpations and many policies of the Popes, for enlarging their power, and inroaching upon Bishops in severall Nations; as also their insipite rites that were then devised.

Some Provinces in Germany and Hungary receive the faith.

12. In the daies of Dagobert, King of France, Rudbert was Bishop of Worms, a singular good man, and very learned; and Theoto was Duke of Bavaria, an Heathen, yet hearing of the good fame of Rudbert, he sent and intreated him to come into his Country. The good man went, and was received by the Duke in Ratisbon with great liking, and did teach him the Christian religion; and then did inform others both noble and ignoble, all along the Danube; thence he went unto Vualarium and Juvavia, where the Christian faith had been taught long before; there were some Churches, but were decayed, as Rudbert understood by report; therefore he sought leave from Theoto to go thither to reform these parts; so finding many people willing to be informed, he returned into Worms, and brought other twelve Teachers into these places with him; and having established Churches, did return in his old age, and died in Worms. At the same time Samo, Duke of Slavi, an Heathen, did kill severall Merchants coming from France, for to trade in hisland, and took their goods; therefore Dagobert sent an Army against Samo, and brought him into subjection. Not long thereafter the Hunni did oppress that land; and their Duke Boruth sent for aid unto the Bavarians, who did overthrow the Huns; and for keeping the Slavi under better obedience of the King, they would have hostages, Boruth granted to give his son Cacatius, and his brothers son Chetumar, and did desire to have them informed in the Christian faith. When Boruth died, Dagobert sent back Cacatius being now a Christian; and after three years he dying, Pipin sent Chetumar, who was diligent to have Preachers, and to instruct the people in the faith; he did invite Virgilius, Bishop of Juvavien, who would not go, but sent Modestus, Wato, Regimbert, Latinus, Gontharius Presbyters, and Richard a Deacon, with others, upon severall occasions of sedition amongst the people. When Chetumar was dead, so great was the sedition there, that no Presbyter did abide; untill Walinch, being Duke, sent again unto Virgilius, who sent Hiemo and Reginbald Presbyters, and Majoran a Deacon, with others; and in the year 794. Charls sent Erick to be their Duke, who expelled a great number of the Huns; and then that land of Pannonia Inferiour, continued under obedience of the King, and the Christian faith was embraced by the people. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 9.* In all these is no mention offending to, or from, Rome for their Reformation.

Turks became Mahumetans.

13. In this Century the Turks came out of Scithia or Tartary into the Province of Alami, thence into Colchis, out of that into Armenia, and then into Asia the less, *An. 755.* Histories do vary concerning their original; but the most probable opinion is, that they are descended of the Tatars; because

Pompon. Mela (who lived in the daies of the Emperour Claudius) reckoneth Turcx among the Scythians *Lib. 1. Cap. Chalybes*: and (as *Io. Lampadius* after Mechovius witnesseth) the Turks and Tartars have the same manner of Apparel, one manner of Riding, one manner of Bows and Arrows, and in Language they differ only in dialect, as the Italian and Spaniard. At that time the Turks hindered the Sarazens from conquering in Asia and Europe (God raising up one wicked enemy against another, that his Church might have breathing) except that they prevailed in the Mediterrane Isles and Peloponnesus. In the end these two did agree upon conditions 1. That the Turks should be called Sarazens and imbrace Mahumetism. 2. They should have the Province of Hircana or Sogdiana. 3. They should be subject unto the Calipha of Babylon. They continued living by Pastorage, without a Prince of their own, untill Civil Wars among the Sarazens about the year 1050: and therefore I speak no more of them untill the 11. Century.

CHAP. IV.

OF BRITAIN.

1. **B**Eda a Presbyter in the Monastery at Weermouth neer Durham, for Beda Venerable, and his doctrines. his godliness and modesty was called Venerable, and is still accounted worthy of that Title. He was credulous in believing of false miracles, and slipped into some corruptions of the times, as confession and chrism; yet even in these he differeth from the latter times: for on Jam. 5. at these words, Let them pray, anointing: he saith, We read in the Gospel that the Apostles did so, and the custom of the Church holdeth, that the weak should be anointed with oil by the Presbyters, and prayer being conjoined, be healed; nor only by the Presbyters, but as Pope Innocentius writeth, even any Christian may anoint in his own necessity or of others. *Here he speaketh of anointing, as a means of healing, and not a Sacrament for the dying.* And on the words, Confess your sins one to another, and pray one for another that ye may be healed; he saith, In this sentence should be that discretion, that we should confess to one another, daily and light sins, and beleeve to be healed by their daily prayer: And moreover, the uncleanness of more grievous leprosie, let us (according to the Law) confess unto the Priest, and have a care to be cleansed at his will, how, and how long time he shall command. *He seeth in these words no warrant, that any should confess unto a Priest, but one to another mutually; and as he saith cōqualiter, and that to the end they may be healed; and what he would have done unto the Priest, he borroweth it from the Law of Moses.* And on Mar. chap. 3. when he hath spoken of the miracles that were done by the Apostles, he saith, Now when the number of Believers is multiplied, many within the holy Church have the life or conversation of vertue, but have not the signs or miracles of vertue; because miracle is in vain shewed outwardly, if it fail that should work inwardly; for according to the saying of the Apostle of the Gentils, Tongues are a sign not to believers, but to unbelievers. *Here he sheweth that miracles were not necessary, when the Gospel is confirmed and received.* As for the articles of positive doctrine, he is clear. Of the perfection of the Scriptures, on 1 Pet. 4. at these words, If any speak as the words of God, he saith; Fearing lest any man speak or command any thing but the will of God, or but what is evidently commanded in the Holy Scriptures, and be found as a false witness of God, or sacrilegious, or introducing any thing different from the Lord's doctrine, or leaving or passing-by

any of these things which are pleasant unto God, seeing He most manifestly commandeth Preachers concerning those whom they shall teach, saying, Teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you : For he commandeth to deliver those things to be observed by their hearers, which he hath commanded, and no other things ; and those things not in part only, but all. And on the 2 Pet. 1. near the end, Who giving heed unto the words of the Prophets do well, that thereby they may have the light of knowledge; these should first know that none of the holy Prophets did preach unto the people through their interpretation, but what they had learned from the Lord, that did they commend to be done by their hearers ; and what heavenly mysteries they had perceived in secret, these simply either by word or writ, did they deliver unto the people of God ; and not as the Diviners of the Gentils, who what they had forged out of their own hearts, these things did they deliver unto the deceived people, as the Oracles of God : Therefore as the Prophets did write, not their own, but God's words, so the reader of these should not follow his own interpretation, lest he stray from the true sense ; but by all means he should attend this, how he who writ would have his words understood. So far he. And how the right sense may be had, he teacheth in Philip. 1. from Augustine, saying ; When words make the Scripture ambiguous, first we must see that we distinguish or pronounce them not wrong ; and when after such diligence we find it uncertain, how to distinguish or to pronounce them, look to the rule of faith which we have from plainer places of the Scripture, and from the authority of the Church : But if both, or all, or more parts be dubious, then we should consult the Text it self by the following and preceding parts, where the ambiguity is ; to the end we may see, unto which of these many senses it will give suffrage, and suffer it self to be conjoined. Concerning the person and natures of Christ, on 2 Pet. 2. he saith, Arius who said that our Redeemer is, in respect of divinity, inferiour unto the Father ; and Photinus, who said that Christ is Man, and not God ; and Manichæus, who said Christ is God only, and not a very man ; and Hebron, who said Christ was not before Mary, and took his original from her ; and Apollinaris, who said Christ is God and flesh only, and never assumed a reasonable soul ; and Pelagius, who said Christ is not the redeemer of infants, because they are conceived without iniquity, and born of their mother without sin, and have no sin to be forgiven them, and so Christ is not the Saviour of all the Elect ; and also other Hereticks, who deny the Lord who bought them with the price of his blood, because they preach him not, as truth sheweth him, but as they have feigned ; and therefore are become strangers from the Redeemer ; they do expect nothing, certainly, but the pit of perdition. He writ three Books on the Song of Songs, whereof the first is only in refutation of another book written by Julian, his Epistle to Celenen, in Campania, a Pelagian ; for a tast, behold what he saith in the 1. page ; Julian teacheth that we, by arbitrement of free-will, may do good things what we will ; albeit, by the help of God's grace, we may perfect them the more easily ; as Travellers may walk on foot, but with less turmoil (without doubt) if they ride on a horse : He hath no mind of the Apostle's admonition, saying ; Work out your salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who worketh in you, both to will and to do : And which is more weighty, he is an adversary to him who saith, not, Without me ye can do some little thing ; but saith he, Without me ye can do nothing : And he teacheth, that those only can behold the hid mysteries of the Law, whom instruction and piety hath made wise ; forgetting the grace of God, which revealeth the hid things of Scripture, even to the unlearned and Idiots ; as the Evangelist

saith,

faith, Then he opened unto them their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures: And the Evangelist witnesseth that they were unlearned, when he saith, They seeing the constancy of Peter and John, and knowing that they were without letters and idiots, did admire. And he saith, that holy and generous love ingratt in us, from the very beginning of light, by the gift of nature, and unto our last old age leaning to the power of the mind, may continue without any loss of its vigour: Certainly he beleeveeth not the Lord's word, Without me ye can do nothing: Nor what the Apostle saith, In many things we all offend. In these words Beda confuteth both the Pelagians and Semipelagians. Of justification he saith, on Luke 1, The wisdom of the just is not to presume of righteousness by the works of the law, but to seek salvation by faith; that although they being under the works of the law, yet they should understand, that they are saved, by the grace of God, through Christ; for the just shall live by faith; and Peter saith of the yoke of the law, that neither we nor our fathers were able to bear it; but we beleeve to be saved by the grace of Christ, even as they. And on 1 Pet. 4. God is honoured by our works; when all that we do well, or according to his will, we give it not all unto our merits, but to his grace; and on the other side, what evil we do, we depute it only unto our ignorance and wickedness. Of the Church he saith, on *Cant. lib. 5. cap. 6*. The Church is called Catholick, because it is built through all the parts of the World in one peace, and one fear of God, and is filled with one and the same consort of the Spirit; from which unity of the Spirit, she is called a Dove; and she is called perfect, not because she only is filled with the people of the righteous; but also is perfected by receiving all divine graces and virtues. Here is no mention of restraining or subjecting the Church unto the Bishop of Rome. And *de Tabernac. lib. 2. cap. 2*. It was said unto Peter metaphorically, Upon this Rock, that is, on our Saviour whom he had confessed, will I build my Church: And on Revel. 21, when it is said, Foundations, in the plural number, the teachers or graces are meant; when Foundation, in the singular number, he is meant, who is foundation of foundations: Here is no Prerogative of Peter above the other Apostles. Of Prayer, on Prov. chap. 2. he saith, We should invoke [or pray unto] none but God. Of Christ's redemption, on 1 John chap. 2. at these words, And not for ours only; he saith, The Lord is a propitiation not for them only, unto whom living then in the flesh John did write; but also for all the Church which is dispersed in the breadth of the World, even from the first elect, unto the last who shall be born untill the end of the World. This he writeth expressly against the Donatists; but when he speaketh of the Church throughout the World, he condemneth the restriction thereof unto Rome or any other particular place; and when he limiteth the propitiation unto the Elect, he condemneth the opinion of the universality of Christ's death for the Reprobates. And in the same place he saith, Behold how John observeth that humility which he teacheth: Certainly he was a just and great man, who had drunk the secrets of mysteries from the Lord's breast; and nevertheless he saith not, Ye have me your Advocate with the Father; but, We have an Advocate; and he said, We have, and not Ye have; he would rather put himself in the number of sinners, that he might have Christ to be his Advocate; than put himself an Advocate for Christ, and be found among the proud which shall be damned. For all doth the Head make request, of whom it is written, Who is at the right hand of the Father, and intercedeth for us: The Lord intercedeth for us not by words, but by miseration; and he addeth, The Just, because the just Advocate will not plead unjust causes: How shall not the just one defend us in judgement, if now we acknowledge

and accuse our selves unjust? Why shall he not be just, who now by tears is earnest [*ſeruit*] againſt his own unrightcouſneſs? Here he ſpeaketh expreſſly of interceſſion, and he acknowledgeth no interceſſour in Heaven, but the Head for all who mourn for their ſins. Of perfeverance he ſaith, on Col. 4. at the end, where the Apoſtle ſaith, I give thanks unto God; being confident that he who hath begun the good work in you, he will perfect it untill---- What elſe doth he promiſe but perfeverance till the end through the mercy of God? And when the Apoſtle Jude ſaith, Unto him who is able to keep you without offence, doth he very clearly ſhew, that perfeverance in good until the end is the gift of God? In the firſt place Beda ſheweth the certainty of perfeverance, as a thing promiſed; and in the other, he teacheth that it is not the work of man by himſelf alone, even though the man be renewed, but it is the gift of God. And on Rom. 8. he ſaith, We ſhould ſtand the Calling whereby they are elected; not who are elected becauſe they ſhall beleeve; but who are elected that they may beleeve; for the Lord himſelf declarſh this, when he ſaith, Ye have not choſen me, but I have choſen you; for if they were therefore choſen, becauſe they did beleeve; they did firſt chuſe him by believing in him, that they may deſerve to be choſen: But he takes this away altogether, who ſaid, Ye have not choſen me, but I have choſen you: And certainly they did chuſe him, when they did beleeve in him; therefore for no other cauſe, ſaith he, Ye have not choſen me, but I have choſen you; except becauſe they did not chuſe, that he ſhould chuſe them; but he did chuſe them, that they might chuſe him; becauſe the mercy of God did prevent them with grace, and not according to debt: This is the immovable truth of predeſtination and grace. In the ſame place he addeth, God hath predeſtinated us ere we were; he called us when we were averſe; he juſtified us when we were ſinners; he glorified us when we were mortal: If God be thus with us, who ſhall be againſt us? He who will be againſt them who are predeſtinated by God, againſt them who are called, juſtified and glorified; let him prepare himſelf to fight againſt God, if he can: For when we hear, If God be with us, who can be againſt us? None can harm us, but he who overcometh God. Beda is large on this purpoſe there out of Auguſtine. Of the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, he ſaith, on Luk. 22. He breaketh the bread which he giveth, that he might ſhew that the breaking of his body was not without his own accord: when he ſaith, Do this in remembrance of me; the Apoſtle expoundeth it, when he ſaith, How oft ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come; becauſe bread ſtrengthneth fleſh, and wine worketh blood in the fleſh; the one is referred unto his body myſtically, and the other unto his blood. And on 1 Cor. 10. at the words, The cup of bleſſing, which we bleſs; he ſaith, What ye ſee is bread and a cup, which even your eys declare unto you; but what ſaith requireth to be taught, the bread is the body of Chriſt, and the cup his blood. This is ſpoken briefly, which poſſibly may ſuffice ſaith; but ſaith requireth inſtruction: he took up his body into the Heaven, whence he will come again to judge the quick and the dead, there he is now ſitting at the right hand of the Father: How then is the Bread his Body? And the Cup, or what is contained in the cup, how is it his blood? Brethren, theſe things are Sacraments, for in them one thing is ſeen, and another thing is underſtood, &c. When he ſaith, The Lord breaketh the bread, and the bread ſtrengthneth fleſh, and it is referred unto the body myſtically; and even our eys declare it to be bread, &c. Certainly he thought not upon Tranſubſtantiation. Beda did tranſlate the Goſpel of John, the Pſalms, and ſome other parts of the Scripture into the Saxons language; and he writ an Epiſtle unto Ecbert, Biſhop

shop of Lindsarn, wherein he admonisheth him of negligence in his calling, and exhorteth him to translate some books of Scripture into the Saxon language, that people may read them; he telleth him he ought to admonish the King, and correct false Monks and the builders of Monasteries, if they respect their own ease more then solid vertue. Ecbert returneth him answer, thanking him for his Christian admonition; and thereafter did translate some books of the Bible into the vulgar language; as appeareth by the book of Will. Butler against the common Translation. In *Hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 1.* he testifieth, that at that time the Island of Britan, did with five several languages confess one and the same knowledge of the highest truth, and of true sublimity; to wit, the English, Britans, Scots, Pichts and Latines, which [last] by meditation of the Scriptures is become common unto them all. Here he acknowledgeth, that the faith of all the four Nations in the Island, was one and the same. Nevertheless he did observe and deplore the waxing corruption of the Church; for in that Epistle to Ecbert he did not approve the specious and spacious buildings of Monasteries; and in *Samu. lib. 4. cap. 2.* he saith, Let the Reader behold with tears, a thing worthy of tears, how far the Church slideth daily into a worse, or to speak moderately, unto a weaker estate. He did write many books, as *Io. Bale* in Cent. 2. testifieth; he lived 72. years, and died *An. 734.*

2. In the year 724. Jua King of the West-Saxons, was perswaded by his wife Erhelburga to go unto Rome in a Monkish habit; and first did grant, that a penny should be payed unto the Pope out of every fire-house of his Kingdom, which was called Peter's pence; and was ever almost payed until the year 1533, when King Henry the VIII. shook off the Pope. Ethelbert, King of the East-Saxons, went to marry the daughter of Offa, King of Merceland; and Offa did perfidiously cause him to be murdered. Thereafter his pride was turned into so great repentance, that he gave the tenth part of all that he had unto the Church, and several lands to the Church of Hereford; and then he went to Rome, and gave unto the Pope a yearly penny (as Jua had done) *An. 793. Henry Spelman in Concil.* reporteth out of a book *De Vita Offa*, pag. 171. This penny was given not as a Tribute unto Saint Peter, but as an alms for the help of an English Colledge at Rome; and it was called Peter's pence, because it was ordained to be payed on Peter's day; yet certainly thereafter it was called Peter's tribute.

3. About the year 786. Charls the Great, King of France, made a league with Archaius, King of Scots, which hath continued inviolate untill our time. The Saxons and others had spoiled off France by incursions; and Charls did seek to adorn his Kingdom with Letters as well as Arms; therefore he sought the favour of the Scots, and did intreat King Archaius to send unto him Professours of the Greek and Latine languages, and of other learning, for his University of Paris; amongst whom Archaius did send Albinus or Alcuine, John Meilrosius (so named from the Abbey Melrose) Claudius, Clemens, Antoninus; Florent. reckoneth them amongst Hereticks, who followed the Greek Church, because they did oppose the Romish Rites. John Meilrosius became Abbot of the Augustinians at Ticino, and Claudius was Bishop of Alstifodore or Auxerre. They both writ several works, as *Io. Bale* sheweth in Cent. 14.

4. We have mentioned Boniface, Bishop of Ments, he was an English man, and called Winifrid; he had boldly reprov'd Ethelbald, King of Merceland, for Adultery and Tyranny, therefore the King sought his life; he fled unto Rome, where Pope Gregory the II. did regard him for his liberty, and sent him into Germany for conversion of the Saxons; then of a

bold reprovcr of Kings, he became a shameless flatterer of Popes; for he is said to have first moved the decree in *Gratian. dist. 40. cap. Si quis*; if a Pope carry with him innumerable souls into Hell, no man ought to say unto him, What doest thou? He spoke so, and afterwards the Popes did aim at exemption from censure, untill they did attain it: he had from Rome a power Legantine in Germany; neither preached he only unto the Heathens, but did corrupt several Provinces where Christ had been preached, as Thuringia, Argentina, &c. with Roman Manicheism condemning some meats; forbidding marriage of Priests, and permitting to have Nuns or Whores; urging the worship of images: in a word his care was not so much for Christianity as for Papism; for he writ unto Pope Zachary, saying; How few soever Disciples God giveth me in this my charge, I cease not to incline them to the obedience of the Apostolick Sec. He caused the Monastery of Eulda to be built in favour of English men, and was killed at Borna, being suspected of a conspiracy.

*The opposers
of his Rites.*

5. Many did preach and write against him and his superstitions; as Adelbert, a French Bishop; and Sidonius, an Arch-Bishop of Bavaria; Samson a Scot, Bishop of Auxerre; and Virgilius an Irish man, Bishop of Juvavia; as Naucerus and Aventine do record. Boniface dilateth them unto Pope Zachary; and as *Bern. Lutzenburg. in Catal.* writeth, the Pope in a Synod at Rome condemneth them, depriveth them of their Priesthood, and excommunicateth them before they were heard; and when they sought to be heard, and plead their cause in a Synod, Boniface denied access unto them, and said; Excommunicated men should not be admitted into a Synod, nor have the benefit of the Law. So partly by tyranny of the Pope, and partly by authority of Pipin, Boniface did oppress all his adversaries. *Catal. test. ver. ex vita Bonifac.* Particularly one Clemens did reprove Boniface, 1. That he did so advance the authority of the Roman Bishop, seeing all Teachers are equally successors of the Apostles. 2. That he condemned the marriage of Priests. 3. That he did speak too much for the Monkish life. 4. That he had anointed the King of France, contrary to the undoubted right of the Merovei. 5. That he appointed Masses for the dead, and other new Rites unknown in the Church heretofore, *Aventin. Annal. lib. 3. & Epist. Zachar. ad Bonif. in tom. 2. Concil.*

*Alcwin and
his doctrines.*

6. Albine or Alcwin had good knowledge of the Latine and Greek languages: Charls the Great calleth him his Master, in an Epistle written unto him, *desepuages. & sexages. Biblioth. de la Bigne tom. 3.* where are some of his works. On Ps. 51. he writeth thus; It is said unto the Father, Then wilt thou accept the sacrifice of righteousness, that is, the most glorious passion of the Son who offered himself a sacrifice for all men, that they might attain salvation which the world did not deserve by their works. *Ibid.* When I look on my self, I find nothing in me but sin; thy righteousness must deliver me; it is thy mercy, and not my merits, that saveth me; we are quickened by the mercy of God in the name of our Saviour, and not by our merits: In his works he often useth the word *merite*; but here we may see in what sence he and others do understand it. On the fourth *psalm.* Ps. I could defile my self, but I cannot cleanse my self, unless thou, Lord Jesu, do cleanse me by sprinkling thy holy blood. No good can be in us, unless it be thy working grace who hast made us. On Ps. 118. Thou hast made me to be desirous of thy Commandments, make me also able to do: help, that I may do what thou commandest, and give what thou commandest. And in another place, Free-will abideth as yet in men by nature; that in whom God willeth, he may be pleased to make free by grace, that they have not an evil will; for since the first man

man by free-will was sold under sin, the freedom of man is evil; because the goodness of the will is taken away from the free-will; which [goodness] none can have of himself, unless he have it being helped by the grace of God's mercy; without whose help free-will can neither turn unto God, nor make any progress unto God. He hath the like words in *lib. 2. de Trinit. cap. 8.* On Eccles. cap. 1. The Sun Christ inlightneth all things with the splendour and vertue of his spiritual grace, in whose punishment is our salvation; he ariseth to them who believe in him, and he goeth down to every unbeliever. *Ibid. cap. 3.* We should rejoice in this spiritual pleasure of meat and drink; not only in the Sacrament, but in reading the Holy Scriptures also, where we may eat and drink of the Tree of life. *Ibid. cap. 7.* Let us consider the works of God how great and wondrous they are; and how in his free mercy he hath chosen one, and in his just judgement he despiseth another; as it is written of the Twins, I have loved Jacob, and hated Esau. In *Prefa. lib. 1. de Trinit.* We should all pray, that the Catholick faith, which only quickneth mankind, and only doth sanctifie, may be truly fixed in the hearts of all men by one confession. *Ca. 1.* Although we be thrown down from the joy of blessed felicity, into the miserable blindness of this exile, for the just punishment of original sin; yet we are not so cut off, that even in this changable and temporary estate, we know not to seek and desire eternity, truth and blessedness; which is clear in that we have not a will to die, nor be deceived, nor be miserable; whence is this natural instinct, that all men would be blessed, although this appetite is diversly in the minds of particular persons; some think to be blessed in riches. The whole divine Scriptures exhort us to be lifted up from earthly unto heavenly things, where is true and eternal blessedness; unto which it is most certain, that none can attain but by the faith of the Catholick peace. In *Prefa. lib. 2.* All the authority of the holy books serve unto us, to make us believe rightly of God, and to love him with all our heart; but the sight of man's mind is not able to behold the most excellent light of God's Majesty, unless it be inlightned by the brightness of the righteousness of faith and love, through the gift of God's grace; therefore we should pray for the grace of God, that the ey of our heart may be cleansed, to see how properly the Trinity is the one and only and true God; and how rightly the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is said, understood and beleeved to be one and the same substance. *Lib. 3. cap. 1.* What did the human nature in the man Christ deserve, that it should be assumed into the unity of the person of the only Son of God? what good will, what desire of good purpose, what good works did precede, whereby that man did deserve to be one person with God, yea to be very God? To wit, God himself, even he by whom man began, began not to be another then the Son of God, and that the only, the only begotten, and properly, and for the Word of God, who was made flesh, verily God; that as every man is one person, even a reasonable soul and flesh; so Christ is one person, the word and flesh: Whence is so great glory unto human nature? by no preceding merits, without doubt by the free and gracious gift; but only here the great and only grace of God, is evidently shewed unto them who consider faithfully and soberly; to the end men may understand, that they are justified from their sins by the same free grace; by which it was that the man Christ could have no sin. *Ibid. cap. 12.* Certainly no man can have peace with God, but by the Mediatour Christ Jesus, who is in two natures very God, and very man, one Christ, both Priest and sacrifice; he came unto us, to offer for us what he had assumed of us, that he might take away from us, that which he found in us, that is, our sins. *Ibid. cap. 21.* The Apostle saith of the fire of the day of judgement, What each

mans work is, the fire shall declare. It is not to be doubted that he speaketh of a Purgatory fire; which fire the ungodly shall feel one way, and the godly another way, and the righteous another way; seeing the ungodly shall from the torment of the fire be thrown into everlasting flames; but the godly who shall rise in their bodies without all blot of sin, and who have built gold, silver and precious stones upon the foundation which is Christ; they shall escape that fire with so great facility, as with integrity of faith, and love of Christ, they have kept the commands in this life; and that fire of Doomsday shall be unto them, as the Fornace of Babylon was unto the three children, who without all harm of that fire, shall call upon the beauty of all the creatures unto the praises of God: But some just men are subject to some small sins, because upon the Foundation, which is Christ, they have built stones, hay and straw, which are cleansed by the heat of that fire; from which they being cleansed shall be made partakers of everlasting glory: And so by that transitory fire, and the whole judgement of that day being completed, two congregations of the godly and the ungodly shall be severed; the one of Christ, and the other of the Devil: So he expoundeth not that Text of a Purgatory before the day of Judgement. On the Psalms of degrees, at the words of Psal. 130. If thou, Lord, wilt mark iniquity; he saith, He expoundeth out of what depth he did cry, that is, from the gulf of his sins, which as a deluge had gone over his head; understanding that all his life was full of tentations: Therefore he saith, Who can stand? If thou judge only righteousness unto us, and shew not mercy, none can stand; for we are all the children of wrath; but we have more hope of thy mercy, but not of our merits. On John chap. 6. This is to eat his flesh, and to drink his blood; even to abide in Christ, and to have him abiding in us; and therefore who abideth not in Christ, certainly, he eateth not his flesh spiritually, although carnally and visibly he do press the Sacrament of his body and blood; but rather, he eateth the Sacrament of so great a thing for damnation to himself; because he being unclean presumeth to come unto the Sacraments of Christ, which none taketh worthily but who is clean; as it is written, Blessed are the pure in heart, for-----*Contra Felic. Virgil. lib. 2.* Shew us any Nation or Town or Church, either Roman (which is the head of Churches) or Constantinopolitan, or of Jerusalem (which was dedicated by the presence of the Lord himself) or of Antiochia, where first the name of Christianity is read to have been, or of Alexandria, or of any other Church either in Italy or Germany, or in France, or in Aquitania, or in Britan which agreeth with you in your assertion. *Here he acknowledgeth all these to be true Churches at that time, and distinguisheth them one from another; and where he calleth the Roman the Head of Churches, certainly he understandeth not that other Churches had their original from Rome; seeing he saith, the Church of Jerusalem was dedicated by the presence of the Lord himself; and Christians had their first name at Antioch; both which were before there was any mention of a Church at Rome.* When Felix came to a Synod at Regensburg, where were Priests from all parts of the Christian Empire (as Alewin speaketh *contra Elipant. lib. 1.*) his errour was accursed; and nevertheless he continued in his errour, till at the command of Charls the Great, Alewin writ these books; and then he became zealous for the truth, and did write a recantation unto the Presbyters and Deacons of his Church; that as he had been a scandal unto them, so by his means they may be brought again from error unto the truth; as he himself writeth, and this recantation is printed among the Works of Alewin. But Elipant, Arch-Bishop of Toledo, having read these seven books of Alewin, writ very bitterly for maintaining the same errour: He professeth to

Alewin writteth against the errors of Felix and Elipant.

believe

believe that Christ is but one person in two natures; in one, eternal and equal with the Father, and the same unity of his person remaining inseparably, is also the son of man in respect of his flesh; and in respect of his divine nature, the Father and He are one [*unum*]; and in respect of his form of a servant, he came not to do his own will, but the will of him who sent him: But as in respect of the Divine nature, He is the natural Son of the Father; so in respect of his flesh, he is the Son of God adoptive and nuncupative. It is to be marked by the way, that Felix had said, Christ in respect of his flesh was the old man, and had need of regeneration; but Elipant did not write so. For proof of this his last point, he alledgeth several testimonies of Scripture, of Augustine and other fathers, and of the Spanish Missal. Against this Epistle of Elipant, Alwin writ four books, wherein he sheweth, that Elipant held the same heresie with Nestorius, who had spoken the same way, and yet was judged to have spoken inconsistibly with the unity of Christ's person. He retorteth all the testimonies of Scripture; and from them proveth, that Christ is never called a nuncupative God, nor adoptive son; but even whilst the Scripture speaketh of his manhood, or of him as man, calleth him the only begotten of the Father. Thirdly, he sheweth that Elipant did corrupt the testimonies of the Fathers, and did add the words Nuncupative and Adoptive, where they were not; and on the contrary, he produceth their testimonies, where they do expressly deny that Christ is the Son of God by adoption; and in this respect distinguish Christ's son-ship and the son-ship of the Elect. As for the testimonies of the Spanish Missal, he toucheth them not, as if that Missal were nothing. Nevertheless hence we see, that the Spanish Church, at that time, had a proper Missal, and were not subject unto the Roman Church. It is also worth the marking, that whereas Elipant had alledged a testimony of the son of Sirach, Alwin *lib. 1.* saith, When the testimonies of God's Prophets have failed unto thy perverseness, thou feignest a new Prophet speaking according to thy error. In Jesus the son of Sirach is that sentence, which book blessed Jerom and Isidore do witness, that without doubt it is reckoned amongst the Apocrypha, that is, dubious witness; and it was not in the time of the Prophets, but of the Priests, when Ptolemæus Evergetes was King. In *lib. 2.* neer the end, he saith, Holy Father, raze, raze quickly this opinion out of the Closet of thy heart; lest the Lord, who hath appointed thee to give Wheat unto his family, find that written in the Table of thy heart, and say unto thee, I acknowledge not these Letters, these words were not taught thee by the men to whom I said, Go, teach all Nations. *If we join these two testimonies, we see that Alwin did not acknowledge any book for Scripture, nor any doctrine for truth, which had not a warrant from the Prophets and Apostles.* In *lib. 4.* The original of these evils, which begets the occasion of all impieties, is this; While the wisdom of the heavenly Teachers is weighed through the fault of miss-thinking men in their temerarious pride; not according to the propriety of their meaning, but is turned into other meanings after the will and pleasure of the reader, and otherwise then the respect of truth carrieth; and it is easie unto any who understandeth the Scripture rightly, to find this by the Comments of all Hereticks, that they are not afraid, in their ungodly temerity and froward blindness, to draw the most holy words of the Divine books into the similitude of their error: which kind of impiety and misery, if thou, Father Elipant, hadst considered with a prudent mind and humble searching, thou hadst never fallen from the unity of the Catholick peace, into the pit of this error. In his book *De virtut. & vitis*, which he writ at the intreaty of Wido a Count, he exhorteth him to read the Scriptures diligently; *Ca. 5.* saying, The reading of the Holy

Scriptures is the knowledge of divine blessedness; for in them, as in a glass, a man may know himself, what he is, and whither he goeth: Continual reading purifieth the soul, breedeth fear of Hell, and stirreth up the heart of the reader unto Heavenly joies: He who desireth to be with God for ever, should frequently read and pray; for when we pray, we speak with God; and when we read, God speaks with us: The reading of the Holy Scriptures bringeth a twofold benefit, because it instructeth the understanding, and brinketh a man from the vanities of the World to the love of God: Honest is the labour of reading, and conduceth much to the purifying of the soul; for as the body is nourished by fleshly meat, so the inward man is nourished and fed by God's word; as the Psalmist saith, How sweet unto my tast are thy words, O Lord, even more then the honey and the honey-comb unto my mouth: But he is blessed who reading the Holy Scriptures, turneth the words into works: Certainly all the Holy Scripture is written for our salvation; to the end we may by them grow in the knowledge of the truth: A blind man stumbleth oftner then he who seeth; so he who knoweth not the Law of God, sinneth, through ignorance, oftner then he who knoweth it. Certainly this man would not have consented unto that Canon of the Council of Trent, which forbiddeth people to read the Scriptures. But to the end, that all should not be thought to be his, which goeth under his name; it is to be marked, that in Par. II. is an Homily *in festo omnium Sanctor.* which Quercitanus hath marked to be amongst the Sermons of Augustine, but he had found it in a manuscript under the name of Albin; but it can not be either Augustin's nor Albin's; seeing that feast was afterwards appointed by Pope Gregory the IV. These books *de Trinitate* are written so clearly, that *Sixtus Senens. in prefat. Biblioth.* saith, They were written by John Calvin, and published in the name of Alevine: But Doctor James, in *The Corruption of the Fathers*, par. 4. pag. 50. testifieth, that antient copies thereof were in the Prince's Library at Saint James, and they were Printed at Lions, *An.* 1525. when Calvin had not begun to write. Rich. Hoveden, in *The Continuation of Beda*, writeth, That Charls the Great sent over into England, the Acts of a Synod sent him from Constantinople, for the adoration of images, the which the Church of God utterly detesteth: Against this adoration (saith he) Albinus writ an Epistle marvellously grounded on divine Scriptures; and carried it, with some Synodical Acts in name of the English Bishops and Princes, unto the King of France.

6. Ecbert King of the West-Saxons, vanquished Merceland, Kent, Essex and Northumberland; and then he commanded that land to be called *Anglia*, and the inhabitants Angles or English men. *Tho. Cooper ad An.* 796.

CHAP. V.

OF COUNCELS.

A Synod in France.

1. FEW Councils were assembled in the beginning of this Century. In France, Carloman assembleth one, which beginneth thus: In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I Carloman, Duke and Prince of France, with the advice of the Servants of God and my Nobles, in the fear of Christ, have assembled, *An.* 742. *Febr.* 19. the Bishops which are in my Kingdom, with the Priests, into a Council and Synod; these are, Boniface Arch-Bishop of Mentz, Burchard Bishop of Wirtzburg, Reginfrid, Guntharius and the rest of the Bishops, with their Priests, That they should give me counsel, how the

the Law of God, and religion of the Church many be restored: [*Nota*] which in the daies of former Princes hath been shattered and fallen; and how Christian people may attain the salvation of their souls, and not perish, being deceived by false Priests: And by the advice of my Priests and Nobles, We have ordained Bishops thorow Cities, and set over them the Arch-Bishop Boniface, who is the Legate of Saint Peter: And we have ordained, that Synods should be called every year, that in Our presence, the Decrees of Canons, Rites and Laws of the Church may be restored; and We restore unto the Churches the monies which hath been taken from them. We have also discharged all the Servants of God from hunting and wandring in woods with Dogs, and that they have no Hawks nor Falcons: We have also Decreed, according to the holy Canons, that each Presbyter dwelling in a Parish, be subject unto the Bishop in whose Parish he dwelleth; and alwaies in Lent that he shew and give account of their Ministry, whether of Baptism, or Catholick Faith, and Prayers and order of Masses. Then he forbiddeth sacrifice to the dead, and other prophane rites of Heathens; he appointeth punishment against the fornications and adulteries of Monks: In the end it is Decreed, that Monks and Nuns should live within their Abbeys and Alms-houses, according to the rule of their Father, *Benedict. Concil. tom. 2. edit. Græc.* Behold how little mention is here of the Bishop of Rome.

2. In the year 747. at Clonesho in England was a frequent Synod, where it was Decreed, 1. That Bishops should be more diligent in taking heed to their charge, and admonishing people of their faults. 2. They should maintain the devotion of true peace and love, and serve God in the same faith, hope and love, praying for one another mutually. 3. That once in the year each Bishop should visit all the Parishes of his Diocye, and restrain the Heathenish observations which as yet were amongst the people. 4. That none should be admitted into Orders, till his life and conversation and literature were examined. 7. That Bishops and Abbots should diligently take heed, that all under them be diligent in reading for instruction of souls: for it is to be lamented (say they) that so few are found to be ravished with the love of holy knowledge; but are rather mis-carried with vanities and love of idle glory, and trace not the study of holy Scriptures. 10. That Presbyters should learn to know all the duties of their Office; especially, they should learn to interpret in their own language the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the words that are said in the Mass and in Baptism; and they should study to know what the words signifie spiritually. 8. That the Fast of the fourth, seventh and the tenth months should be observed. King Ælfwald and Offa were present, and they two, with many Dukes and Counts, confirm the Decrees with their subscriptions. *Spelman ad An. 747.*

At Clonesho.

3. Constantine Copronymus assembled a Council at Constantinople, of 338. Bishops, out of Asia and Europe, *An. 755.* this they called the seventh General Council: Here was Theodore Bishop of Ephesus, Basil Bishop of Pisidia, Pastiles Bishop of Pergamenum, John of Nicomedia, Cosmas of Epiphania in Apamea, &c. The controversie of Images was discussed; Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory Bishop of Cyprus, and John Damascene, Patrons of Images, were accursed; and Constantine Bishop of Salæum was made Patriarch. Images of Christ, of Mary, and of the Apostles were condemned; as having no warrant from Christ, nor the Apostles, nor the Fathers. And if any would say, that the Images of Christ only were condemned, because they cannot represent his two natures; but the Apostles had two natures, and therefore they may be tolerated. The Synod answereth, it is the subtilty of divelish men following the errors of the Gen-

At Constantinople.

tils; but it is said in the Scriptures, God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth: No man hath seen God at any time, but ye heard his voice; and, Blessed are they who have not seen, and believe, &c. Then they alledge many testimonies of the Fathers against Images. They conclude, Let none of whatsoever estate, henceforth follow so wicked and impure institution; who dare from henceforth make any image, or worship, or set up any image in a Church or private house, or have it privily; if he be a Bishop or Deacon, let him be deposed; if he be a Laick, let him be accursed, and subject to the Emperour's censure; because he fighteth against the Scriptures, nor observeth the traditions, &c. Lastly follow the Canons, accusing particularly all them who have images of the Trinity, or of Christ, as he is God, or as he is man, or as he is both God and Man in the hypostatical union; or as if he were two persons, to paint on the one side the son of God, and on the other, the son of Mary. And they accurse all who have an image of any Saint.

4. In the year 787. by perswasion of Tharasius Patriarch, Irene called a Council at Constantinople: Here were Pe. Vicedon a Priest, and Pe. Hegumen a Monk, Legates of Pope Adrian, John Patriarch of Antiochia, Thomas of Alexandria, &c. Augustus made disputation of the worship of Images, it was scanned on both sides; Tharasius and other Bishops and Monks were for them; against them was Basilus Bishop of Ancyra, Theodore Bishop of Myri, Theodosius Bishop of Amorio, with many more Bishops, and a great number of Teachers and Lay-men. The Patriarch could not prevail by number, and went about to exclude the better part from the Synod or disputation; whereupon a tumult was like to arise, for the people could not be content that so great a part should be debarred: when the Patriarch saw that he could not prevail, the Synod was dissolved. The Image-worshippers report this story, as if their adversaries had dealt only by faction, and not by reason: But thus writeth *Pa. Diacon. lib. 23. rer. Roman.* Irene retaineth the Legates of Rome, and by their advice banished a great number of them whom they called Iconomachi or fighters against Images. Then she assembled another Synod at Nice, in Septemb. *An. 788.* where the matter was quickly dispatched, as Adrian and Tharasius would, when there was no great opposition; to wit, as it is declared in *Act. 3.* they Decree, that Images should be had, embraced, saluted, kissed and adored; but that which is called *Latria*, they reserved unto the Trinity only. Their chief pretence is, because *αγκαλιῶν* signifieth to embrace and to love; and the preposition *πρός*, addeth unto the signification, as in *αγκαλιῶν & αγκαλιῶν*; and what a man loveth or embraceth, that doth he *αγκαλιῶν*, as David did Jonathan; and Christ saith, the Pharisees love the first places at Bankers, and salutations in the Market-places. Also the fore-named Basil, Theodore and Theodosius, with the Bishops Hippatius of Neece, Leo of Rhodos, Gregory of Pisidia, Gregory of Pessinus, Leo of Iconium, Nicolaus of Hierapolis, and Leo of Carpathe were perswaded to profess repentance, and confess an error in the former Synod. So Images were set up and worshipped both in the East and West, saith *Pa. Diacon. loc. cit.* and *Zonar. lib. 3.* Not long after, Constantine did annull the Acts of this Convent (*Platin.*) which they call the seventh General Council. *Baronius in Annal. ad An. 794.* sheweth that many learned men, and of great esteem in those daies, as Jonas Aurelianen. Walfrid, Hincmarus and others, writ against the worship of Images, and directly did contradict that Council, although it was confirmed by the Pope. Yea and

At Frank-
ford.

5. In the year 792. Charls the Great summoned a Council at Frankford, which he did moderate and govern, although the Romish Legates were present. Besides the Bishops of France and Germany, he called the Bishops of Italy,

Italy, Spain and England; not to seek any furtherance to his authority (said he) but for maintenance and defence of the Truth. Here was condemned the heresie of Felix Bishop of Urgelitan, and Elipand of Toledo; who held that Christ is the Son of God, only by adoption of his human nature: This was the one cause of assembling the Council. 2. Theophylact and Stephen, the Pope's Legates, did present the Acts of the Synod at Nice to be confirmed and subscribed. The Fathers did refuse, and did compare the Act of the Council under Copronymus, with the late Acts at Nice. The former had condemned the worship and having of Images, either privately or publickly; the other had authorized the adoration of Images with cloaths, incense, candles, bowing of knees, &c. They would keep a middle course, that it is not altogether unlawfull to have Images in private houses nor Churches; but to worship them is contrary to Christian faith, and smelleth of Paganism. Therefore they discern the Synod of Nice to have been wicked, and deserves not the name of Universal nor seventh Council; and they writ some books against the worship of Images, wherein they refute particularly all the pretended arguments of them at Nice; these books went abroad in the name of Charls. Afterwards the worshippers of Images did what they could, that no memory should be of the proceedings of this Synod, and those books; except that they say, Charls did somewhat concerning Images. But as Chemnitius hath marked in *Exam. Conc. Trident. par. 4.* that many old Historians, as Egmar, Regino, Adon; and some later, as Antoninus, Blondus, Aventine have written, that this Synod did condemn the worship of Images, and the Iconolatrous Synod of the Greeks; and did Ordain, that it should be called neither seventh nor Universal, but a Pseudo Synod: *Cassander in Consult. 21.* faith, in his time was a copy of those books of Charls, in the Vatican Bibliothethe: And after the Council at Trent, Tilius a French Bishop, caused them to be published in Print. The Papists in the *Cathol. apolo. tract. 2. sect. 7.* say, The book is forged under the name of Charls the Great. But were all these Authours Protestants who testify of them; and what can they say unto Hincmarus Rhemen. whose testimony followeth in Cent. 9. It is to be marked, that all the Councils in the time of Charls the Great, do shew in the first words, that they were assembled at the command of Charls, or Charls commanding and injoining; the Council at Rome not being excepted, as *Crotian* recordeth *dist. 63. cap. Adrianus*, saying, Charls returning to Rome did appoint a Synod with Pope Adrian, in the Patriarchate of Lateran, in the Church of Saint Salvator, &c. *Bellarmin. de Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 5.* asketh, What Council ever condemned the Church of Rome or their Popes? We have now seen the Pope of Rome condemned in the sixth General Council; and their Doctrine condemned in that other at Constantinople, and in the famous synod at Franckford; and in the next Century, we shall find another Council at Constantinople, and more in other places and ages, contradicting and expressly condemning the Popes of Rome. And for continuati-
on of this matter, here by anticipation, I add the Council held at Paris, *An. 825.* where the Epistle of Pope Adrian, and the Act of the second Council at Nice, was read and censured; as is manifest by the decretal Epistle directed unto Lewis and Lotharius; of which (not far from the beginning) these are the words; We have caused to be read before us, first the Epistle of Do. Adrian, Pope, which he, at the request of the Emperour Constantine, and his mother Irene, sent over sea; and so far as our parvity understandeth, as he justly reproveth them who did rashly presume to break down and abolish Images in these parts; so is known to have written imprudently, that he would have images to be superstitiously worshipped; for which cause, he also gave

order also that a Synod should be assembled; and by his authority, under an Oath, did judge that Images should be set up and worshipped, and be called holy; where as it is lawfull to set them up, but it is wickedness or unlawfull to worship them. *Baron. ad An. 825. § 5.*

At Calchuth. 6. *Hen. Spelman in Concil. ad An. 787.* hath a Synod held at Calchuth in England, wherein some things are remarkable. Gregory Bishop of Ostien. and Theophylact Bishop of Tudert. did write unto Pope Adrian the Acts of that Synod in their own name, as their work which they had recommended unto the Synod, and the Synod had accepted. In the Preface they shew, it was done in two Kingdomes at several times; the one Bishop had gone to the one Kingdom, and the other to the other Kingdom: Gregory went to York, and the Bishop of the place sent unto the King Oswald, who then was farther North, and hearing of the Legate did indict the Synod, and [Nota] did convene with his Lords both Ecclesiastical and Secular. There they say, No Roman Priest was sent hither, after Augustine, till now. *Ca. 1.* They admonish to keep the faith of the six General Councils. 2. That Baptism should be administred at set times, and no other times, unless for great necessity; and they who answer for the infant, should be obliged to teach him, at ripe years, the Lord's Prayer, and Creed. 3. Each Bishop should hold a Synod twice every year, and visit his Diocye once a year. *Ca. 11.* Their speech was unto the King and Lords, that they should not judge Priests, seeing they are Angels. *Ca. 12.* Kings should be chosen by the Priests and Elders of the people, and none should be chosen who had been begotten in adultery or incest. It seemeth, this was the first Act of a Synod in this kind; and it may be questioned, whether Popish Princes will now consent unto it. There they add, that none should meddle with the murther of a King; and if any did attempt or adhere unto such a crime, if he be a Bishop or of Priestly degree, let him be deposed, and deprived of the Heavenly inheritance, as Judas from his place; and whosoever shall assent unto such a sacrilege, he shall be burned with everlasting fire. It may be doubted, whether Bishops and Jesuits will consent unto this part of the Canon. Unto these Acts did subscribe the King, Bishops, Dukes and Abbots. And in the other Kingdom and Synod, Lambert Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, subscribed before King Offa, and then the Bishops, Abbots, Dukes and Counts.

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T H E
T H I R D A G E
Of the
C H U R C H,

O R
The History of the Church Fading, and of Anti-
Christ Rising, containing the space of 400. years, from the
Year of our Lord 600. untill the year 1000.

C E N T U R Y I X.

CHAP. I.
Of EMPEROURS.



It is said before, that Irene did govern the Empire of Constantinople, which was still termed the Roman Empire, and that Charls the Great was made Roman Emperour; but because the Empire of Charls was after the 800. years, I have deferred his Coronation unto this place. The Romanists do boast, that the Pope did give the Empire of the West unto King Charls; and many, not examining the truth, but following the sway of Papal flatterers, have written no less; and therefore have called the transferring of the Empire, an usurpation of Antichrist. But the Pope had not as yet come to that height to pretend it, and the right of Charls came another way; for before he came to Rome, *An. 800.* he had all France under his government, together with Franconia and Aufrasia; he had taken a great part of Spain, unto the River Iber, from the Sarazens; he had subdued Saxony, Westphalia, Dacia, Hungary, Istria, Dalmatia; he had subdued all Italy, except Magna Græcia; and therefore he was intituled, Charls, by the Grace of God, King of the Frenches, Emperour of the Lombards, and Patricius of the Romans. So doth he name himself in his Epistle unto Alcwin, which is in *Biblioth. de la Bigne tom. 3.* and Alcwin in his Epistle *de Ratione septuages.* calleth him, The Glorious Emperour [*Galliarum*] of France, and *Rektor & Defensor Ecclesie*: Both these Epistles are in the second part of Alcwin's works. I pass over what he did at his coming into the City, because I have spoken of it in the former Century. *Platina* in *Leo the III. and Blond. decad. 3. lib. 10.* say, His Coronation was by the decree and prayers of the Roman people. *Sigebert. in Chron.* sheweth the time and cause saying, The Romans, who in heart were long before fallen from the Emperour of Constantinople; taking the opportunity, that a woman who had picked out the eyes of her own son the Emperour, had gotten the Dominion, with one and general consent, to proclaim King Charls for their Emperour, and Crown

him by the hand of the Pope. *Ane. Sylvius* (who was Pope Pius II.) in his book *De auctoritate Rom. Imper. cap. 9.* saith, At last the Greek Princes neglecting Rome, and leaving it to the spoil of the Barbarians and others; the people of Rome who with their blood had purchased so great an Empire, and with their valour had founded the Monarchy of the World; saluted Charls, King of the Germans, for their Emperour, not without the consent of the Bishop of Rome. And *Sigonius de regno Ital. lib. 4.* saith, that Charls had sought this Title in the daies of Adrian, and then he brought an infinite multitude of people to see this spectacle. Whereupon the same Author accuseth the Writers, which say, that Charls knew not of this purpose. Possibly the Senate and the Pope, had agreed to accomplish their design on that day, whereof Charls was either ignorant or unwilling; but the purpose was his own desire. So on Decemb. 25. *An. 800.* they crowned him by the hands of Pope Leo, as the Emperour was wont to be crowned by the Bishop of Constantinople; and the people cried thrice, *Carolo Augusto, à Deo Coronato, Magno & Pacifico Imperatori, Vita & Victoria*: And the Pope anointed him and his son Pipin, whom by a solemn decree he declared King of Italy. *10. Naucler. vol. 2. gener. 27.* The Pope knowing the dangers which had often befallen his Predecessours and himself, did crave of the Emperour that he would be Protector of the Church of Rome, and he gave publick faith. If it be demanded then, Who hath transferred the Empire from Greece to France? *Antonin. Florent. in Summ. Theol. par. 3. tit. 22. cap. 4.* answereth for the general, The authority of transferring the Imperial Seat, is from the people of Rome. As for this particular, we see it clearly, the King of France attained the Empire, at that time, partly by inheritance, partly by the sword, partly by dedition; and the Title was given by the people and Bishop of Rome; (see Cent. 8. chap. 2. sect. 12. neer the end) and nothing was proper unto the Bishop but the Coronation and other Ceremonies; which he did, in name of the people, after the custom at Constantinople: As for Lands, no History of credit saith, that the Pope gave any unto the Emperour at any time; as we may hear more hereafter, in Cent. 12. chap. 1. §. 3. and without doubt the Pope had a great stroke in this change, and did act effectually amongst the Citizens for their own advancement; but this change was not pretended to be by the power of the keys, nor as yet was any of them the disposer of Empire or Kingdom. At the same time also it was agreed, that all the Head-men of the City, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, should give their Oath of Fidelity unto the Emperour. 2. That his *Missus* should dwell in the Palace of Saint Peter to decide Pleas amongst them; unto whose entertainment was allotted a part of the former Emperour's Patrimony. 3. If any man's cause was perverted by the ordinary Judges, and that man did implore the aid of the *Missus*, or Emperour's Commissioner, for justice; and the *Missus* did adjure the Princes of Rome, saying; By the faith ye owe unto my Lord the Emperour, do this man justice; then none should dare to decline unto the right hand or left, although the wrong were done by any of the Pope's kinsmen. 4. That the muls which were exacted of any guilty person, should be equally divided betwixt the Emperour's *Missus*, and the Pope's *Missus*. 5. If any goods fell under escheit, they should appertain unto the Church, without an expresse gift of the Emperour. *Continuato Eutrop. Catalo. test. ver. lib. 8.* And all this right was not sufficient unto King Charls, nor did he enjoy it without contradiction; for *Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 2. cap. 8.* saith, The envy of this assumed name (the Emperour of Constantinople not disssembling it) did Charls overcome with much money; and he did prevail against their contumacy by his magnanimity, wherein he did excel the Greeks

not a little; and he sent many Embassadors unto them, saith *Baron. ad An. 800. §. 7.* especially he sent unto Irene not only to treat for peace, but sought her marriage, that so he might confirm his Title: She did admire the man's fortune, and was willing, saith *Zonar.* But before his Embassadors came the second time into Constantinople, the people (when Irene was lying sick) did Crown Nicephorus, on the first day of Novemb. *An. 802.* and he compelled her to renounce the government, and shut her into a Monastery. Then (saith *Bergomas ad An. 796.*) he renewed the League that Irene had made before with him. *Sigonius* saith, They agreed on a League, with expresse condition, that Venice should be free betwixt the two Empires. In the mean time Nicephorus was molested by the Sarazens, and was forced to agree with them upon hard conditions; and also was troubled by the Bulgarians, over whom he had once great Victory; but when he refused all conditions of peace, they gathered together to fight for life and land, and killed him, *An. 812. Zonar.* and his son Stauratius was wounded in the fight, and escaped into Adrianople, where he was declared Emperour; but after three months Michael Rangabis, his brother-in-law, shut him into a Monastery. Then were mutual Embassadors betwixt the two Emperours, and a perpetual peace was concluded, *An. 813.* as was touched in Century 8. in *Amalarius.* All these particulars shew evidently, that the power of transferring the Empire did not appertain unto the Bishop of Rome: and seeing now we have Emperours nearer us, they shall be the subject of this History, so that some mention shall be of the Eastern Empire.

2. CHARLES the Great was crowned Emperour, *An. 800.* in the 33. year of his reign, and the 58 year of his age; he did fight many battels, and was alwaies victorious: he had Wars with the Heathenish Saxons for the space of 30 years; he did oft times overcome them, and granted them liberty, upon condition they would imbrace the Christian faith; but on every occasion their Duke Wedekind cut off both Loyalty and Christianity. At several times when Charls had obtained a Victory, he erected a new Bishoprick; he founded seven Bishop-Cities in that Province, giving them Princely power, because he did judge that the fierce people might be tamed by religion, rather than by Arms; these were, Breme, Verda, Minda, Padeburn, Osnaburg, Hildesem, Halberstad. *Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 2. cap. 23.* and in *cap. 22.* he saith, Although Charls gave unto the High-Priests power of governing, yet the Nobles did not altogether lose their administration; whence it came to pass, that when the War was ended, the Secular power beyond Visurg, or the river Vesper, was acknowledged by them all to belong unto him. At last, because they had revolted, he removed ten thousand of them with their wives and children into Brabant and Flanders, and set some French into that Province; and left his son Charls there with an Army to keep them in obedience. Charls understood that the Latine Translation of the Bible was much corrupted through the negligence of Writers, and gave it in charge unto Alcwin to amend the Translation, who did correct both the Old and New-Testament; so doth *Baron. tom. 9. ad An. 908.* testifie, as also that he had an ancient Copy in *Biblioth. Valitella.* carrying Alcwin's name; and Alcwin in his Epistle before his sixth book on John, speaketh of that his work at the command of the King. He laboured much for conversion of the Pagans in Germany, and erected publick Schools at Paris, Ticine and Osnaburg, and furnished them with store of books; he received gifts from the Calipha of Egypt; his sons Pipin and Charls died before him. In the year 813. when he was grown unable to govern, he sent for his son Lewes, and for Bernard son of Pipin; and in presence of his Peers, said unto Lewes; Come, Lewes,

Charls the Great had care of Religion.

He caused the Latine Translation of the Bible to be amended.

and with joy put this Crown upon thy head, not for ornament of dignity; but for safety of Our Kingdoms and Christian-Commonwealth; and henceforth govern thou the Empire with happy success; and the Peers did swear fidelity unto him. Nor did Lewes look unto the Pope for coronation or anointing, untill Pope Stephen fled for refuge unto him, as followeth; and then he was Crowned again at Aken. Charles died in February, *An. 814*. He began a Grammar of the German language, but ended it not; he changed the names of the Winds and Months from the heathenish manner: He writ many books; In the Epistle to Alcuin before his books *De Divinis Officiis*, he saith, When Christ was at Supper with his Disciples, he broke the bread, and gave the cup to them in figure of his body and blood, and left a great Sacrament, which is profitable unto us. *Lib. 1. cap. 15*. The mercy of our Mediatour is above the Legal and Evangelical Precepts; through which mercy we are saved, not by our works which we have done, nor by our willing or running, but by his mercy. *Lib. 3. cap. 25*. The miracles, which they say, have appeared in images, if they did not appear truly (as no authenticall History sheweth) were but lies; if by some imaginary overshadowing they did appear to deceive mens minds; it is most dangerous, lest that old enemy by his subtile art, by shew of wonders, perswade deceitfully to do unlawfull things: But if these things did verily appear, (which cannot be proved by any certain warrant) we should understand, that when many and wondrous things are done at the pleasure of God by some creatures, or in whatsoever creatures they be done; yet these things are not to be worshipped, by which, or in which, these wonders are made; because the Almighty God, who sheweth many signs unto men by visible and palpable things, to mollifie the hardness of mens hearts by these visible things, doth not work these signs, to confirm the worship of any creature; for he hath commanded to worship and adore him alone: Because God spoke out of a bush unto Moses, should the bush therefore be worshipped? Because a woman was healed by touching the hem of Christ's garment, should hem therefore be worshipped? *Lib. 4. Cap. 2*. The Holy and Catholick Church professeth to serve God not by images, nor by men, nor aethereal powers, but by Christ our Lord, *Catal. test. ver. lib. 8*. Charls made many Laws and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, which Ansegisus or Angisus, Abbot of Lobien. and then Arch-Bishop of Senonen. gathered together with the Constitutions of Lewes, and divided them into seven books: *Sinderus* testifieth, that they were in the Abbey of Saint Gallus, and were Printed lately at Paris. In the Preface he saith, he had appointed these Constitutions with advice of his Priests and Counsellors; and that he had followed the example of King Josias, who indeavoured to bring the Kingdom which God had given him, unto the worship of the true God. *Lib. 1*. He commanded to try the learning and conversation of Intrantes; he did forbid private Masses, and appealed to the See of Rome, but indirectly. *Ca. 10*. He forbiddeth confusion of Diocies, or that no Bishop should medle with any Parish of another Diocy; he forbiddeth any books to be read publickly, but what were approved by the Councel at Chalcedon, *cap. 20*. And *cap. 42*. he forbiddeth to worship Saints: *Cap. 82*. He commandeth that Bishops suffer not the Priests to teach the people other things then are contained in, or according to the Holy Scriptures. *Lib. 2. cap. 3*. Although the authority of the Ecclesiastical Ministry, may seem to stand in our person; yet by the authority of God, and ordinance of man, it is known to be so divided, that every one of you, in his own place and order, hath his own place and ministry; hence it is manifest, that I should admonish you all, and ye all should further and help us. *Ca. 4*. He admonisheth Bishops, especially, to teach

His testimony
in some ar-
ticles of the
faith.

of Miracles,

His Ecclesi-
astical Con-
stitutions.

teach their people both by life and doctrine; both by themselves and them who are under them; as they will answer in their accounts at the great day.

Can. 17. The Bishop of the first See should not be called the Prince of Priests, or the highest Priest, or any such title; but only, the Bishop of the first See.

Can. 45. None can lay another foundation, save that which is layed, which is Christ Jesus; whosoever therefore in the love of God, and of his neighbour, keepeth the certainty of faith which is in Christ Jesus; he hath laid the same Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Man, to be his foundation; it is to be hoped therefore, that where Christ is the foundation, the edifice of good works will follow: In a word, if his meddling with Italy, and his advancing the Pope, for confirming that which he had taken, can be excused; he was unto all Princes a pattern of magnificence, zeal in religion, learning, eloquence, temperance, prudence, moderation, &c. *Alcwin contra Elipant. lib. 1.* faith, Charls was a Catholick in faith, a King in power, a High-Priest in preaching, a Judge in equity, a Philosopher in liberal studies, famous in manners, and excellent in all honesty; he was never served at Table with more then four dishes at once; his exercise was hunting, and reading of Histories, *Pet. Mexia.* In the year 813. Crunus, Duke of Bulgaria, pursued his Victory, and fought once with Michael Rangabis, a worshipper of Images; and at the second alarm he did renounce his Crown; and Leo Armenius, General of the Army, was declared Emperour; he slue Crunus in Battel, and returned home with Triumph. Thereafter he had peace; he threw down Images, and banished the Patriarch Nicephorus, a worshipper of Images, and many more. *Zornar.*

*His Court-
sation.*

3. LEWES the Godly, confirmeth the peace with Leo Armenius, and had Wars in Datia; whence he was necessitated to return, to redress some accidents at home, and he easily calmed them, by means of his Nephew Bernard. In the year 818. the same Bernard rebelled against his Uncle, and claimed the Crown of France, because he was the son of the eldest brother; but he was soon taken captive, his eys were picked out, he was sent Prisoner into France, and his Kingdom was given to Lotharius, the Emperour's son. At that time Lewes confirmed the Donation of King Pipin and of Charls, unto the Church of Rome, without making mention of any former right; as may be seen in the words of the Donation, in *Volaterran* and *Gratian*. Yet he gave not over the City of Rome; for *Platina* in *Serg. 2.* sheweth, that Rome was allotted unto Lotharius, when the Empire was divided again: and *Ibegan chorepi. Trevir.* writing of the same Lewes saith, It was appointed, that according to former custom, some should be sent from the Emperour to Rome, who having the authority of Judges, should do justice to all the people; and accordingly, Legates were sent to Rome to judge Pope Paschalis, who was challenged of murder. *Io. Lampad. in Mellis.* Lewes caused the Bible to be translated into the Saxon language. Though he was religious and studious of peace, yet he was not free from conspiracy; he had advanced many persons unto high honours; and (as *Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 2. cap. 25.*) for their wickedness which he had certainly tried, he cast them down again; they therefore did devise many things against him, and drew his own sons, Lotharius, Pipin and Lewes, on their side; under pretext, that the Emperour did affect his youngest son, by his present wife, more then them. They did so prevail, that the Emperour was deposed, and Lotharius was declared Emperour, who shut his father into a Monastery, and his young son Charls. Many who were loyal, would have taken Arms for his relief, but he did forbid them. Hugobert Bishop of Lions, and Bernard Bishop of Vienna, and many other Bishops took part with the sons, because

*Lewes his
troubles.*

he would have restrained their pomp and pride; but they made pretence; that he had married Judith within degrees forbidden by the Pope. Also Pope Gregory the IV. hateth him because he was an enemy of Images; nevertheless, he came into France, under pretence to appease the troubles: But (as *Morn. in Myster. ex Chronic. Dionys.* and others testifie) to kindle the coals; he fought that both parties would submit unto his arbitrement. They who were on the Emperour's side, were suspicious of deceit, and would not submit; but said to the Pope, If thou come to excommunicate us, thou shalt return excommunicated. *Vsser. de Eccles. stat. cap. 1. Crantz. loc. cit. saith,*

His restoration.

When the sons had examined the cause of this stir, they found the innocency of their father, and restored him unto his Empire; and he, being the meekest of all mortals, did readily forgive them, and made Lotharius partner of the Empire with him; but he dealt more severely with the Bishops: they fled into Italy, nor could the authority of the Pope help them; only who did most humbly confess their offence, were pardoned. About that time, a huge multitude of Sarazens entred into Italy, took Rome, and made Saint Peter's Church a stable for their horses; and wasted all Thuscia, burning Houses and Churches; when they heard of the Lombards coming against them, they made hast away with much Spoil, with infinite number of Captives; as also they spoiled Sicily. Michael the Stutterer, conspired against Leo Armenius in his 7 year, and killed him; he slew some Bishops, and banished others who worshipped images. His son Theophylus was answerable to his name; he punisheth not only the worshippers, but the makers of Images. In the year 824. he sent unto Lewes, desiring the determination of the French Church, concerning Images; and intreating that he would interpose his authority, with the Pope, in that matter. The Emperour called a Synod at Paris, of which is mention in the end of Century 8. and he sent Jeremia Bishop of Senone, and Jonas Bishop of Orleance, unto Pope Eugenius; who did ask, By what place of Scripture he could prove it lawfull to worship images? He answereth, They are arrogant who dare ask such questions, *Ph. Morn. in Myster. ex Synod. Parsi. sub Ludo. & Lothar. Pe. Mexia.* writeth, that these three most famous heads of Europe, died within the space of four daies, Theophylus, Lewes, and Pope Gregory the IV. *An. 840.* Lewes, before his death, divided his Kingdomes, and sought not the consent of the Pope.

The Empire is divided and weakened.

4. LOTHARIUS the eldest son of Lewes, succeeded unto his father, with common consent; except of his brethren Charls and Lewes, for they took it ill, that he should have both France and Italy; and they be inclosed in Bojaria and Aquitania: so they force their brother unto a new division. Lewes became King of Germany, and had Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Moravia, Frisia, Bojaria, &c. Charls was King of France, except Provence or Narbone and Lorain, and a part of Burgundy, which with Italy, and the Title of Emperour, appertaineth to Lotharius, *Platin. in Serg. Sigonius de reg. Ital. lib. 5.* addeth, As much as was taken from the power of France, so much the more waxed the power and liberty of the Italians; that is, the Popes. For before Lotharius was crowned, the people and clergy of Rome did chuse and consecrate Pope Sergius the II. not respecting the consent of the Emperour; and some Cities in Italy were talking that they would be no more in subjection unto French blood. Then Lotharius designeth his son Lewes for his successeur, and went together unto Rome. On the way he exerceth security on some Cities who had made shew of Rebellion; when he approached unto Rome, the Citizens came forth to meet him; after them came the Priests with their Crucifixes, and sing, Blessed

Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the most high; and they convoy him unto the steps of Saint Peter, where Pope Sergius was waiting; they kissed each other. *Naclerus* and *Platina* say no more of their courtesie; *Sigonius* saith, Lotharius kissed his holy foot; but this is falsely added: for *Baronius* would not have omitted that particular, who saith *ad An. 844. ex Anastas.* They embraced one another, and the King held the Pope's right hand; they went together unto the Silver-gate. Then said Sergius, If thou comest in peace, and for the utility of the Christian Commonwealth, and not for rapine, come in; but if thou be otherwise minded, remember that thou hast above thee a revenger of all wickedness, *Platin.* The Emperor biddeth him to be of good courage, and so they went forward. They fate down on their knees, and gave thanks unto God and Saint Peter that no harm was; for they were afraid, that the Emperour would have done there, as he had done by the way. After eight daies Sergius declared Lotharius King of Italy, anointed him, and put the Crown upon his head. The Sarazens were glad that the Empire was divided; and entring into Italy, they took Barri and other Cities, which they kept 30. years. Lotharius had no Martial spirit, and being weary of government, he divided the Empire again. To his second son Lotharius he gave that part of France, which from his name was called Lotharingia or Lorain; to his youngest son Charls, he gave Provence and Languedoc; and to his eldest son Lewes, he gave Italy, with the Title of Emperour; together with this charge, that because the discipline of the Church, which was so well prescribed by his father and grand-father, was now failed; therefore so soon as he could have peace, he should assemble the Nobility and Clergy, and by his authority restore the same unto its former integrity, *Io. Lampad. in Mellis.* and he did impute his infelicity unto his own iniquity; and with sorrow did remember his attempts against his father: he entred into a Monastery, and died *An. 855. Pet. Mexia.* Theodora, the Widow of Theophilus, governed the Eastern Empire 14. years; she set up Images, and restored the Bishops and others whom her husband had banished or imprisoned. Her son Michael coming to age closed her in a Monastery, *Zonar.* He threatened the Pope, that he would come and cast down Rome, if he did not cast Images out of the Churches: he was the only Prince that durst give Battel unto the Sarazens in Italy; but his Captain was overthrown by them. After this Battel, they raised a greater Army, and had made a prey of Italy; if God had not by a stormy wind drowned their Navy, except a few ships which returned to Affrick. They repaired their forces, and return the third time, they wast Italy, and besiege Rome, till Pope Leo gave them Battel, as followeth. After Michael succeeded his Uncle, Michael Bardas.

*A decay of
Discipline in
the Church.*

5. LEWES the II. had only the Kingdom of Italy, with the Title of Emperour, and had his manure now at Pavia, then at Millan, but ofttest at Rome in the Palace of Saint Peter; and the Pope lodged at *S. Apostolos. Continuatur Eutropij* (who lived at that time) addeth; Because this Emperour dwelt in Italy, he exercised the more authority; having in the City prudent men who knew the priviledges of the old Emperours, and did intimate unto him, that he should recover the ancient authority. He entred with Arms into the lands of Benevento, and sought to bring all the bounds of Italy under his command; he expelled the Sarazens out of Barri. When he returned to Rome, the Pope gave him to understand, that he did not sufficiently account of his Supremacy. The Emperour sent him answer, that he should not trouble himself; seeing according to ancient Canons, no Prelate can excommunicate a Bishop, without consent of a Synod; and the calling of

*Weaken power
and mag-
nanimous.*

Synodsis in the power of the Emperour, and not of the Pope. When the Pope heard such an answer, he went into Saint Peters, and intreated the Emperour gently; thenceforth they were more familiar, and the Emperour's Court continued at Rome untill his death. Lotharius, King of Lorain, died without succession, *An.* 876. Basilus a man of mean birth, but advanced by the Emperour Michael Bardas, even to be partner of the Empire, slue his Master, and became Emperour alone. His entring did not look well, yet he relieved the Subjects of some Taxes; he drove the Sarazens out of Slavonia and Dalmatia, with the help of the Venetians; and also out of Candy by his Captain, and vexed them in Asia.

*Contest for
the Empire.*

6. CHARLES the Bald, King of France; and Lewes, King of Germany, strove for the Empire; the one for his age, and the other for his place, seeing the Empire had been annexed to the Crown of France. They went towards Rome, Charls preveneth his brother, and having agreed with Pope John the IX. was crowned. Lewes made many vows that he would take both Empire and Kingdom from him, but was arrested with sickness at Frankford. There he divided his Kingdom amongst his three sons: to Lewes he gave Saxony, Turingia, Frisia, and the Provinces within them; with the Title, King of East-France. To Carloman he gave Bojaria, Austria, Bohem and Moravia; with the Title of King of Bavaria. To the third son Charls, he gave Suevia, Franconia, with some parts of Lorain (which he had taken after the death of Lotharius) with the Title of King of Germany. The Emperour thought to have caught advantage by this division, and made speed against them; but the brethren held together, and caused him to return with shame. The Sarazens entred again into Italy, and besieged Capua; Pope John adviseth the Emperour, and he expelleth them. In the mean time his Nephews prepare against him, and he returning to meet them, was poisoned by a Jew his Physician; and died at Mantua in the third year of his reign.

*Another con-
test for it.*

7. CHARLES the Fat, King of Germany, strove for the Empire, and was crowned by the Romans. Pope John would not consent, and therefore was imprisoned; he escaping goeth into France, and confirmed Lewes the Stutterer, son to Charls the Bald. Nevertheless, because Charls did oppose the Moors in Italy, Pope John returned, and confirmed the first coronation, and declared the other to be of none effect. *Pet. Mexia.* Shortly thereafter Lewes dieth, leaving behind him two bastard sons, and his wife with child, whereupon followed great troubles in France. The two brethren of Charls died also. The Normans and Danes overrun France with great hostility. The Peers were constrained to seek aid from the Emperour, who came and received the Crown of France. So all that had appertained unto Charls the Great, was united in his person again; except the Kingdom of Bavaria. His grandure continued not long, for the Hungars came out of Scythia, and sate down in Pannonia; the Normans passe the river Sequana, take Rouan; and by excursions trouble both France and Germany. Charls did once again send his Armies against them, but with loss of his Souldiers. Then the Normans became more confident, they besiege Paris, they burn Towns and Churches, slay Bishops and Priests, spare neither age nor sex. Charls bought their peace, and gave them Neustria, which keepeth their name till this day. Charls became more unable both in body and courage; he assembled a Diete at Triburia, and began to talk of the Empire. The Princes took occasion to accuse him as lunatick and unfit for government; they deprive him, and set up Arnulph, King of Bavaria. Charls dieth in sorrow in Jan. *An.* 888. All this time Leo, son of Basilus, was Emp. of the East.

8. **ARNULPH** was received Emperor by the States on this side of the Alps; but Pope Adrian the III. had caused a Constitution to be enacted, that if Charls died without succession, the Kingdom of Italy, and Title of Emperour, should return unto the Italians. And now Italy was divided; for Albert Marques of Tuscia, Berengarius a Roman by birth, and Duke of Friuli, and Wido Governour of Spoleto strove for it; Berengarius was crowned King of Italy, by Anselm bishop of Millan. Wido raiseth a great Army, and with little difficulty possesseth all Lombardy. Berengarius runneth to Arnulph holding a Diete at Worms; and with earnest prayers besought his aid against Wido as a common enemy. He was once restored, and expelled again by Lambert son of Wido, and was brought in again by the power of Arnulph. Arnulph then goeth to Rome, and besiegeth it. The Romans shew themselves such Lions, that when a Hare, hearing the noise of the Host, ran towards the City, for very fear they desperately threw themselves over the Walls; and Arnulph scaling the Walls, with little danger took the City. He restoreth Pope Formosus from his adversaries, and beheadeth them. The Pope to gratifie his redeemer, blesseth and crowneth him. Nevertheless the Italians will not continue under his obedience; for Lambert kept still the name of King, untill he was slain in hunting, and left the Kingdom peaceable to Berengarius. Then a jar hapned betwixt him and his son-in law Albert, Marques of Eporredia; who sent for Lewes, son of Charls, King of Provence (of whom before) and offered him the Kingdom. The estate of Italy was then miserable, for the Sarazens lay in the Dutchy of Benevento, and suffered none to go to Rome unspoiled; at last they were expelled by Adelgisus, Duke of Benevento. Lewes now entred into Italy, and was crowned; but new troubles arose in Lombardy, untill Lewes was taken, his eys were pulled out, and he renounced the Kingdom. In the mean time Arnulph was busied with the Hungarians, and expelled them out of France, Bavier, Suevia, and Saxony. Odo ruled France under the name of Tutor, and was the Authour of the three Lillies in France; at last Charls, the simple son of Lewes the Stutterer, received that Crown. Arnulph died of vermin *An.* 900. The fore-named Leo had continual Wars with the Infidels in Asia; and in the end obtained a notable Victory. Alexander his brother, reigned 13. months; and then Constantine, son of Leo, partly under Tutor, and partly alone, did reign 54 years.

*A worse
conest.*

CHAP. II.

OF POPES.

1. **STEPHEN** the IV. was set in the Papal Chair, without the knowledge of the Emperour; wherefore he hastned into France to excuse the fact, and to crave confirmation; and at Rhemes he crowned the Emperour, with a Crown brought from Rome; he returned bearing a Cross, not like Christ, but of gold, which the Emperour gave to Saint Peter. When he saw that the Emperour had so lightly forgiven the election, he said at Rome, The sence of the Decree of Pope Leo, was not that the election should chiefly belong unto the Emperour, but that they might well make their own election; and then only seek confirmation from the Emperour, or his Legate. He sought pardon for them who were banished under Charls, *Platin.* he died in the 7 month, *An.* 817.

*The Pope's
first golden
Cross and
Usurpation.*

A change in
the election of
the Pope.

2. PASCALIS the I. was chosen without the knowledge of the Emperour; wherefore incontinently, he sent a Nuntio with gifts unto Lewes, laying the fault on the people, who had forced him to accept Consecration. The Emperour admitteth the excuse, and sent word unto the People and Clergy of Rome, that the custom and ordinance of their Predecessours should be kept; and therefore they should not trespass against him any more. *Platin. Gratian. dist. 63. cap. ego Ludovicus*, alledgeth that Lewes gave free liberty unto the Clergy and People to chuse the Pope. But the following practice of Gregory the IV. confirmeth the testimony of *Platin.* and others. Paschalis was one of the most superstitious worshippers of dead bodies, if *Platina* speaketh truly of him; who also sheweth that he was accused for murdering Theodorus *Primicerius*, and Leo *Nomenclator*, because they had maintained a privilege of the Emperour, nor could he be pardoned, untill he had cleansed himself by Oath in an assembly of Bishops, and then the Emperour forgave him. The next year Lotharius son of Lewes, and designed Emperour, came to Rome, and found the estate thereof depraved, and the wickedness of some Bishops. Therefore it was enacted, that one should be sent from the Emperour to administer Justice, *Morn. in Myster. ex Autore vii. Ludo. Paschalis* sate 7 years.

The Pope is
arraigned.

Bishops have
Prison houses.

3. EUGENIUS the II. was chosen, when Lotharius was in the City. Of his idolatry and pride is spoken before. *Diodorus in Altar. Damasc. pag. 421. ex Choppin. de sacr. polit. lib. 2.* reporteth, that he did first appoint Bishops to have Prisons for restraint of the vices of the Clergy. He did sit 4 years.

Pride of the
Pope.

4. VALENTINE the I. of a Deacon was made Pope, for his singular diligence and gravity in his youth; but he wanted not pride, for at his election he gave his foot to be kissed by the Senatours, which was never done before. *Helmold. in Histor. Sclavo. lib. 1.* and after him *Ph. Morn. in Myster.* have marked the cause; The liberality of Lewes had made them earthly Princes, who should have been guides to heaven by feeding souls. His pride was soon laid low, for he died within 40. daies.

Primacy of
Bishops.

5. GREGORY the IV. would not sit in his Chair, till he was confirmed by the Emperor. *Platina* saith, The Emperour did so not out of pride (for he was very mild and courtecous) but he would not lose his Imperial right; and although he gave them wealth, he would not quit his authority. This Pope ordained the Feast of All-Saints to be kept Novemb. 1. *Naucler. Pol. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 6. cap. 8. & Fasci. temp.* and the French and German Churches began first to observe it. He was not slow in transporting dead bodies. The Papishees talk much of an Epistle of a Greek Monk unto this Gregory, to prove the Primacy of the Pope, because he calleth him equal unto the Angels, the Apostolical Father, the highest light, &c. But they will not shew, that he writ that Epistle in despite of his Patriarch, who had censured him for worshipping Images; nor will they tell, how the same Monk calleth the Bishop of Alexandria the great light, the first Prince of Bishops, and Apostolical Father; and in another Epistle, he calleth the Bishop of Jerusalem the first of the Patriarchs, though thou (saith he) be called the fifth; for where the Bishop of our souls, and High-Priest of all was born, wrought all his miracles, suffered, was buried, rose again, lived, and whence he ascended, there undoubtedly is the highest dignity of all. It may then be doubted, who was the first in that man's opinion. *Ph. Morn. in Myster. pag. 157.* Gregory sate 16 (or, as some say, 18) years.

6. SERGIUS the II. was crowned by the Clergy and People, not regarding the Emperour's consent, because of the emulation amongst the brethren.

thren. *Continuator Eutropij* writeth, that Lotharius and his son Lewes being anointed, did great harm unto the Romans for this their trespass; and caused them to give their Oath of fidelity, and then did confirm the Pope. *Ph. Morn. in Myster. pag. 159.* This Pope's name was Osporci, and being ashamed of it, he (first of all Popes) did change his name, after his investiture, *Platin.* After his example it became a custom, saith *Pol. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 4. cap. 10.* that if any who was chosen had not an honest name, he did change it; for example (saith he) and let it not be spoken without laughter; if he be a wicked doer, he is called Bonifacius; if timorous, Leo; if a Clown, Urbanus; if fierce, Clemens; if of ill report, Benedictus. . . . and they say this is done in imitation of Christ, who gave the name of Peter unto Simon. Serepus did first ordain that a Bishop should not be judged under 72 witnesses. The fore-named *Continuator* writeth, that in his time was great simony; and he professed openly to sell Bishopricks, and who gave most, should speed best. The Authour of *Catal. test. ver.* from an old manuscript, and *Henr. de Erford. lib. 10.* sheweth, that none was found, who for the glory of God, would forbid this vice; and therefore God sent the Sarazens amongst them, who slue great numbers of them, and carried away great spoil. But *Ph. Morn. ex Anastas. Biblioth.* writeth, These Bishops Drogo of Metens, Gregory of Ravenna, Angilbert of Millan, Joseph of Eporredia, Aginus of Verona, Almaricus of Cuma, Norchard of Vercelles, the Bishops of Luca, Pisa, Volaterr. together with others, that is, the chiefest Bishops of Italy; and the Counts Boio, Adalgisus, John, &c. had contention with him daily for his pride and usurpation; and Agilbert made separation from the Church of Rome, whereas his Predecessours had submitted unto the Pope the space of 60 years, he nor his Successours would not subject themselves for the space of 209 years, as followeth. Also Theodore, Abbot of Fulda, in an Epistle testifieth, that the Church of Millan did then respect the writings of Ambrose, and his Liturgy was in use there. *Ph. Morn. in Myster.* Sergius sate 3 years.

The change
of the Pope's
name.

Simony is pu-
nished.

The Pope is
opposed.

7. LEO the IV. was chosen the same day that Sergius died, and he was consecrated without the consent of the Emperour; and therefore (as *Anastassius* and *Ph. Mornay* say) the Romans fearing that Lewes would return and censure them for that deed, sent their excuse that they were in danger of the Sarazens, and had need of the Pope's present help. For the Infidels were lying about Rome, and had wasted a great part of Italy, untill Pope Leo gave them battell at Ostia; where (by the providence of God, after publick prayer in audience of the Army) many of the enemies were slain, others were taken captive, and the residue fled unto their ships. And then Leo writ unto the Emperour (as is in *Gratian. dist. 10. Cap. de Capitalis*) thus: Concerning your Imperial Precepts, and the Precepts of your High-Priests, our Predecessours, to be kept irresistibly so far as we could or now may, we profess to keep constantly both now and for ever: As for the time past, he protested that he was compelled thereunto, and not of his own motive, nor in contempt of the Emperour; and he subjoined, If any hath said, or shall say otherwise, ye may certainly understand he is a liar. In another Epistle, (when he was accused that he and *Gratian Magister Militum* had plotted to reduce the Empire unto Greece, *Platin.*) he writ more submissly, saying, If we have done any thing amiss, and have not kept the path of just laws, wherein we are subject, we will amend at the sight of your Majesty, or of your *Missi*. . . . and we desire not only that these things be exactly tried by your *Missi*, but whether they shall be found less or greater, let all things be founded by them, that nothing remain thereafter undiscussed or undecided.

and loyal,

A Pope is a
Warriour,

Here it appeareth clearly, what authority the Emperour had then above the Pope. This Leo bestowed six years in repairing the City, for the Sarazens had weakned a great part of it, and all Italy did contribute unto the reparation; also the Emperour and his two brethren sent a great sum of money for the work, saith *Naclerus*. He did add much unto the City, and that part was called *Leonina*: he ordained that a Crofs of Gold all set with precious stones should be carried before him, contrary to an Act in a Council under Gregory the IV. The Authour of *Catol. test. ver. lib. 10.* hath a story, which he saith was never in Print before, *ex Luthprand*, how Leo observing many things done impudently against God and the salvation of Christian souls, did assemble a Synod of 67 Bishops at Rome, by the advice of Lotharius and Lewes, and setteth down 42 Canons, which he hath particularly. In them he urgeth not plurality of Masses, but that Bishops should attend their flocks, and teach their people wholesom doctrine; no Intrantes shall receive Consecration unless they be sought by the Clergy and People; Actuels should not be absent from their charge any long space without the leave of their Prince and Metropolitan; they should not use Dice, Cards, Hunting, Hawking, &c. In this Synod he excommunicated Anastasius, a Priest, for being five years absent from his Parish: he writ an Epistle to Lotharius, intreating his clemency to present a friend of his, Colonus, unto one of the two Bishopricks; as is touched in *Cent. 8. cap. 2.* for this custom was then, that the King did place men in Bishopricks, saith *Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 2. cap. 27.* Leo sate 9 years.

And a Re-
former of the
Church.

The Woman
Pope.

8. JOHN the VIII. the Whore both spiritually and bodily sate next; she dissembled her sex handsomly, and by her singular civility and learning, did procure that she was chosen Pope with full consent; and after 2 years she was delivered of a child in the midst of the Procession, and died in the street. *Platin. Agrippa de van. scient. Cap. 62.* writeth so, Among the High-Priests of Rome we read of many Schismatics and Reprobates, and also Hereticks, and once that a woman did ascend to the top of so great dignity, who was called John the VIII, and ruled the Apostolick See, being commended of all men . . . and which is not lawfull unto women, she exerced all the Offices of an High-Priest; nor were her Acts annulled, because common error makes a Law. *Onuphrius* and after him *Bellarmin* and other Papists, go about to blot her name out of the roul of Popes, but with foolish reasons. First they say, *Anastasius* (who at the same time was *Bibliothecarius*) hath her not. Ans. Though he have her not, others have not omitted her; no argument holdeth negatively from the testimony of any one man. 2. Behold ignorance, say they, she was an English of Mentz; is Mentz in England, and not in Germany? Ans. Who knows not that Boniface, the first Bishop of Mentz, was an Englishman, and built the Abbey at Fulda in favour of Englishmen? *Marianus Scotus* (who lived about the year 1050.) calleth her John, surnamed English. 3. To what end went she to Athens? to learn? but there was no learning in Athens. Ans. *Epiphanius in hares. 64.* saith, Origen was a Disciple in Athens; Gregory Nazianzen and Basil were Students there, as it is in *Vita Basilii* written by *Nazianzen*; *Bellarmin de Ro. Pont. lib. 3. cap. 24.* testifieth, that Michael, the son of Theophilus, restored the Schools of learning; and John Erigena, surnamed *Scotus*, at the very same time was brought up at Athens, as followeth; also Histories shew, that at Athens was still an University, till it was destroyed by the Turk for envy of learning, *An. 1453.* 4. Here twolices, saith *Onuphrius*, one that he professed Letters in the City; another, that within two years she came to the Papal Seat; seeing there was no profession then in Rome, neither came any

to the Papal Chair, unless he had been a Priest or a Deacon. *Ans.* Is not a Priest ashamed to say or hear this? Was ever *Pia Roma* without a Professor? Where was all the Clerks of Rome? As for the other, *Platina* saith it not; and whosoever hath said it, how many Monks and Laicks have been Popes? See *Onuphr. in Indic. ad schism.* 9 & 10. *Platina* and *Naclerus* have two evidences of this She-Pope; one, that the Popes go not in the high and straightest way at their Processions, for detestation of her deed; another, the new elected Pope is set in a bored chair, where he letteth down his privities, to be touched by the last Deacon Cardinal, lest they fell again into the like error: which *Agrippa de van. scient. cap.* 63. expresseth in these terms, because among the Egyptians, who were the first authors of religions, it was not lawfull that any should be a Priest, who was not entred into the order of Priapus; so it is received in our Church, saith he, that he who wanteth the stones cannot be Pope. *Onuphrius* saith, The Popes go not that way, because it is not the nearest nor broadest way. But why then, saith *Platina*, that the Popes go out of the way for detestation of the fact? *Naclerus* saith, it was betwixt the Church of Saint Clemens and Colosseum, and the Pope declines that way, when he goeth into the Lateran Of the chair, *Onuphrins* saith nothing: *Bellarmin* saith, The Pope is set in a slight chair at the first, and sitteth in it a space, to teach him, that he is advanced from a low place to an eminent. But if you ask wherefore is the chair bored? and why crieth the Deacon *Masculus* ~~est~~? they have nothing to say. Lastly, *Onuphrius* imputes the first mention of this She-Pope, unto *Marinus Polonus*, who lived about the year 1320; and he read it in *Chron. Sigeberti*, who lived *An.* 1330, and he is corrupted, saith he. But what History may not be denied? *Marianus Scotus*, who lived before them, hath the same. He is also corrupted, saith *Bellar. loc. cit.* Who did corrupt them? *Laonicus Chalcondilas lib.* 6. *de reb. Turc.* speaks of this sitting of the Pope, saith, *Nam constat*; for it is certain, that a woman was advanced unto the Papacy; her sex was not known, because the Italians all almost do raze their faces. *Otho Epist. Frisingen. Annal. Augustani, Volaterran, Sabellicus, Bergomas, Palmerius, Trithemius in vit. Luthprandi, Stella in vit.* 230 Pontif. Alb. Cranz. 10. *Naclerus Fascic. tempor. pag.* 49. *edit. Venet. An.* 1484. and many others of sundry Nations, and famous among the learned, have written of her. The testimonies are particularly set down in *Catal. test. ver. lib.* 10. to them I adjoin the words of *Baptista Matuan*, who lived in the 15 Century, and speaking of Hell, saith,

Hic pendebat adhuc sexum mentita virilem
Femina, cui triplici Phrygiam diademate mitram
Extollebat apex, & Pontificalis adulter.

So that as *Platina* saith, they seem too stubborn and obstinate who omit her, of whom all men almost do affirm: let us erre with the multitude, although it appear that these things, which I have said, be of that sort, as are thought possible. This Whore sate in the year 855 and 856.

9. BENEDICT the III was chosen without knowledge of the Emperour. At that time was a schism, for many of the chiefeft Romans were for Anastasius. After a year a *Missus* came from the Emperour, and then the people and clergy were convened to a new election; and the same Benedict was chosen again, the *Missus* not only assisting, but commanding, saith *Anastasius* and *Ph. Morn. in Myster.* *Naclerus* saith, the Emperour Lewis's Legate did confirm the election; and the next day he was consecrated in Saint Peter's. He adorned Churches with silver and gold; and is said to have first ordained, that prayers should be made for the dead, whereas before it was only by practice. He sate 3 years.

The Emperour takes away a schism.

The Emperour
will be ac-
knowledged
in the elec-
tion of the
Pope.

The Pope
speaks some
great things,

and some
truths con-
trary to his
successours.

10. NICOLAUS the I, surnamed the great, was chosen by the Romans. Before he was chosen, the Emperour Lewis knowing how expedient it was for him to preserve the right of his Ancestours in the election, made haste to Rome; but the Romans purposely prevented him with the election. Nicolaus thought to debar the Emperour from the consecration, but he could not hinder that. He had a mouth that spoke great things, by his decree he equalled Papal decrees unto the holy Scriptures; he ordained that no secular Prince nor Emperour, should be present in the Synods, unless it were in matter of faith, *Gratian. dist. cap. Vbinam*; to wit, Princes should put to death them which are condemned of heresie. He ordained that all publick prayers should be in Latine (as Pope Vitalian had ordained before, but was not obeyed;) that no Laick should judge a Church-man; that the Pope should be judged of none, because Constantine the great, called the Bishop of Rome a God, *Grat. dist. 96. cap. Salis*. At this time Michael Bardas put away his wife, and married her daughter; for this cause Ignatius the Patriarch, denied him the Communion. Bardas assembleth a Synod, and causeth Ignatius to be deposed, and setteth up Photius. Here ariseth a sedition, some favouring the good cause, and others swaying with authority. In the end, Nicolaus was intreated to take away the schism. The Pope was well pleased, and sent his Legates, Rodual Bishop of Portuen, and Zachary Bishop of Ananien, giving them a Commission to restore Ignatius, if he would promise to restore the worship of Images. *Zonaras* saith, Bardas perswadeth the Legates to approve what he had done. When they return, Nicolaus excommunicateth them, and deposeth them as transgressours of his commands. *Ph. Morn. in Myster. p. 177*. At that time Nicolaus writ the Epistle, which is in the 3. tome of Councils, and contains swelling presumption, in some points contrary to ancient histories; yet in other points contrary to the doctrine of his successours. There he saith, none of the Eastern Emperours had acknowledged the authority of the Bishops of Rome. This he saith expressly, but in an upbraiding manner, as if the Emperours had omitted their duty. Speaking of Ignatius, he saith, the Judges should not be suspected; this he confirms by reason, and by many examples; and from Pope Gelasius he saith, Should the same persons be enemies, Judges and witnesses? even earthly matters should not be committed to such judgement. Doth he not then maintain the lawfull excuses of John Husse and Martine Luther, who for the same causes were unwilling to be judged by the Popes their enemies? Then Nicolaus alledgeth, that Pope Celestin was President in the general Council at Ephesus; but the words of that Council shew that Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, was President. And to prove that they should not have judged the Patriarch, he brings the example of David, who would not smite his Master Saul; but he observes not that Saul was King; and therefore, neither should his successours have kicked against their Sovereign Emperours. He addeth, a little number hindreth not, where truth abounds; neither avails multitude, where ungodliness reigneth, nor should any man boast of a multitude, &c. What is more contradictory to the doctrine of the Romish Church in following ages, which holds multitude to be an infallible note of the true Church? After a little, he commendeth the worship of Images; and will have all Councils to be estimate by the approbation of the Pope. Whereas the Bishops of Rome were wont to term the Emperour our Lord and Defender; this is the first that calls the Emperour his son, and his successours sometimes, will not honour him with the title of their servant. He said, Before the coming of Christ, some were typically both Priests and Kings; but when the type is come to the true King and High-Priest, in one person, the Emperour should

no more take to him the right of the Priesthood; nor hath the High-Priest taken unto him the name of the Emperour; because the one Mediator between God and Man, even the Man Christ Jesus, hath so discerned the offices of both powers, their dignities and actions being distinguished, that both Emperours have need of High-Priests in spiritual things; and the High-Priests have need of the Imperial laws for temporal things, and so spiritual actions may be free from carnal oppressions; and therefore the souldier of God should not be intangled with worldly affairs; neither should he rule divine things who is wrapped in worldly matters, and so both powers may be helped. *Gratian* hath registred these words *dist. 96. cap. Cum ad verum*. He speaks so, to exclude the Emperour from judging Ecclesiastical causes; but neither he, nor *Gratian* did foresee how the same words would condemn the succeeding Popes, who have usurped both Swords and two Robes; nor how *Bellarmin*, *de Ro. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 3.* gathereth out of these words, that the Dominion of the World belongeth not to the Pope, and reasoneth thus; Seeing whatsoever the Pope hath, he hath it from Christ, as Pope *Nicolaus* saith, then the Pope may take all power from the Emperours and Kings, or he may not take it; if he may take it, then he is greater then Christ; if he may not take it, then he hath not Princely power. Again *cap. 8.* he saith, Christ for conserving humility would distinguish these two offices, and gave only the Priesthood to Peter, and left the Empire to Tiberius. According to this consequence it may be justly inferred, the Pope now doth contrary to the tenet of the ancient Bishops, and is the Antichrist; exalting himself, contrary to Christ's order, above all that is called God. This *Nicolaus* did ordain, that no man should receive the Sacrament from any Priest who had a concubine or wife. He sate 7 years, 9 months; his See after him was vacant 8 years, 7 months, *Platin*. Who was head of the Church, on earth, at that time? Or was it headless?

10. H A D R I A N the II, the son of a Bishop Talarus, was chosen in a tumult of the people without consent of the Emperour, wherefore his Legates were not a little offended, yet were appeased by the Romans, alledging that the multitude could not be ruled; and they intreated the Legates, that they would confirm the good man, which the clergy and people had named. *Platin*. The Legates yeeld, although they clearly perceive, that the clergy and people would usurp all the authority of the election; and perhaps (saith he) that the liberty of the Church-men may increase. At that time *Basilius* slue the Eastern Emperour, as is said, and when he came to the Sacrament, *Photius* the Patriarch, rejects him as unworthy of Communion, who with his own hand had slain his Sovereign. *Basilius* dissembling his anger, calleth a Synod for deposition of *Photius*, and restitution of *Ignatius*; and to this end, he desireth *Hadrian* to send his Legates. *Hadrian* dealeth as *Boniface* the 3. did with *Phocas*; as by dispensing with, or rather authorizing parricide, they began their supremacy; by the same means they increase it. He renewed the Commission of Pope *Nicolaus* his Legates; and in his Epistle to *Basilius*, he saith, He who hath all right of Kingdoms, and power of all things, hath raised up, in these daies, thy Kingdom, which is protected from above; by which the Apostolical Seat may perfect a godly work, begun by your authority, for the Church of Constantinople. . . . Thou art another Salomon, for thou hast heard the words of thy father, nor hast thou forsaken the instruction of thy mother. Ambition drives him to write so flatteringly; for they had covenanted, that first the Pope's Legates should be Presidents in this Synod, which the Pope could never obtain before. 2. The Emperour should admit none into the Synod, but such who, by subscription, did acknowledge

The Pope, by flattery, climbeth up in higher account at Constantinople.

the supremacy of the Pope. 3. Images should be restored. 4. None dare write or speak against the Bishop of old Rome, by occasion of Photius and Dioscorus, who were deposed for their crimes; and if any man (saith the 21 Canon of this Synod, according to the election of Caranza) be so bold, he shall incur the like sentence with Photius and Dioscorus. 5. If any general Council shall be assembled, or any question or controversie fall out concerning old Rome, they may with due reverence inquire of it, and hear determination; but say nothing boldly against the High-Priests of old Rome. They called this the eighth œcumenical Council, so saith *Bellarmin. de Conc. lib. 1. cap. 5.* but neither with consent of all the present Bishops, as Anastasius (who was one of the Legates) testifieth, and after him *Ph. Morn. in Myster.* nor maketh *Zonaras* mention thereof, although an Image-worshipper; neither did the Greek Church consent thereunto, as appeareth plainly: First, When Ignatius was dead, the same Basilus assembled another Synod, annulled all the Acts of the former, and restored Photius. 2. The Greeks agreed with Pope Eugenius and his Bishops, that the Council of Florence, *An. 1439.* should be called the eighth œcumenical Council. It is here to be marked, that this Council was called in the name of Basilus, although the Legates of the Pope were Presidents. At that time it was agreed, that the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople, should both be called Universal; the one, Universal Pope; and the other, Universal Patriarch; not that the Patriarch did take unto him the right of other Bishops, but that he should have the next place after the Pope, saith *Onuphrius in Annotat. on Platin.* in Boniface the III; and in this manner the Pope had some authority, in the East, for a space. Neither was Adrian less carefull in the West, for he blowed sedition among the posterity of Charls; and where he heard of any Bishop of action or esteem, he catcheth him with his bait of a Palle, or Bishop's Robe, or with some higher Title; and if that could not insnare them, he could set one mortal foe against another; he set up Aſtard (who had not entered into orders) against Hincmarus, a worthy Bishop of Burdeaux, for maintaining the liberty of his Nation, although he had once given him a Palle, and had written unto him, thus; The report of thy Holiness comes never to my ears, but with praise, &c. But then he pursueth him to the uttermost. *Ph. Morn. in Myster. ex Adriani Epist. ad Synod. Trecent. ad Aſtard;* and another *ad Hincmar.* Also at that time Hincmar, Bishop of Laudun, gave some of his Church lands to Charls the Bald; and the King gave the same to a Captain Nortman; thereafter the Bishop desireth these lands to be restored, and because Nortman would give them to none but the King, from whom he had them, the Bishop assembled a Synod at Veruina, accused and condemned him. Nortman appealeth to Rome; the Synod rejects his appellation; and because he would not obey their Decree, another greater Synod was assembled at Atiniac, where Nortman was condemned again, and promised to obey the King's will, and of Hincmar, Bishop of Rhemes, who was Uncle to the other Hincmar. *Ph. Morn. in Myster.* In this Synod the Bishop of Laudun was accused of disobedience unto his Metropolitan; and that for some personal wrongs he had excommunicated all the Priests of his Diocly, and had hindred them from exercising their function. He confesseth his errors, and was deposed. Then Nortman, and this deprived Bishop conspire together, and informed Pope Adrian of all. He advocates the cause to Rome, and summoned the Bishop of Laudun, and all his accusers to appear; and so soon as he heard that the King would not consent, he sent other Letters unto the King, calling him a tyrant, perjured, false, a Church-robber, &c. In his Letters both to the King, and Bishop of Rhemes, he saith,

And in the
West by craft.

His pride is
opposed.

We will, and by our Apostolical authority we command Hincmar, Bishop of Laudun, and his accusers to compare personally at the Church of the Saints, before our clemency, that his cause may be judged. Behold yet more. In the mean time died Lotharius, King of Lorain: Charls the Bald, and Charls the Fat strove for Lorain. Adrian interpones his authority in favour of the Emperour Lewis the II, and menacing after a more thundring manner than all his Predecessours; he writes to the King, and to the Bishops and Barons of France, and namely to Hincmar Bishop of Rhemes, thus: Let no mortal be so bold, as to invade the Kingdom of deceased Lotharius, which by right of inheritance appertains to the Emperour Lewis, our spiritual son; if any presume to do, not only by the ministry of our authority shall it be annulled, but he shall be fettered with the chains of our curse; and he being deprived of the name of a Christian, shall be surely ranked with the Devil; and if any Bishop, either by suppressing the authour of so villainous hardiness, or by not resisting shall consent, let him know, that he shall be judged not a Bishop, but an hireling. Nevertheless Charls the Bald, entrench into Lorain; he is received by the Barons and Prelates, and crowned by the Bishop of Rhemes. Adrian then charged Charls, under pain of his curse, to leave off that enterprize; and he commanded Hincmar, Bishop of Rhemes, to execute his censures against the King, to forsake him, and not to bid him God speed. The King's answer is large, and the answer of Hincmar may suffice for both. First concerning the Bishop of Laudun, he saith, Let your authority know, that I have no power to send Hincmar, nor any other Bishop of the Diocly of Rhemes, and far less a Bishop of any other Province, unto Rome or any other part, except my Lord the King command them; neither dare I my self go without the bounds of the Realm without his leave. Then concerning his curses against the King, after he hath bitterly expostulated for his menacing, and declared that he had sent his Letters unto the Peers and Prelates of the Kingdom, and had read them openly in an assembly of the Bishops of France and Lorain, at Atinac; and had shewed his Bull unto Lewis, King of Germany, whereby he was commanded, by authority of the Pope, to accurse them all, who intermeddle with the Kingdom of Lorain; he saith, I have heard that the like Letters as have been directed to our Lord Charls, and to the Peers and Bishops of his Kingdom, have been also sent unto my Lord Lewis, the glorious King, and to the Bishops and Nobility of his Kingdom. . . . Then he gives him to understand that he had heard it reported by many, that the two Kings had agreed to divide the Kingdom, which if it be not done, sedition shall kindle among the people: wherefore since he saw that either the authority of the Pope must be contemned, or the agreement of the Kings be violated, whence might arise fear of wars; he thinks it more expedient to omit so Imperious commands, and surcease altogether from attempting any thing therein; neither is it my duty (saith he) to debar any man from the Communion, except one who hath willingly confessed his fault, or who is convict in judgement; unless I would condemn the Canon of the Apostles, the practice of the Church, and the authority of Augustin, Gelasius, Boniface, &c. Whereas the Pope had accused him, that by silence and cessation he may seem not partner, but authour of the usurpation; he biddeth him remember what is written, The cause which I knew not, I searched diligently; and that God (as is marked by Gregory) to whose eyes all things are open, said in the cause of the Sodomite, I will go down and see; whereby we should learn to try and see the evil, before we beleieve it; and not punish till it be notoriously known. Whereas he would have him abstain from the company of the King, and not bid him God speed, it seems very

hard (said he) since very many good men, both of Ecclesiastical and Secular sort, who occasionally have come to Rhemes, have openly professed, that they had never heard the like practice from any of his Predecessours; although in their own times they had seen seditions and wars, not among Kings who were united by oath and league, but also among brethren, yea between father and children. And therefore he acknowledgeth this his contempt to be for his other sins, since in this he had dealt lovingly with his fellow-brethren, of whom, some had invited King Charls into the Kingdom of Lorain. Moreover that the States of the Kingdom affirm plainly, that Kingdoms are not conquered by curses of Priests or Bishops; and that they have learned from the Holy Scriptures, Kingdoms appertain unto God, by whom Kings do reign, and he giveth them to whom he willeth: wherefore since the High-Priest cannot be both a King and a Bishop, he should leave the care of distributing Kingdoms; which as his Predecessours did not attempt against the schismatical, nor heretical, nor tyrannous Emperours in their times; so neither can they now bear it, who know it to be written in the Holy Scripture, We should strive, even to death, for liberty and inheritance; neither are they ignorant, if a Bishop excommunicate a Christian without reason, that the power of binding may be taken from him; but eternal life can be taken from no man, unless his own sins do demerit; neither can any man be spoiled of the name of a Christian for taking or conquering an earthly Kingdom; or can he be ranked with the Diavel, whom Christ came to redeem, with his blood, from the Diavel's power: and therefore if the Pope would have peace, let him so seek it, that he move no strife; for the people think not, that they cannot come to the Kingdom of Heaven, except they imbrace such an earthly King as the Pope recommendeth: as for the Oath (said he) and falshood, and tyranny whereof you write, the Peers of the Nation say unto us, that ye command not such things as concern your authority; yea they have not spared from menacings against you, which for the present I will not repeat; and I know, as they threatned with deliberation, so (if God suffer them) without retreating they will shew it indeed; and I know by experience, that without regard of admonition or sword of man's tongue (unless some other stay arise) our King and Nobility of this Realm will not fail to do accordingly, to their power, and follow forth what they have begun. He concludes, that Bishops, and himself especially, should take heed of their behaviour towards the King; since it is the Apostles doctrine, that all souls be subject unto Superiour powers. And with these Letters in the name of Hincmar, were other Letters written by common advice of the Bishops of France, being assembled at Rhemes, and sent unto Pope Adrian, who died in the fifth year of his pride, and so that strife ceased. *Ph. Morn. in Mysser. ex Aimoin. lib. 5.* and out of others. *Baronius in Annal. ad An. 870. §. 38.* saith, Hincmar did forge many excuses, and by shifting did escape the sentence of the Apostolick See till Pope Adrian died.

The Pope
climbs
above the
Emperour,

11. JOHN the IX succeeds *An. 872*, as *Onuphrius* saith, who reckoneth not the eight years between Nicolaus and Adrian; but others account his succession in the year 876. He hapned on the fittest occasion of ambition among them all; for after his inauguration began the contention between Charls of France, and Charls of Germany for the Empire. The King of France was always aiming at the Kingdom of Italy, and promised unto Pope John rich rewards, if he attained unto the Empire; he would defend the Church from all injury, and wholly quit the Territory of Rome. John did fear that the other would take his manure in Italy, and therefore desirous the Emperour were at a distance, rather than to sit in his eye, he invited the King of France

to

to come unto Rome, and incontinently saluteth him *Augustus*; and by this means (saith *Sigonius*, and after him *Ph. Morn. in Myster.*) the Title *Imperator Augustus*, became the gift of the High-Priest wholly; and the years of their Empire, were reckoned from their consecration by the Pope. *Continuator Eutropii* saith more plainly, Charls the Bald, coming to Rome, made covenant with the Romans, and granted unto them the rights of the Kingdom, and revenues out of three Monasteries; that is, out of Saint Salvator's, Saint Mary in Sabinis, and Saint Andrew's on Mount Soracte, and the Imperial Patrimony out of many other Monasteries; he gave them also the Provinces of Samnio and Calabria, with all the Cities of Benevento, and the Dukedom of Spolero, and two Cities of Tuscia, Arisium and Clusium, which did belong unto the Duke; so that he who before was above the Romans in royalty, seems now inferiour unto them; he removed also from them the Embassadours of the Empire, and his interest in the Apostolical election; what more? saith he, he granted them all that they would, even as these things are easily given, that are not well conquered, nor are hoped to be possessed in time coming. And *Otho 3. Emp. in diplom.* said, Charls gave what he never had, and he gave them as he could; for he sought them sinistrously, nor had he hope to injoy them peaceably. And his brother, the King of Germany, and his son Charls despised this Coronation, and ceased not to invade both France and Italy. Here *Sigonius de reg. Ital. lib. 4.* observeth, that whatsoever other Emperours gave unto the Popes, they expressly did reserve the Principedom and dition of Rome, together with the election of the Bishop; both which now were renounced, and also the authority over the Church-lands, which his Successours sought to recover, and could not; for (as *Continuator Eutropii* saith) from this time none of the Kings, none of the Emperours, could recover the honourable privileges of the Princely dignity, because they wanted either courage or knowledge, and through the many contentions and continual divisions of the Kingdom. Moreover, hitherto the Empire went by succession from the father to the son, or nearest in kindred; and the consecration of the King of Lombardy by the Bishop of Milan, or of the Emperour, by the Bishop of Rome, was accounted but a solemn rite; but Pope John taking this advantage, changeth the words to a loftier stile; for in the Convention, after he had commended King Charls, as far as Pope Adrian had reviled him, he added: Therefore we have chosen and approved him, together with the wishes and desires of all our brethren and fellow Bishops, and other servants of the Holy Church of Rome, and of the honourable Senate, and of all the people of Rome, and of this gowned Nation; and according to the ancient custom, we have solemnly advanced him unto the Scepter of the Roman Empire, and we have honoured him with the name *Augustus*. Charls was no sooner returned into France, but behold! the Dukes of Tusculum (whose head was Albertus) conspired with Formosus, Bishop of Portuen, and some others against Pope John, because he had preferred a stranger above Albertus, and many Italians would have had the Empire restored to their Nation. They did so vex him, that he was forced to send unto Charls for aid, craving that he would deliver Italy from the Sarazens, and himself from the Tusculans. In the mean time Charls had summoned a Council in France, by advice of John Tuscanensis, and John Aretin, and Angelisus Senen, but by Apostolical authority, and his own confirmation. Thus begun the names of the Popes, to be prefixed with the names of Emperours and Kings, contrary to the ancient form. In this Synod, by vertue of an Epistle Decretal of Pope John, the Emperour did propound one day, and another, and the third day, to have Angelisus, the Pope's Legate,

and by the
Clergy of
France;

Yet waxed in
Poland,

and in Con-
stantinople.

Where again
opposition was
made.

gate, Primat of France; to the end he might execute the will of the Pope in France; to wit, call Synods, declare and publish the Papal Decrees unto other Bishops; and also, if need be, report unto the Apostolick See their proceedings, and other intricate affairs might be dispatched, by his mediation, with the Apostolick See. So far was he besotted with the fatal cup. At that time the French Bishops clearly did perceive how great evils were imminent, and they would not condescend unto his temerity, but stood to their former liberty, *Aimoin lib. 5. cap. 32. 33. Ph. Morn. in Mysser.* This John was the first who gave pardons or indulgences, to them who would fight against the Sarazens. When he was demanded, by the Bishops of France, Whether they who were dead, or afterwards might die in that cause, should obtain forgiveness for their sins? We answer, said he, boldly with the godliness of Christ, who die in these Wars, with the godliness of the Catholick faith, shall receive the rest of eternal life. *Ioha. Epist. 144. Ph. Morn. ib. pag. 195.* As ready was he to accurse and account as Heathens, all them who give not obedience unto him; and so they were accounted Martyrs and Saints, who did bear Arms with him against whatsoever power. At that time Lakold, Duke of Cracove, being chosen King of Poland, would not acknowledge Lewis, King of Germany, as his lawfull Superiour; but sent unto Pope John, professing to hold the Crown from him, and made the Kingdom Tributary unto Saint Peter, by payment of money yearly, *Crantz. in Vandal. lib. 3. cap. 2.* Into the East also his ambition goeth, but by a way directly contrary unto his Predecessours. Ignatius being restored by Basilus (as we have mentioned) and Pope Adrian, he pleaseth neither of the two; not the Emperour, because he would not sway to all his fantasies; neither pleaseth he the Pope, because he would not quit the Church of Bulgaria; and therefore Pope John threatned him with his curse. When Ignatius was dead, Basilus would have Photius restored, and because he was deposed by authority of a Council, and the Pope, the Emperour dealt with Pope John that he might be set up again; and if John will consent, he saith, there would be more quietness in the Church, but otherwise the schism is like to continue; and he promised to prepare a Navy for the defence of the Coast of Latium and Hetruria against the Sarazens; and he will cause Photius to renounce the Church of Bulgaria unto the See of Rome. Ambition or (as *Baronius ad An. 878. § 4.* speaketh) worldly wisdom which is an enemy to God, so thrusteth Pope John headlong, that contrary to his Predecessours Nicolaus and Adrian; he restored Photius, who was so far from giving any sign of repentance, that in a manifest declaration of their eighth general Council, he set himself directly against it; for Photius was scarce set in his chair, but he persuaded the Emperour to assemble another Synod at Constantinople, where he produced the Letters of Pope John (whether true or false, it's uncertain; *Baronius* saith, they were feigned) declaring the late Council, which was called the eighth general, to be of no authority; and they gave that name unto this Council. *Ph. Mornay* saith, *Zonaras* described it under this name, with all the Acts and Sessions thereof. There were present three Legates of Pope John, to wit, two Bishops Paul and Eugenius, and Peter a Cardinal Priest; they were so basely intreated, as appears in *Zonaras*, that none before them were so contemned. It is marked first here were 380 Bishops, and in the former were 301. 2. Nicolaus and Adrian were condemned as authours of much mischief, but John was advanced above the skies with praise. There a Council condemning a Council, where the Pope's Legates were Presidents, and which was confirmed by the Pope. 3. The Church of Bulgaria was referred to the Emperour, since it was a question of marches and jurisdiction. 4. By an expresse Canon

it is provided, that whom the Pope shall excommunicate, the Patriarch shall not receive; and the Pope should not receive any, whom the Patriarch shall excommunicate. By this Canon all appellation from the Patriarch is taken away. Lastly, Photius keeps the place continually before the Roman Legates. Therefore Pope John accursed Photius again, and so the schism between the Greeks and Latines was renewed, and till this day was never taken away. John fate 10 years. *and greater schism.*

12. MARTIN the II came unto the Papacy by evil arts, and did nothing worthy of memory, because it pleased God, that Princedoms wickedly conquered, have not true glory, the only food of a good Prince. *Platin.* He fate 1 year.

13. HADRIAN the III perswaded the people, that they should not await the Emperour's authority, the election of the clergy and people being sufficient. *Platina* addeth, He was bold to do so, because the Emperour was fettered in wars against the Normans; and this was the first time that the Emperour was debarred from the election of the Pope, and a Decree was made, that the suffrages of the clergy and people is sufficient. But this Decree continued but a short space, as followeth; he made another Decree, if Charls do die without succession, the Empire shall return to the Italians. This he did in favour of Albert Marquess of Tuscya, who had advanced him unto the Papacy. He fate 1 year. *The Emperour is debarred from the election.*

14. STEPHEN the VI (but called the V) did nothing worthy of memory. He ordained that the Roman Canons should all, without exception, be necessarily received of all men, *Grat. dist. 19. cap. Enim verò.* He fate six years. After him was much strife, and within nine years were nine Popes.

15. FORMOSUS was set up against the mind of the people, who did strive for Sergius a Deacon; but Mars and money prevailed. He was one of those who conspired against Pope John, and when John was settled, he left his Bishoprick and fled into France. The Pope summoned him to return, and for not appearing he excommunicated him. At last he returned, and consented to his own degradation, and swore that he should never enter within the Gates of Rome, nor seek a Bishoprick, but abide a Secular; his Oath was written, and he subscribed it. Pope Martin released him of his Oath, and restored him to his Bishoprick; and now he attains the Papacy by bribery more than vertue, saith *Platina*. After his election question was for his consecration, some did object a Canon of Pope Martin, which now is in *Grat. dist. 50. cap. Qui semel*, Who once shall fall after his ordination, and be deposed, he may enjoy no degree of Priesthood; but Formosus had been Canonically deposed, and had subscribed it, and swore to continue a Secular. On the other side it was answered, he was absolved from his oath and deprivation, and received Canonically by the same Pope. It was so hot, that Formosus sent unto the Emperour Arnulph for aid, who came, as is touched. Of him and his Successours, saith *Platina*, I cannot know by what destiny it hapned, that the vertue and integrity of Popes failed, with the courage of the Emperours; these times were most unhappy, since according to the judgement of *Plato*, the people in a Common-Wealth are like to the Princes. Formosus fate 3 years, but some say 1 year. The other short lived Popes, I refer unto the next Century. *A question for the consecration of this Pope.*

Of Divers Countries.

The manners
of the Clergy.

1. **T**HE Emperour Charls the Great, did his best for advancing Schools and learning; his indeavours were not in vain, for we find more learned men in this Century then in the eighth; but many of them who were highest in advancement, were given to pride, luxury, and worldly delights. As is touched before, Lewis the I, did observe and tax their pompous vestments, which are seldom joined with zeal and diligent watchfulness over God's flock. And they were so far from following wholsom admonition, that some of them conspired against him who was called the Godly. But I leave observations, and hasten unto the story.

Against the
worship of
Images.

2. Claudius Taurinens, or (as some call him) Bishop of Turin, was diffamed as an Heretick, by Theodomire an Abbot, who did delate him unto the Pope. He writ his own Apology, a part of it is in *Catal. test. ver. lib. 9.* That it may appear wherefore he was accused, and how godly men have been traduced from time to time, I have transcribed a part of his Apology, it beginneth thus; Thine Epistle, with some other Chapters, full of prating and foolishness, I have received... Wherein thou saiest, that thou art troubled, because the report hath gone of me from Italy, thorow all France into the uttermost parts of Spain, as if I taught a new Sect contrary unto the Catholick faith, which is altogether most false; but it is no wonder that the limbs of the Divil have spoken so of me, since they called our Head himself a deceiver, and Daimoniack; for I broach not a Sect, I proclaim and teach the truth; but so far as I can, I do beat down all Sects, Schisms and Heresies; and according to my ability, I shall not cease, with God's help, to fight against them... I destroy that which men do worship. For since it is said expressly, that no similitude should be made of any thing in Heaven above, or on earth, it is understood to be spoken not only of strange Gods, but of heavenly creatures also; it is not a little to be considered, that if the works of God should not be adored or worshipped, far less should the works of mans hand be worshipped and adored; neither are they for their honour whose similitude they are: Why castest thou thyself into the danger of death with a senceless image, which thou worshipping? Why fastest thou by it, and with it, in the condemnation of the dead?.... But these Worshippers of false religion and superstition say, For remembrance of our Saviour, we worship and adore the Cross, which is painted and framed unto his honour... God hath bid do one thing, and they do another; God hath commanded to bear the Cross, and they adore the Cross; they will adore it, because they will not bear it bodily nor spiritually: To worship God in this manner, is to depart from him; against them it is to be answered, if they will worship every tree made in form of the Cross, because Christ did hang on it, so did Christ many other things in the flesh; let all Virgins be worshipped, because he was born of a Virgin; let cribs also be worshipped... and old cloaths and Asses. These things are also ridiculous, and rather to be lamented then written; we are compelled to propound against these foolish men, and throw against these stony hearts not arrows or sentences of the Word, but stones.... Whereas thou saiest, that I forbid men to go unto Rome for pennance, thou speakest falsely. I will first ask thee, if thou knowest that to go unto Rome is to make pennance; why hast thou, in so long time, destroyed so many souls, which thou holdest within the Monastery, and took them into the Monastery for pennance, and hast not sent them unto Rome, but rather caustest them to serve thee?....

And Pilgrims
unto
Rome.

We know, that the words of our Lord in the Gospel are not understood, when he said unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock.... Because of these words the ignorant sort of men, laying aside all spiritual understanding, will go to Rome to get life eternal... Let no man trust in the merit nor intercession of Saints, because unless they please God with the same faith, righteousness and truth which these held, they cannot be saved; hear this ye unwise amongst the people, and ye fools be sometime wise; ye who go to Rome to seek the intercession of the Apostle, hear what Saint Augustine saith against you, . . . truly he should not be called Apostolical, who sitteth in the Chair of the Apostle, but who fulfilleth the Office of an Apostle. *Bellarmin de reliq. Sanct. lib. 1. cap. 1.* reckoneth this Claudius among his Hereticks; so doth *Gretser. de festis*, because in Church-service he would not name the Saints, nor would keep the feasts, and called them a vain and unprofitable custom, and did despise them; lest we seem, by intercession of the Saints, to seek any thing from God. Jonas Bishop of Orleance, writ against this Apology, and his answer is in *Biblioth. de la Bigne tom. 4.* his opinion is in *pag. 698.* Whereas Claudius had cited the second command *Exod. 20.* Jonas answereth, This truth is our mind; it is true (I say) and most agreeable to the sound faith, that no image should be made of any thing in heaven or earth, whereunto worship or adoration, which is due unto God only, should be given any way; therefore since God is invisible and contains all, and is no where contained, we are forbidden to make an image of him, lest men might think that he is bodily: but consider whether thou, under the name of similitude, dost comprehend the images of the Saints; he quoteth the testimony of *Augustine de Civ. Dei lib. 10. cap. 26. & ult.* and *Enarr. in Psal. 96. &c.* and he commendeth the Epistle of Gregory to Seren, whereof mention is before in Century 7. chap. 3. And *pag. 699* he saith, We account it impiety to adore a creature, or to give it any part of Divine service; and with a loud voice we proclaim that the doer of such a crime, should be detested and anathematized. And *pag. 701.* It is the crime of impiety, to worship any other but the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

3. At the same time Agobard was Bishop of Lions, he took part with Lotharius against his father, and therefore was deposed; after the reconciliation he was restored, and being a man of wisdom and knowledge was imploied in the greatest affairs of the Kingdom. His works were Printed at Paris, *An. 1605*, from which impression these passages are extracted. *Pag. 52.* There is one immovable foundation, there is one rock of faith, which Peter confesseth, Thou art the son of the living God. *Pag. 128.* The uncleanness of our time deserves a fountain of tears; when so ungodly a custom is become so frequent, that there is none almost, aspiring to temporal honour, who hath not a Priest at home, not whom he obeyeth, but of whom he exacteth all manner of obedience uncessantly, not in divine things, but in worldly also; so that many of them do service at Table or mixeth Wine, and leadeth Dogs, feeds Horses, or attends Husbandry; neither regard they what manner of Clerks these be, but only that they may have Priests of their own, and so they leave Churches and Sermons, and publick service; it is clear that they seek them, not for honour of religion, because they have them not in honour, and speak disdainfully of them. *Pag. 163.* Why say ye, it is not true, that he who is truly humble, thinks not basely of himself, and believeth that he is a sinner? Since this is most openly manifest, that is the property of the Saints, and not of proud men?.... Also the Apostle James saith, in many things we all offend; which if any will say it is spoken of humility; let him know, that so he followeth Pelagius; and if he would be amended, let him read the books of

Domestical
Chaplains.

Humility.

Augustine against the Pelagians; and let him know, that all the Saints did truly accuse themselves of their sins; so that they had need to say for themselves, Forgive us our debts. He is large against the worship of Images. *Worship of Images.* Pag. 237. One will say, I think not that there is any God-head in the Image which I adore, but I worship it for his sake whose Image it is. I answer, if the Image be not God, it should no way be worshipped; as it were to honour the Saints, who no way would admit divine honour to themselves. Pag. 251. Let God be adored, worshipped and revered by believers; let sacrifice be given to him only; . . . Let Angels and holy men be loved and honoured with love, and not with such service. Pag. 254. The Orthodox Fathers, for avoiding such superstition, did rightly ordain, that no Picture should be in a Church, lest that which is worshipped and adored, be painted on Walls. *Bellarmin. de Scriptor. Eccles. sect. 9.* speaking of *Ionas Epist. Aurelia.* saith, Jonas and other Bishops of France, in that age, were overtaken with Agobert's errour. By the Jesuits confession then, many Bishops of France, were against the present errors of Rome.

7. Angelom a Monk of Luxovia, and of much reading, at the intreaty of Drogo *Epist. Meten.* writ many books. In 3 *Reg. cap. 19.* he saith, As the body cannot live without nourishment; so neither can the soullive without the word of God. In *lib. 1. cap. 2.* None by his own strength is able to do good, nor resist the Devil; yea if he attempt to lift up himself against the Lord, he loseth the good which he seems to have. *Ibid. cap. 25.* As it is easie for a man to hold in his hand a few herbs that are knit together; so the power of our Lord and Saviour easily preserveth all the elect throughout the world, from the beginning to the end, that none of them by any means can perish; as he saith, I give them life eternal, and they shall not perish for ever, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand. In 2. *Reg. cap. 8.* Our Lord Jesus by his secret dispensation from among unbelieving men, hath predestinated some unto eternal liberty, quickning them of his gracious mercy; but in his secret judgement he leaveth others in their wickedness, and hath condemned them unto everlasting death. In the Preface before 3 *Reg.* In all things we have need of aid from the Holy Spirit. In 4 *Reg. cap. 19.* Whosoever, by true faith, toucheth the death of Christ; and truly laith hope on him, shall without doubt be pertaker of his resurrection. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 10.*

8. Raban Magnentius, otherwise surnamed Maurus, was famous in the University of Paris for Poesie, Rhetorick, Astronomy, others Philosophy and Theology, unto whom neither Germany nor Italy brought forth an equal, saith *Trithemius.* He became Abbot of Fulda, where he was born, and there he writ Commentaries on all the Books of the Bible. His Monks were offended, that he did so study the Scriptures, and did not attend their Revenues, as *Trithem.* writeth; therefore after 24 years he gave place to their anger, and left the Abbey; but they besought him to return, and he would not, but did abide with the Emperour Lewis, untill Otgar, Bishop of Ments died, and Raban succeeded. *Tho. walden* in the daies of Pope Martin the V, reckoned him and Herebald or Reginbald, Bishop of Altisodor, amongst Hereticks, because they favoured Bertram. Out of some of his works I have picked out these passages. In *Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 7,* he saith, In meditating and reading the Holy Scriptures we should be wary, neither to add any thing to that which is written, nor take away from those things which are comprehended by the Authours of Divine Scriptures in those books; but we should thing of them with the highest veneration, and with all our strength fulfill the commandments thereof. *Ibid. cap. 1,* Man can now be saved no other way but by the death of Jesus Christ, who is our Redeemer. *Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 5,* The foundation

dation which the Apostle Paul hath laied is one, the Lord Jesus Christ; upon this foundation both firm and stable, and strong in it self, is the Church of Christ builded. In *Ier. lib. 18. cap. 2.* Left they would say, Our fathers were accepted for merits, and therefore did they receive great things from God; he adjoineth, this was not for their merits, but because it so pleased God, whose free gift it is, whatsoever he bestoweth. *De modo satisfact. cap. 2. & 17.* Whatsoever one remembreth that he hath done wickedly, let him declare it unto the Priest by confession; but if thou art ashamed to reveal thy sins before men, cease not with continual supplications to confess them unto him, from whom they cannot be hid; and say, Against thee only have I sinned: he useth to heal, not publishing thy shame; and to forgive sin, without upbraiding. *De Eucharist. cap. 24.* Behold what these two Sacraments do! by baptism we are regenerate in Christ, and by the Sacrament of the body and blood regeneration is proved to continue; not only by faith, but by unity of flesh and blood. Here he speaks but of two Sacraments, and so he calleth them expressly: But *de Institut. Cleric. lib. 1. cap. 31.* one may think that he speaks of more Sacraments; for he saith, Because we have spoken of more Sacraments, Baptism and Chrism; it remaineth that we speak of the other two, that is, of the body and blood of Christ. But when he calleth the body and blood of Christ two Sacraments, it is clear, that he calleth the two elements, two Sacraments, and that is improperly. And in *cap. 28.* of the forenamed book, When the baptized person ascends out of the Fount, immediately he is signed in the face, by the Presbyter, with holy chrism: here he speaketh not of extrem unction, as they now speak; but of an appendix of baptism, as they were wont in those daies; and this he calleth improperly another Sacrament: but in that chap. *de Eucharist.* he speaketh properly, and nameth two, baptism, and the body and blood of Christ. *Ibid. cap. 41.* And because he [Christ] according to the flesh, must pierce the heavens; to the end, those who by faith are renewed and born again in him, might more earnestly and confidently long after him; he hath left unto us this Sacrament as a visible figure and resemblance, a sign and seal of his body and blood, that by these things our minds and our bodies, by faith, may be more plentifully nourished, to partake of invisible and spiritual things; now it is the sign which we outwardly see and feel, but that which is inwardly received is all substance and truth, and no shadowing or resemblance; and therefore there is nothing but truth, and the Sacrament of the very flesh of Christ, which is manifested unto us; for the very flesh of Christ, which was crucified and buried, even the Sacrament of that true flesh it is; which by the Priest, upon the Altar, through the word of Christ, and power of the Holy Spirit, is consecrated and hallowed. See how Raban distinguishes that which is received outwardly and inwardly in the Sacrament; and he calleth the outward part a visible figure and representation, a sign and seal of the body and blood; and that which is received inwardly is no shadow or resemblance, but substance and truth, even the very body of Christ, which was crucified, and (as he saith in the first part of this testimony) which hath pierced the Heavens. *De Institut. Cleric. lib. 2. cap. 30.* Satisfaction is to exclude the occasions and suggestions of sin, or not to commit sin again: Reconciliation is that which is done after repentance; for as we are reconciled unto God, when we are converted first from gentilism; so we are reconciled, when after sin we return. *Lib. 2. cap. 57.* He hath the Confession that was professed at that time, saying;

9. This is next unto the Creed of the Apostles, the most certain faith, which our Teachers have given, That we should profess the Father, the Son,

and the Holy Spirit of one essence, of one power and sempiternity; one invisible God, so that the propriety of persons being reserved unto each one, neither the Trinity should be divided substantially, nor confounded personally; to confess also that the Father is unbegotten, the Son is the only begotten, and the Holy Spirit is neither begotten nor unbegotten, but proceedeth from the Father and from the Son; that the Son proceedeth from the Father by generation; the Holy Spirit not begotten, but proceeding; also that the Son did assume of the Virgin perfect manhood without sin; that whom of his goodness only he had created, of his mercy he might restore after he was fallen; who verily was crucified, and rose again the third day, and with the same flesh being glorified, he ascended into Heaven; in the which flesh he is expected to come and judge the quick and the dead; and that Christ in one person, beareth both the divine and the human nature, being perfect in both, because neither the integrity of both natures did double his person, nor the unity of his person confoundeth his twofold nature; for by the one he excludes not the other, because each of them keepeth both with undefiled right; which the wholsom authority of the Old and New-Testament commendeth; that by prophecy, and this by history, being truly fulfilled; and that concerning God, and the creatures of this world, we should not agree with the Pagans nor Hereticks, when they disagree from the truth; but in both Testaments the Divine Oracles testifie, that not of necessity God made man and all things, neither is there any visible or invisible substance, which is not God, or the good creature of our God: But God is infinitely and immutably good, but the creature is less and mutably good; and that the beginning of the soul is uncertain; and that the natures of souls and Angels are not a part of God's substance, but the creature of God, and made of nothing; and therefore is not bodily, since it is created to the image of God. Concerning the godliness of manners, without which faith of the worship of God is idle and fainteth, and with which the integrity of Divine worship is perfected; that every one should love God for God, and his neighbour in God; that by increasing he may attain; that one cannot be defiled with the sin of another, where is not alike consent of wills: That lawfull marriages are not damnable, although in them posterity be procreated subject unto original sin; and that the integrity of faithfull virgins and continent persons, is to be preferred above them. Let not the one baptism of the Trinity be iterated, (which is not lawfull) neither let it be thought profitable to each man according to the diversity of the Minister; but that by singular power it is given of him, of whom we hear it to be said, Upon whom thou shalt see the Holy Ghost descending and abiding upon him, that is he which baptiseth with the Holy Ghost, and I saw and bear witness that he is the Son of God. Let us not think we have no need of the remedies of repentance for the daily excesses of human frailty, without which we cannot be in this life; so that in the fruitfull remorse of repentance, we confess that all our sins are blotted away; as it is written, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered: blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputes not iniquity. And that no man by his own strength, but by the only grace of God, is united unto the Head Christ, and made solid in the unity of his Church, by unseparable perseverance of peace. Neither should any good thing be imputed to the liberty of man's will. Also that the temporal goods that are common to the good men and bad, are created by God, and according to his dispensation are given or denied to every one; of which goods, in every one that beleeveth, not the having, but the use or abuse is commended or condemned; but the godly only can attain unto the certain and eternal goods in the World to come; and we

believe now that the Church hath received a pledge of these things, having the first fruits of the Spirit here, and perfection hereafter; here she is upholden with hope, hereafter is nourished in very deed; here seeing through a glass darkly, and hereafter face to face, when from faith she shall be brought to sight; which when it shall be perfected, as we shall enjoy the most perfect gifts of the most high God, so shall we not harm our neighbours. That we have also that hope of the resurrection, in the same order, and in the same form as our Lord arose from the dead; we believe also that we shall rise again, in the same time wherein we are and live, not changing our nature nor sex, but only laying off our frailty and vices. That Satan with his Angels and servants shall be condemned into everlasting fire; neither according to the sacrilegious dispensation of some men, shall he be restored into his first, that is, Angelical dignity, from which he fell by his own wickedness. This is the integrity of the faith of Catholick tradition, of which if any one article be denied, all the belief of faith is lost. So far hath Raban there. Now if this Confession be conferred with the Confession which was published and enjoined by Pope Pius the IV, in the year 1564, we may find many additions in the Church of Rome, which were not known in the daies of Raban; and if he were now alive, and professed to believe no otherwise then the Church did at that time, he could not be a Bishop, although *Trithem.* calleth him a matchless one.

10. And to the end we may see how far the Church, in that time, differed from the primitive Church, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and what hath been added unto it since that time; let us hear the same Raban, shewing the form of it in his daies, in *Lib. 1. de Institut. Cleric. Cap. 32 & 33*; and therewith, on the margine, we shall shew the original of every novation by correspondent figures; and he beginneth thus:

Of the Mass.

The Lord first ordained the Sacraments (1) of his body and blood, with blessing and thanksgiving, and so delivered it unto his Apostles; and they followed the same manner, and taught their Successours to do so, which all the Churches, generally through all the World now keepeth. In the beginning was not the custom of tooning, which now is in the Church before the sacrifice; but the Epistles were read and the holy Evangelists (2.) But since we are begun to speak of the sacrifice (3,) we will declare to what end all this order was institute. First then in the celebrati-

1. Note how he calleth the elements Sacraments, as it was usual then, and it hath been observed in others. 2. *Platina in Sixto. 1.* and *Pol. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 5. cap. 10.* say, These things were done simply at the first; for when Peter did consecrate he used the prayer, Our Father, which art... and others have augmented them. *Platin. in Celestin. 1.* faith, When the Epistle was read and the Gospel, the sacrifice was ended. Which is so to be understood, that they, at first, had not a set or prescribed form of prayer, but only the Lord's Prayer, which they did use; and the

Prayer without book.

on Apostles and other Ministers in every Church, when believers were assembled, made their prayers unto God, as the Spirit gave them utterance. *Chrysostom on Rom. 8. hom. 14.* faith, With other gifts they had also the gift of prayer, which was also called The Spirit; and he who had this gift, did pray for the whole multitude; for because they were ignorant of expedient things, and we pray for things which are not profitable, the gift of prayer came upon one; who being set in place of them all, did pray for what was expedient unto the Church; and also did instruct others to pray. So here the Spirit is called that gift of prayer, which then was given, and it is the soul which did pray unto God and sigh; for he who was honoured

red with this gift, did stand, and with much compunction and many groans, supplicating unto God according to the earnestness of his mind, did pray for those things which were expedient unto all. And *Tertullian in Apologet.* mentioning the same custom in his time, saith, We looking up to Heaven, with our hands stretched forth, as being innocent; and bareheaded as not ashamed, make our prayers *Sive Monitore*, without a Directory, as coming from the free motion of our own hearts. And by that testimony of *Platina in Celestin* 1. (who lived about the year 423.) what other parts of the Mass, besides the Gospel and the Epistles, are fathered upon others, and are of later standing, and were not in use in the Roman Church before Celestine. *Iustin in Apolo.* 2. fully sheweth the manner of Christian Service in his time, The ancient Christians (saith he) had their meetings on the Sunday; they began with prayers for the Church, especially for the inlightned which were to be baptized. Then the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles are read, as time permits. When the Reader causeth *ὁ πρεσβυτέρως*, he who hath the charge hath a Sermon unto the people, and exhorts them all unto the imitation of the best things; then all do rise up, and pour forth prayers again. When the prayers are ended, Bread and Wine being mixed with Water is brought forth, which being taken, he who hath the charge goeth before the people, with an earnest voice in praising God and thanksgiving; and the people do answer with a loud voice, *Amen*. Then the Deacons divide the holy signs unto all them which are present, and carry the same unto the absent. This food we call *Εὐχαριστία*, Thanksgiving; whereof none may partake, unless he beleve the true doctrine, and be washed in the laver unto regeneration and remission of sins, and live so as Christ hath directed; and the ordinance of Christ is thus observed; after this is a gathering of Alms. That Father which lived in the second Century, hath no more of the Christian Liturgy, unless ye will add, that in another place he saith, After the prayer they did kiss one another, and of that some words do follow. *Geo. Cassander in Liturgica* saith, At the first the Mass was said otherwise then now.... and it is not done more holily then it was before; when it was hallowed with the only words of the Lord, and with the Lord's prayer. And from Walafrid Strabo he saith, All which is now done with a multitude of prayers, lessons, songs and consecrations, the Apostles and those who next followed them, did (as is thought) with prayers and remembrance of the Lord's sufferings, even as He commanded. In the same Chapter he saith, In the next times when the Epistle and the Gospel was read, the Mass was done; and other things were added, at diverse times, by the Popes Gelasius and Gregorius. 3. When the Sacrament began to be termed a Sacrifice, it is uncertain; but this is certain, it was not called properly a Sacrifice by the purest primitive Church, especially in the time of Justine Martyr, Lactantius Firmian and Augustine. For in the daies of Justine the Pagans did revile the Christians, and called them Atheists; because they offered not sacrifice nor incense unto their God. Justine in *Apolog.* 2. answereth, They do offer such sacrifices, as they knew were acceptable unto him; to wit, the sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving: as for the creatures which God hath appointed for the sustentation of man, we keep them for the use and necessity of the poor, but we burn them not with fire. Lactantius had the same occasion in *Institut. lib. 6. cap. 24 & 25*, and so Augustine *de Civit. Dei lib. 10. cap. 4.* but neither of the two hath any syllable of the sacrifice of the Mass, or of the Lord's body on the Altar. Nevertheless Augustine in *Enchirid. cap. 110.* and elsewhere, and *Cyprian* have called the Sacrament, a Sacrifice; yet not properly, or but figuratively, to wit, because it is a memorial and remembrance of that true and only Sacrifice, which was once offered

A Sacrament is not a Sacrifice.

offered by Christ; *Cyprian. Epist. 63. ordin. Pammel.* So speaketh the Gloss on Gratian; for where it is said, *de consecr. lib. 2. cap. Quid sit*, out of Gregory the great, Though Christ living immortally, dieth not now; yet in this Sacrament he dieth, and his flesh suffereth for the salvation of the people: the Gloss addeth, that is, His death and passion is represented. So doth *Chrysostom in Heb. hom. 17.* and *Augustin de Verb. Dom. ser. 28.* speak, and many others, saying; We offer the same sacrifice which Christ did offer; or rather, we offer the remembrance of that sacrifice. So also teacheth *Lombard. lib. 4. cap. 12.* B. G. Christ died once on the Cross, and there he was offered; but he is offered daily in the Sacrament, because in the Sacrament is a remembrance of that which was once done; and because it is a memorial representation and remembrance of that true sacrifice, and holy oblation on the Altar of the Cross. At some times also the Ancients call the Sacrament, a Sacrifice; because of the offerings which the people brought, when they came to the Sacrament; *Cyprian de oper. & elemos.* saith, Thou who art rich, comest into the Church without a sacrifice, and takest a part of the sacrifice which the poorer hath offered. *Bellarmin de Eucharist. lib. 1. cap. 27.* hath the like words from *Irenaus lib. 1. cap. 32.* acknowledging that those Fathers spoke so of the bread and wine which the people offered. And *Alcwin de divin. offic.* at the words *Sursum corda*, saith, The Priest exhorts the people, as if he said, Now when ye are sufficiently instructed and confirmed, by the Apostolical and Evangelical Precepts, direct your hearts from earthly cares upward unto the Lord, that I may be able to offer worthily the sacrifice, which ye have offered unto me, to be offered unto God. So whereas the Ancients did most usually abstain from the name of Altar and Sacrifice, terming those Tables and Eucharist; afterwards the Church being established in the truth of doctrine, the Pastours did adventure upon a greater liberty of words, not doubting to be soundly understood by Catholick hearers. But because the degenerating ages have wrested these words to a proper signification, clean contrary to the first intention; it should not be thought amiss in them, who contain themselves now within the more ancient restraints, and are content with the first terms, since the other have occasioned that intollerable error of the real sacrifice in the Mass. To the end this may be more evident, I shall repeat the custom of this matter from the beginning. *Chrysostom on 1 Cor. 11. hom. 27.* saith, As in the three thousand, who at first did beleieve, they did all eat together, and they did possess all things in common; so also it was when the Apostle writ this, yet not so certainly, but that some doubting of the communion were remaining, and descending unto posterity; and when it came to pass that some were poor, and some were rich, they did not give all things in community; but they made the common Tables on the appointed daies, as was decent; and the collection being done, after the communication of the Sacrament, they all came to a common feast, and the dishes were carried by the honest poor ones; and they who had nothing, were invited by them, and they sate down all together: but in progress of time this custom went away; for by this division it came, that some did adjoin themselves in one company, and some in another; and they said, I am his, and I am his; as the Apostle amending this, saith in the beginning of the Epistle. *Justin* near the end of his greater Apology, saith; Let the rich men, if they please, every one bestow as they will; and let that which is brought be laid down beside the Bishop [*ἐπισκόπου*] To wit, when the first custom was left off, they brought a quantity of Bread and Wine, or of the first Corns, or Raisins; whereof so much was taken as did serve for the elements of the Sacrament, and the rest

*The original
of the Chri-
stian Sacri-
fice.*

was eaten, by the Believers, as in a feast; and some was sent unto sick persons, or distributed among the poor. When the Church had more liberty, and became more wealthy (as in the daies of Constantine) the oblations were richer, and a part thereof was appointed for maintenance of the Preachers; according to that of Jerom, They who serve at the Altar, are sustained by the offerings at the Altar: Then the voluntary offerings were called Sacrifices, after the manner of the law of Moses; and the Presbyters did consecrate them by prayer, as is manifest by the Liturgies, where they say, O Lord, we thy servants, and also thy holy people, being mindfull of the blessed suffering and resurrection, and the glorious ascension of Christ thy Son, our Lord God; do offer unto thy most excellent Majesty, out of thy gifts, this pure sacrifice. upon which things it may please thee to look with a favourable and gracious eye, and to accept them, as it pleased thee to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham. These words did still (untill the Reformation) remain in the Canon of the Mass. And on Paul's day the words of the *Secretum* were read, We beseech thee, O Lord, sanctifie the gifts of the people, by the prayers of thy blessed Apostle Paul; that those things which are acceptable unto thee by thy institution, may be more acceptable by the patrociny of him praying. These and many other prayers of the Mass, cannot otherwise be understood without blasphemy: Then of the gifts of the people, Cassander in *Liturgic. cap. 27.* hath these words, from *Expositio Ordinis Romani*, All the people coming into the Church should sacrifice; and *ex Decretis Fabiani*, We ordain, that on every Lord's day, the oblation of the Altar be made, by all the men and women, both of Bread and Wine. Again, at first they were wont to communicate daily: *Cyprian de Orat. Domi.* at the 4 petition saith, We receive the Eucharist daily. On these words *Pammelius* hath marked, that the same custom continued at Rome, and in Spain, till the daies of Jerom; and at Millan till Ambrose; but had failed sooner in the East Church, Augustine in his 118 Epistle, sheweth the different custom of communicating, in some places oft, and in others more seldom. It may be thought that when Christians had place, zeal did decrease, and the people did not communicate so oft, and so the offerings were the fewer. Then the Fathers did complain of the rarity of Communicants, and exhorted the people to communicate at least every Lord's day; and did absolutely inveigh against their rarity, as absurd and zeal-less; and said, that when they came it was not for thirst of grace, or remorse of sin, but for solemnity, *Chrysost.* on 1 Cor. 11. *hom. 28.* These exhortations and reproofs prevailed not, therefore an Act was made binding the people to communicate each Lord's day, *Gratian. de consecr. dist. 2. cap. Quotidie.* Neither was this order obeyed, therefore was another, that they should communicate thrice yearly, at the Feasts of Christ's Nativity, Resurrection, and the Pentecost, *Ibid. cap. Saculares.* For all this, the people would not communicate so oft, therefore a Law was made that all the people should communicate at Pasch. And then daily communion was forgot amongst the people. When the Priests saw that Laws would not move the people to communicate oft, and to bring their offerings, they devised another damnable means; they taught the people, that the Lord's Supper is not only a Sacrament, and so profitable to them only; but it is a Sacrifice to God, and profitable to all the beholders of it, and by their offerings they may find mercy and grace: Yea lastly, not to the offerers and beholders only, but to all for whom the Priest offereth it, as well absent as present, whether alive or dead; and at last, both to the soul, and all other necessities. They were the more bold to teach so,

because the Fathers had improperly, and dangerously, called the Sacrament a Sacrifice. And upon this doctrine was multiplied the riches and wealth of the Church, by donations of prebendaries, chanouries, lands, yearly revenues, as is to be seen in their Charters, I offer unto God the things contained in this clanker for the remission of my sins, and of my Parents sins, to maintain the service of God in sacrifices and Masses. They who have seen the Rights or Writs of Church lands or revenues, know this. This doctrine took deep root, for it was gainfull unto the Priests, and easie unto the people; for what can be thought more easie? Men wallowing in sin, hear a Mass, and bring an offering to a Priest, and get remission; no searching of the heart, nor mortification required; this was not the straight way, and who was not able to do it? Nor can it be shewed, that such doctrine was heard in the Church before the seventh Century; to wit, they give heed to lies and apparitions of deceiving spirits, or deceitfull and feigned apparitions, and so lost the truth. All that is spoken of this purpose declares, that at first the action of offering was not the action of the Priest, but of the people; and the thing offered was not the Sacrament, nor the Son of God, but the gifts of the people, as is manifest; for in the daies of Pope Gregory the I, the words, a little from the beginning of the Canon, are not, Which we offer unto thee; but, Which each of them offer unto thee. Afterwards the Priests turn them to their action, and their action was called the sacrifice; and all their prayers, which before were in dedication of their offerings, the Priests turn to the consecration of the Bread and Wine, which the Priest, and one with him, do take. This change is manifest by the Canon of the Mass, whereof I have touched some words; and namely, Accept the gifts, as thou didst accept the gifts of Abel, Abraham and Melchisedek... command that these things be carried, by the hands of thy Angel, unto the Altar above. And when it was generally so called a Sacrifice, Raban sheweth in what sense the best sort understand it, *De Institut. Cleric. lib. 1. cap. 31. Sacrificium dictum quasi sacrum factum...* that is, a sacrifice is an holy action; because, by mystical prayer, it is consecrated in remembrance of the Lord's passion. And *Thomas Aquin. part. 3. qu. 83. art. 1.* The celebration of this Sacrament is called a Sacrifice, for two causes; first, because (as *Augustin. ad Simpli.*) Images are called by the names of things whereof they are Images; as looking to a Picture, we say, This is Cicero: But the celebration of this Sacrament, is a representative Image of the Passion of Christ, who is the true Sacrifice: Hence Ambrose on *Hebr. cap. 10.* By Christ was the Sacrifice once offered, &c. What therefore do we? we do therefore every day offer in remembrance of his death. Another way in respect of the effect of Christ's passion; to wit, because by this Sacrament we are made partakers of the fruit of the Lord's suffering; and therefore in a secret Dominical Prayer it is said, How oft the commemoration of this Sacrifice is celebrated, the work of our redemption is exerced. And therefore (saith he) in respect of the first way, it may be said, that Christ was offered even in the figures of the Old-Testament; as it is said *Apoc. 13.* the Lamb slain from the beginning of the World; but in respect of the other way, it is proper unto this Sacrament, because Christ is offered in celebration thereof. So far he. If he and many others who have written the like, had beleaved that the Sacrament is properly a Sacrifice, or else the same Sacrifice with Christ's suffering, or an iteration of it, why did they not teach so in expresse words? Therefore we may conclude, that for 1300 years they thought not the Sacrament to be a Sacrifice properly; but did call it so improperly, or in remembrance, or in representation.

The original
of the word
Missa.

4. The Romanists say, their Mass is from the institution of Christ, and yet they cannot find the name of it in any Ecclesiastical Writer before Pope Leo, who lived *An. 460*; and in what signification it was taken at that time, it may be learned out of Augustine, if these be his Sermons: *Ser. 237. de temp.* he saith, *Post Sermonem fit Missa catechuminis*, after the Sermon or preaching, they which are but learning their catechism, are sent away. So *Missa* is a dismissal, or a charge to depart. And *Ser. 251*, is this word thrice, for all that is done in the meetings of the Church; he saith, Some, especially the potent men of this World, when they come to the Church, are not devout in the praises of God, but compel the Presbyter to shorten the *Missa*, and sing at their pleasure; neither will they let him keep the use of the Church. And Raban in the beginning of the same Chapter, gives the former reason of the name, saying; The Levite crieth, If any *Catechumenus* be here as yet, let him be gone. They give other reasons of the name, which were tedious to repeat. But hence we may see that the word signifieth not a Sacrifice; although Popish men would have others believe, that where that word is found, a Sacrifice is signified. As for the original of the word, some would bring it from *Deut. 16. 10*: But *Bellarmin. de Missa lib. 1. cap. 1.* saith, That cannot be; because then it should be found among the Greeks, since all the Hebrew words, which are among the Latines, are come unto us by the hands of the Greeks; as *Amen, Hallelujah, Osanna*, &c. Neither can they agree on the deprivation of it. 5. Priesthood, and Sacrifice, and Altars are correlatives; and so Priesthood properly taken, hath relation to a Sacrifice and an Altar properly taken, saith *Bellarmin. ibid. cap. 2. & 14.* But the Christians in the primitive times (saith he, *de cultu sanct. lib. 3. cap. 4.*) did purposely abstain from the words of Temple and Priest untill the daies of Tertullian; not (as he saith there) lest they had seemed to retain some Jewish ceremonies, or Temples of Heathenish Idols; for so they should have abstained from the words of worship and prayer, which terms were used both by Jews and Heathens: But rather lest the new Converts might by the name of Temple, Priest and Altar, conceive some corporal sacrifice to be offered by men, for expiation of offences. Tables agree better unto a Supper, and the Sacrament is called a Table, *1 Cor. 10.* So speaketh the Council at Nice, At the Table of the Lord we should not look basely upon the Bread and Wine, which is set before us; but we should lift up our hearts, &c. *Lactant. lib. 6. cap. 25*, and *August. de Civ. Dei lib. 10. cap. 4.* did not acknowledge any Altars in their times, but the Altar of our hearts. And at the same time, by the allusion unto the Law, the Elders were called Priests, and Church-Tables were called Altars: but since such allusions have given, unto their posterity, occasion to conceive such errors, it is safer to use the moderation of the first times. And since it is not lawfull among the Papists to consecrate the Sacrament, but up-

on of the Mass, (4) at the coming in of the Priest (5) unto the Altar, (5) the antiphona (6) is sung (7) by the Clark, that a sound may be heard; when he entrench into the Sanctuary before the Lord; as in the Old-Testament, the entring of the High-Priest was known by the sound of the Bells; wherefore the singing of God's praise is heard for just cause, that the holy harmony of the Ministers, may go before the mysteries of the holy celebration; and the Sacrifice of worthy praise, may go before the venerable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ: for the Queere (8) is the multitude assembled unto the holy service; and is so called, because in the beginning, they stood like a Crown about the Altar. After the

Priest's

Priests and
Altars.

on a consecrate Altar; and Bellarmin saith, It is certain, Pope Sylvester was the Authour of consecrating Altars, *De verbo Dei lib. 4. cap. 3*; it is manifest, that the primitive Church had not Altars, and now the having of them is a novelty. 6. Antiphona and Introitus are both one, saith *Platina* in *Gregor. I.* and left any ornament or content be lacking in time of Sacrifice, he appointed that the Antiphona should be chanted. Again in *Celestin. I.* (who lived *An. 423.*) *Platin.* saith, Celestine ordained, that the Psalms should be chanted *antiphonativè*, and this custom was not in use before. I know not whether *Platina's* memory had failed him; or whether he meaneth, as *Poly. Virg. de invent. rer. lib. 5. cap. 10.* saith, Antiphona which is called Introitus, was ordained by Gregory; and that which is called Tractus, by Celestine. But *Raban de Institut. Cler. lib. 2. cap. 50.* saith, The Greeks first made the Antiphonæ, two Quers singing by turns; and among the Latines blessed Ambrose ordained them, following the example of the Greeks. But sure it is, as *Lindan de opi. genere Interpretat. lib. 3. cap. 3.* saith, Agobert, Bishop of Lions, did complain, that there were many superfluous things in them; and saith *Lindan*, If Agobert were now living, and saw the Antiphona's and the Missals, O everlasting God, with what name would he decipher them! Where not only many things are from the Apocrypha Gospel of Nicodemus, and other trifles; but secret prayers, and filthy, yea and feigned by Hereticks. 7. Pope Damasus in *Epist. ad Hieronim.* saith, The Church of Rome was not acquainted with singing, and he biddeth him to send him a copy of the Greek Psalter. Augustine in *Confess. lib. 9. cap. 7.* sheweth, that the Latine Church had not singing, till Ambrose was expelled out of Millan by the Arrian Empress Justina; and in his absence the people did begin to follow the example of the Eastern Churches, and others follow Millan; and the singing in Alexandria was liker unto grave reading, then unto Musical chanting. And *Raban loc. cit. cap. 48.* doth forbid Musical gestures, and Theatral singing; and admitteth only such as may move compunction, and may be clearly understood by the hearers. *Poly. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 6. cap. 2.* saith, Now the Chanters make a noise in the Church, and nothing is heard there but a voice; and others who are present, are content with the consent of the cries, no way regarding the meaning of the words; and so it is, that among the multitude, all the esteem of Divine Worship seems to rely upon the Chanters; although generally no sort of men are lighter or more wicked. The Spanish *Index Expurgator. pag. 72.* ordained these words to be left out in following Impressions. 8. *Poly. Vergil. loc. cit.* speaking of the Chorus, saith, I may say that these are, for the most part, brought into our Ceremonies from the old Heathens, who were wont to sacrifice with symphony; as witnesseth *Livius lib. 9.*

Antiphona

Singing.

The Quors.

Priest's coming in, the Letanies (9) are said by the Clerks, that the Common-Prayer may go before the particular prayer of the Priest. Then followeth the Priest's prayer, (10) who when he hath saluted the people with peace, (11) receiveth the answer of peace from them; that true concord, and charity, and pure devotion may the easier obtain their Petitions, from him who looketh into the heart, and judgeth inwardly. Then the Reader readeth a part of the Canon, (12) that

9. These have not one father. *Gratian. de consecr. dist. 1. cap. Iacobus*, giveth some of them unto James the Lord's brother, and some to Basiliius Cæsarian. *Platina* gives some to Damasus P. *An. 370*, some to Symmachus P. *An. 510*; and in Gregory the I, he saith, Gregory did ordain the Supplications, which the Greeks call Letanies. They are of several sorts. *Poly. Verg. lip. cit. cap. 11.* saith, Mamecus Bishop of Vienna, in the daies of Pope Leo the I, because of an

The Letanies.

Earth-quake, did ordain first the Supplications, which the Greeks call *Letanies* or *Processions*, that they should go two and two in long order, passing from one place to another, and praying with a loud voice: and these are called the lesser *Letanies*, which not long after Pope Agobert did first ordain to be each Lord's day in the Churches, or about the Church, which now is done every where. Some would rather have them called *Processions*, because the sacrificial pomp proceeds publickly. Thereafter Pope Gregory ordained the greater ones, when the people of all sorts going by seven in rank, should sing by turns; because at that time the people were smitten with a kind of swelling in their loins, whereby many were killed. Gregory commanded that these *Letanies* should be observed every where; and now the Priests sing them for fear of imminent evils, a

great number of people also following and praying: but in prosperity also they oft pray so publickly, that who for fear of evils had praied with supplications, thereafter obtaining our desires, and rejoicing in security, we should give thanks unto God. Which the Pagans did also, as Virgil saith of Dido, rejoicing for the unexpected coming of the Trojans, *Sic memorat, simul Eneam in regia ducit Testa, simul Divum templis induci honorem*; that is, as Servius saith, She commanded Supplications. So did the Romans, and almost all other Nations, from whom, without doubt, such rites are come unto us; for in the pomp of our supplications, some ridiculous things do precede, &c. He sheweth the manner of them conform to the old custom, in *Dionys. lib. 7.* and *Cato*, and *Plautus*, and *Apuleius*: In the end he saith, We keep these rites also, but I know not whether they be done well: I fear, I fear, I say, that in them we give more pleasure unto Heathen Gods, then unto Christ yea whatsoever shall be done unto us, herein we do contrary unto Christ's command; and to the end we may be the more ashamed of this, I shall name one example of 600, &c.

Collects.

10. This prayer is *collectæ*, and there be many of them, and added by sundry Authours; as *Cassander* witnesseth in *Liturgie. cap. 21.* and they give sundry reasons of the name. 11. *Poly. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 5. cap. 10.* saith, Pope Innocent the I, did ordain, that the Priests should kiss one another, after the Canon; and Pope Leo the II ordained, that the kiss should go round amongst the people; but when Mass is said for the dead, it is not to be done; lest we seem to communicate with those, of whom we are not sure that they are in favour with God. But whosoever was the Authour, and whatsoever be signified by this rite, it is not now in use, because of abuses following thereupon; and this, with other such passages where the people are ordered to answer, doth shew that in the beginning the Service was done in a known language; or else how could the people understand what they should answer? *Bellarmin. de verb. Dei lib. 2. cap. 16.* confesseth, that in the primitive Church, both Eastern and Western, they did use the vulgar tongue;

Prayer in known language.

that the mind of the hearers being prepared thereby, may be the more attentive to the rest. After this a Chanter singeth *Responsorium*, (13) so named, because when one resteth, another answereth. The same is also called *Graduale*, because it is sung upon the steps of the Pulpit. After it *Hallelujah* (14) is sung, to lift up the minds of the people unto Heavenly things, and raise them unto Divine contemplations. Then the Gospel is (15) read in audience of the people, by the Deacon, with great authority; that his doctrine may be heard, and his vertue be understood by the Gospel, the mystery of whose body is then celebrate. Then the offerings (16) are made by the people, and the *Offertorium* (17) is sung by the Clarks, which hath the name from the causes; as if one would say, The Song of the Offerers. And the

Pal-

and

and so saith *Origen contra Cels. lib. 8.* Let all the Heathens know, that we who are Christians, do not use barbarous or unknown words; but the Greeks use Greek words, and the Romans use Romish, and all people pray in their own languages; and the Lord of all languages understandeth them speaking so diversly, as if they were all speaking in one voice. And *Chrysost. on 1 Cor. 14. hom. 35.*, at these words, Thou givest thanks well, but another is not edified, saith, Behold he laith (as they speak) the stone to the square, requiring the edification of the Church in every thing; the unlearned, he called the common people; and he sheweth, it is not a little evil, that they cannot say *Amen*. What he saith is to this purpose, If thou givest thanks in a strange tongue, and either understands it not thy self, or doest not expound it unto others, a common man cannot answer with *Amen*. . . . and he who understandeth not, receiveth no benefit thereby, &c. *Cassander in Liturgica cap. 28.* hath this title, The Canonical Prayer, especially the consecration of the Body and Blood, the Ancients did read so, that the people might understand it, and say unto it, *Amen*. He proved this by the testimonies of *Thomas par. 3. qu. 78. art. 1. Euseb. hist. lib. 7. cap. 9. Iustinian. Imper. in nov. constitut. 123.* and the Liturgies of the Greeks, Æthiopians, Syrians, Armenians, &c. But now (saith *Bellarmin.*) the Council of Trent condemneth, with *anathema*, all them who require, that publick prayers, and especially the Mass, should be used in a vulgar language. And if any will ask, how and when this alteration came into the Western Church, since it is not in others? *Erasmus in Comment. on 1 Cor. 14.* answereth, It is a wonder how it came in. But certainly the Latine was used in the Western Churches from the beginning, because it was commonly understood by them all; but as the Roman Empire was diminished, and several Nations got power amongst themselves, the Latine language did turn to French, Spanish, Italian, &c. So the vulgar tongue was not denied unto the people, as Pope Vitalian did command the Latine in all Churches; and the Council of Trent accursed all other languages; but the Nations went out of use of it; and the Popes will have them use it, whether they understand it or not. 12. Here we see the Canon of the Mass hath several parts, and so it hath many Authours. *Cassander loc. cit.* saith, The Canon was not made by one, nor yet in the order as it is now. *Io. Beletsh*, a Doctor at Paris, about the year 1170, in his book *de Divin. Offic. cap. 46*, saith, The Canon is said with a low voice, because God hears the cry not of the mouth, but of the heart. . . . and yet we pronounce the words, lest we seem to be ignorant of the things which we ask, or which we should ask; or lest we fail in our voice by long speaking, if it were pronounced loudly; or thirdly, lest the words of so great a mystery becom vile by daily custom, and be used elsewhere in uncompetent places. . . . It is forbidden by a Decree, under a curse, that none should pronounce these words, but who is clothed with sacred vestures, and from a book upon a consecrated Altar. . . . and therein are many things, which are not lawfull for us to expound, but haply for the Priests only; therefore we will be silent of them. So far *Beletsh*. It seems this Decree, and these things which are to be kept in silence, were not in the daies of Raban; and therefore he speaks not of the *Secreta*. 13. *Responsorium* or *Graduale* is given by *Platina* unto Celestine the I; and by *Poly. Vergil.* unto Gelasius and Gregory. *Raban Institut. lib. 2. cap. 51.* saith, It was devised by the Italians a long space before the *Antiphona*, and then one said them; but now (saith he) sometimes one, sometimes two, and sometimes three, the Quire for the most part answering. 14. *Platin* in *Sixt. 1.* saith, *Hallelujah* is borrowed from the Church of Jerusalem; but he telleth not who borrowed it; and in *Gregory the I.* he saith, Gregory ordained it to be sung nine times. Jerom in his

The Canon
with a low
voice.

The Respon-
sorium.

Hallelujah.

answer unto the Epistle of Damasus, adviseth after every Psalm to sing, Glory unto the Father, unto the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, now, and through all ages, *Amen*; to the end, the faith of the 318 Bishops, of the Nicene Council, may be declared by the consent of voice; and then put unto all the Psalms *Hallelujah*. 15. *Platina* in *Sixt.* 1. saith, Jerom first read the Epistle and the Gospel, in the Mass; and again he giveth them to Damasus. 16. It is spoken before, at note 3, of the offerings. It may be added, that when the Priests saw the charity or liberality of the people grow cold, a Decree was made to read the Catalogue of the offerers; and then of them for whom the offering was made, whether alive or dead. 17. This is the song of dedication, or (as *Platin.* speaks) for blessing the offerings; and saith he, Eutichian *P. An.* 275, was the deviser of the *Offertorium*. But *Walaf. Strabo de init. & incremen. rer. Eccles.* cap. 22. saith, the Authour thereof is not known, since we do verily believe, that the ancient and holy Fathers did offer in silence. *Biel in exposit. Missæ lect.* 16. saith, It is sung in the mean time while the people do present their gifts; and there he mentioneth three sorts of offerings, to wit, of their persons, their gifts, and of those things which are for the elements.

Catalogue of
them who
offer.

Holy Vestures.

17. *Gratian. de consecr. dist. 1. cap. Consulto*, sheweth, that even in the primitive Church was too great ostentation of the *Corporale*, which was of silken or scarlet cloath; therefore Pope Sylvester the I. ordained, that they should use only white linnen, because Christ's body was wrapped in linnen. *Walaf. Strabo lip. cit. cap. 24.* speaking of this linnen, adds that the Priestly vestures are also advanced to a great ornament; whereas at first they did celebrate in no other but their usual garments; as also is yet the custom of the Eastern Churches. Pope Stephen the I. did ordain, that Priests and Levites should not daily use their holy garments; and thereafter a distinction was made between the vestures of Bishops, and of others. 19. *Gratian. loc. cit. cap. Vasa*, sheweth, that in the primitive times they had only wooden vessels, untill Pope Zepherin, *An.* 216. appointed cups of glass; and because those were brittle, Pope Urban *An.* 230. brought in cups of silver: [But others say, The Church had no cups of gold nor silver, untill the Emperour Constantine gave them,] and then an Act was made, that no Priest should administer the Sacrament in wooden vessels, lest God be offended. Nevertheless it is recorded of Exuperius, Bishop of Tolouse, that he would not admit golden or silver vessels

Holy Vessels.

Pallium corporale (18) is laid upon the Altar, which signifieth the cloath wherein Christ's body is wrapped; it is of pure linnen, and not of silk or purple, nor of litted cloath, as we find to have been ordained by Pope Sylvester. Then are laid down the holy vessels, (19) (which are the Cup and the Platter) upon the Altar; these two somewhat resemble the Lord's burial, because as then Christ's body being anointed with odours, was laid in a new Tomb, by the obedience of the Saints; so now his mystical body being embalmed with holy prayer, is given in the holy vessels to be received by Believers in the ministry of the Priests. After all this the Mass (20) is sung by the Priest, who when he hath spoken of the lifting up the heart (21) unto the Lord, he exhorts the people to give thanks (22) unto the Lord; and he filling his mouth with praises, praith that the Almighty God the Father, to whom the Heavenly powers do serve, would of his grace command, that the professions of men may be conform to their voices. After this prayer, followeth a song, made of the songs of Angels and Men. (23) to wit, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Hosts, &c. Now is the consecration (24) of the Body (25) and Blood of the Lord, and earnest prayer unto God (26;) and in the mean time

time the Lord's Prayer is tooned (27.) For when they come to communicate (28.) and receive (29) the body (30.) they give one to another the kiss of

fels in his Diocy; but only mands of wands, or baskets for the bread, and glasses for the wine. Jerom commendeth him for this. It appears then, although some did delight in ostentati-

on, yet others did not approve it. 20. *Io. Belesb. li. cit. cap. 34.* saith, It is all called the Mass, which is said from the beginning to the end... yet sometimes more especially the first part or the *Introitus* is so named, because an Angel is sent thither. But the Mass is divided into four parts, Obsecrations, Orations, Postulations and Thanksgivings. The first part is of the *Catechumeni*,... for they may abide no longer, no more than Jews or Heathens, because as yet they are not Members of the Church; for which cause the Deacon saith, from the Pulpit, with a loud voice, Let the *Catechumeni* go forth. Hence the first part is called *Missæ, ab emittendo*, because they are sent forth... But all the Office is called *Missæ*, which is from the *Introitus, usque ad, Ite, Missæ est*; although sometimes we call *Missæ* those words, whereby the body of the Lord is made. So far *Belesb.* But it seems Raban knew not that form of saying Mass; for he speaks afterwards of the consecration, and several things must be done, after the covering of the Altar, before the consecration. As for the dismissal of the *Catechumeni*, the Priest singeth not that; but the Deacon speaketh it with a loud voice. 21. Many of the Ancients repeat these words, *Sursum Corda*, lift up your hearts; whereby they did teach that the Service was not private, but one spoke unto the people: *Corda.* 2. That men should not look upon the elements, as if Christ's body were in them, or as if they were turned into Christ's body; but we should lift up our minds, by faith and meditation, unto Heaven, where only is Christ bodily, and we should seek and find him there. 22. In this Missal is now neither such exhortation, nor such a prayer, as followeth; and therefore I may say of *Raban*, as *Corn. Lauriman* in his *Epist. nuncup.* said of *Io. Belesb.* These things may argue his antiquity, which he writeth were done in the Church every where in his time; of which things a great part is so abolished and extinct, that no footstep thereof now appears; for which cause some have heretofore despised him, as if he had written false things; whereas he is for the same, the more to be commended, since hence we may learn what they did of old, and how much our times are different from antiquity. But neither doth *Belesb.* mention any exhortation to praise, nor such a prayer, so that those were abolished before his time; and in place thereof, he mentioneth *Secreta* and the Prefaces chap. 43; and in the next chap. *Secreta* is so called, because it is secretly pronounced. So the people may not hear nor know it; and chap. 45. he saith, the Prefaces are ten in number; and *Lauriman* addeth, in the margine, there are eleven of them. *Walaf. Straboloc. cit.* saith, Who made the Prefaces and the *Actio* (which the Romans call the *Canon*) it is unknown unto me; but that it is augmented not once, but often, we know by the parts which are added. So here are novations upon novations, and frequent changes from the Missal of Gregory. 23. *Platina* saith, Pope Sixtus the I, or-

The word
Missæ is ho-
monymous.

Sursum Cor-
da.

A Thanksgiv-
ing is omit-
ted.

Sanctus

The word
Consecration
is dangerous;

dained that *Sanctus* should be sung. 24. The Scriptures have the word of Thanksgiving and Blessing, and not Consecration; nor is a word a material difference, if they understood no other thing but Thanksgiving or Blessing. But it is a dangerous word, since the old Heathens did use it, to signify the making of a God, *Consecrare statuum*; and now the Romanists do use it, for the lifting up of the elements, and blowing on them, and crossing them, I know not how often; the thwarting and lifting up of their Arms, the joining and unjoining of the Priest's thumb and fore-finger, with such other rites;

Qo which

which have no such foundation in, nor relation unto Christ's Institution, nor his Apostles doctrine or practice; and do smell of charming or heathenism, more then of true piety; and the rather is the word to be forsaken, because their Priests are not ashamed to say, *Qui creavit me, dedit mihi creare se; qui creavit me sine me, creatur à me.* 25. Raban speaks so, not that he meant

The Bread is
the Body fi-
guratively.

eth the bread to be turned into the body of Christ; although *Io. Eckius in tom. 4. homil. 31.* doth cite his words unto that purpose: For Transubstantiation was not then hatched (as I shall shew God willing) and Raban was reckoned amongst Hereticks for the contrary doctrine, as is touched before; but because the Bread and Wine are the visible figures and resemblances, and seals of Christ's Body and Blood; and because with the signs the Believers receive the Body and Blood of Christ. Raban's words, which I have related in the former Section, do clearly shew his mind in these words; and so we may judge of many others writing in this manner, although their words have been wrested to another sense. 26. Observe, he saith, Prayer unto God. But in

The Bread
was not wor-
shipped.

all this Institution, is not one word of praying unto the Bread. I know they do quote the Ancients for adoring the bread; and especially, they alledge *Theodoret. dial. 2.* But by one we may understand the meaning of all others: his words are these; The mystical signs after sanctification, do not depart from their nature; for they remain in their former substance, figure and form; and they may be both touched and seen, as they were before; but they are understood to be those things which they are made, and are beleaved to be; and they are adored as those things which they are beleaved to be; compare therefore the Image with the exemplar or pattern, for the figure should be like the truth. In these words *Theodoret.* denieth Transubstantiation and the bodily presence; and he calleth the Bread and Wine signs mystical, the Image of the exemplar, and figure of the truth; and thereby we may easily understand what kind of adoring or reverence he would have given unto the signs, and not that they should be adored as Christ himself. And to shew the impudency of the Romanists, I add another testimony, which they do object out of *August. in Ps. 98.* saying, No man eats it before he adore it. They object these words, as if Augustine were speaking of the bread. But his words are, Of the earth he [Christ] took earth, because flesh is of the earth; and of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, because he walked here in the same flesh, and did give us the same flesh unto salvation; and no man eats that flesh except he first adore it, &c. Here Augustine speaks not of the Sacrament, but of the flesh, which Christ took of the flesh of Mary: and who denieth that flesh should be adored? Some words after these, may be understood of the Sacrament, and they are clear; for he expoundeth the words of Christ, The words which I have spoken unto you, are spirit and life: as if the Lord had said, Understand ye spiritually, what I have spoken; ye shall not eat this body which ye see, nor drink this blood, which they shall shed who shall crucifie me: I have commanded unto you a certain Sacrament, which being spiritually understood, shall quicken you; and although it be necessary that the same be celebrate visibly, yet it must be understood invisibly. So *August.* Nothing can be spoken more plainly and directly, against the gross and carnal manner of the presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament. 27. It is certain, that our Saviour is the Authour of this Prayer; and who hath ordained it to be sung, I know not: But *Io. Beletth cap. 47.* testifieth, that in his time the people did stand when this prayer was said, if it were a Feast-day; and if it were not a Feast, the people were prostrate; and the Priest said it with a loud voice, except these words, But deliver us from evil: which the people did answer.

Rises at say-
ing Pater
noster.

Communica-
ing now less
of.

28. As Christ did ordain, that all Believers should eat in remembrance of him;

him; so in ancient times was an order, that all should communicate, who will not be excommunicate, *Gratian. de consecr. dist. 2. cap. Peracta, & Comperimus*. Where was then the private Mass, wherein the Priest alone consumeth the Sacrament? This order of communicating hath ceased through the sloth of Priests and people, saith *Cochlaus de sacrif. Missæ*, and Harding's answer to the first article of Bishop Juel's challenge. And for remedy, it was provided, that two Deacons should communicate with the Priest, *Gratian. de consecr. dist. 1. cap. Hoc quoque, & Omnes*. And Pope Sergius the II. ordained, that the Bread should be broken into three parts, according to the number of Communicants; which rite of breaking remaineth yet, although the Priest be alone, but they have drawn it to signifie a mystery. *Lombard. lib. 4. dist. 12. F.* saith, The part which is offered and cast into the Cup, signifieth the body of Christ which rose again; the part which is eaten, signifieth him walking on the earth; and the third part lying on the Altar till the end of the Mass, signifieth the body lying in the grave; for untill the end of this world, the bodies of the Saints shall continue in the graves. The Authour of *Specul. Curator*. saith, two parts are reserved, and the third is cast into the cup, to signifie that the sacrifice is profitable for three things; unto just men, for increase of grace; unto sinners, for taking away their sins; and unto those in Purgatory, for taking away their punishment. So uncertain are they in their errors. And in that direction of the Curats, it is specially provided, that only the Priest shall eat that part which is cast into the Cup. So that now the Communion is, for the most part, turned into a theatrical eating and drinking of the Priest alone. Cassander cannot wonder enough, how they have departed so far from the Institution; and how they dare so clearly violate the Acts of Councils, &c. *Consult. art. 24. 29*. Christ did not put the Sacrament into his Apostles mouths, but every one received the bread with his hand; and such was the custom of the Church untill the sixth Synod, saith Jesuit Salmeron on *1 Cor. 11. disp. 19*. But this was altered, when the Roman Church ordained, that for reverence sake people should not touch it with their hands; but so oft as they communicate the Priest should put the bread into their mouths. Hence is arisen another novelty, that whereas the bread was wont to be broken, and distributed out of the same loaf, now they break not the bread, they say, for reverence; as if the Apostles and primitive Church had not been reverent, or Believers now cannot be reverent; and therefore lest people do break Christ's body with their teeth, they do provide Wafers, which may melt away in the mouth. *Cassander in Liturg.* saith, This is religion many waies despised. 30. He mentioneth the receiving of bread only; nevertheless it is certain, the distribution of the Cup also was ordained by Christ, and it continued in use: For Raban in the same book chap. 31. saith, The Lord would have the Sacraments of his body and blood taken by the mouth of Believers. Now this custom was not forbidden untill the Council at Constance, *An. 1415*, *Cassand. Consul. art. 22*; and again it was permitted unto the Bohemians, *An. 1438*. by the Council at Basil. Yea Pope Gelasius the I. made a Decree, that who would not communicate in both, should be excommunicated from both. This Decree stood in force about the year 1200, and is registred by *Gratian. de consecr. cap. 2. Comperimus*: his reason is, because the division of one and the same mystery, cannot be without great sacrilege. Upon these words the Gloss saith, This is understood of the Species. . . therefore it is taken under both kinds, as a Pupil must approve all which a Tutor doth, or refuse all; yet (saith he) a sick man who may not drink wine, or any other in necessity, may take the body without wine. When and by whom came this alteration? Jesuit Coster in *Enchir.*

And the
rite is turned
to a mystery.

Receiving is
altered.

Wafers,

Drinking is
out of use.

tracta. de commun. sub utraque spe. saith, Not by commandment of Bishops, but it crept in by the practice of the people, the Bishops winking at it. It is likely, the communion of bread only, came by practice of Priests; after that *Thomas Aquin.* had devised concomitancy, lest any thing might seem superfluous.

Kiss.

31. This is the second time that the Priest saluteth the people. *Biel in Expos. Miss. lect. 16.* noteth three salutations with the particular reasons, as they may be. *Io. Beletb cap. 48.* saith, The Priest takes this kiss from the Eucharist, or as some think from the Altar, and gives it to the Deacon or sub-Deacon, that by them it may go unto others; but (saith he) with this caution, that men give it not unto women, lest some wantonness or carnality creep into the thoughts. The Rhemists would derive this custom of the Mass from *Rom. 16. 16*: but Paul did not kiss the bread nor the Altar, nor did he command it as a part or pendicle of the Mass. As it is a fashion among us, for men meeting or parting with friends to shake hands; so it was among the Jews, and some other Nations, as appears by many places in both Testaments, for men to kiss men, which custom Christians did also observe; and therefore the Apostle doth moderate that custom, that it should be with holiness; and as that secular custom did wear out of use, so it ceased also in the Church. 32. *Beletb* hath the words, Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world; and not the words following; but also saith, these be said thrice, to wit, twice with, Have mercy upon us; once with, Give us peace; but neither of the two when it is a Mass for the dead; but only with, Give them rest. Raban and others before him knew not this distinction. 33. The lawfull use of the Lord's Supper, is the remembrance of his death to the salvation of the believing receiver. But afterwards it was provided, that if any theft was committed in a Monastery, and the Monks were suspected; then the Abbot should say a Mass, and all the Monks should communicate, and thereby declare that they were innocent. *Gratian. caus. 2. qu. 5. cap. Sape contingit*, sheweth that Pope Nicolaus ordained these words to be said unto each one of them, The body of the Lord be unto thy trial. This Decree was abrogate by contrary Decrees of Popes; because the body of Christ should not be given unto him who is suspected of a crime: *Tho. Aquin. pag. 3. qu. 80. ar. 6 ad 3.* Nevertheless it is turned to worse, for in all their Treasons and Plots either against Nations or Church, they make the Sacrament to be the bond of their bloody intentions. 34. *Beletb* saith, this is the last part of the Mass, called The Thanksgiving; and beginneth at the Communion, which is also called *Completo*. But I find no words of Thanksgiving here; so thankfulness is worn out of use. 35. Some say, the blessing was ordained by Pope Leo the I; but it is more ancient to bless the people at their dismissal. 36. *Poly. Virgil. de invent. rer. lib. 4. cap. 11.* saith, The saying of *Ite, Missa est*, is from a custom of the Priests of Isis. 37. He hath no mention of what was done with the remainders of the elements. *Bellarmin. de Euchar. lib. 4. cap. 4.* sheweth out of Justine, that the Deacons were wont to carry the Eucharist unto the sick, or them who could not come to the publick meetings: And *cap. 5.* The reliques was given unto children to be eaten by them; because they thought not the element to be holy but in use. But now they keep their Osty for adoration

A change in the words, Agnus, &c.

The use of communicating.

Ite, Missa est.

What was done with the remainder.

ration and pompous proceſſion, which cuſtom is contrary unto the Inſtitution, as *Caffander* proves by many teſtimonies in *Liturgic. cap. 30. 11*. This was the form of Gregory's Maſs, and all that was in the daies of Raban, far different from the firſt Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper; but ſince that time it is as far changed, even ſo far that if Raban were alive, and could ſay Maſs no better, he would be called an ignorant Curat. It hath indeed more ſhew and pomp now then before; but as a painted Image hath more accoutrement then the man hath, yet it hath no life in it; ſo the additions and changes make it more glorious to the eye of a natural man, but the livelineſs and ſpirituality of it is gone. For at firſt was but one ſort of celebrating, but now they have a publick form, and a private, and a ſolitary, one for Sundays, another for Week daies, another for Feaſt daies, another for Faſts, &c. 2. The people underſtood all, and had their part in praying and ſinging; but now the Prieſt doth all in an unknown language, except that a Deacon or Clark ſay ſome few words. 3. As ſome exhortations and prayers are now put away (whereof I have now noted ſome) ſo many other things are added: As firſt the *Introitus* muſt be ſung twice on ſome daies, and thrice on other daies. 2. There is a *Tractus* which muſt be ſung with long or ſlow pronounciation. 3. There be a number of Collects. 4. The Prieſt muſt turn ſometimes to the North, ſometimes to the Eaſt, and ſometimes his face towards the people, and ſometimes his back towards them; neither muſt his turning be in the ſame place, but ſometimes at the North end of the Altar, and ſometimes at the middle on the Weſt ſide; ſometimes he muſt ſtand ſtreight up, ſometimes bow or cringe, and ſometimes on his knees; ſometimes waſh his hands in time of the Maſs, he muſt have his Maſs cloaths. *Poly, Virgil. de invent. rer. lib. 6. cap. 12.* ſaith, Pope Stephen did firſt ordain them in imitation of the Jewiſh Prieſts; for from the beginning (ſaith he) Prieſts going about Divine Service did put nothing above their cloaths, but did ſtudy rather to deck themſelves with the virtues of the mind, and caſt off vices. But here they do exceed the Levitical Prieſts, ſince thoſe had but ſix ſeveral pieces, as we ſee in *Exod. 28. 4*; but now they have nine ſeveral pieces, and the Biſhops muſt have ſeven more. The Prieſt muſt ſtretch forth his hands and arms, ſometimes liſt up his hands and cymo Heaven; then he muſt join his hands, and ſometimes cauſe his thumb touch his fore-finger; ſometimes rub his fingers, and waſh his hands; he muſt ſalute the people ſeven times, to wit, five times when he turns unto them, and twice when he turns not; he muſt have his wax candles, and incenſe; he muſt be ſprinkled with incenſe by the Deacon, and the Acolyte muſt beſprinkle the Chorifters, beginning at the Rector. The Prieſt muſt kiſs the Altar, the Platter, and the Book, and caſt Incenſe on the Sacrifice. *Anſelm* in his Treatiſe unto *Waltram*, ſheweth diversity of croſſing the elements at that time, ſome croſſing them one way, and ſome another way. *Thom. Aquin. par. 3. qu. 83. art. 5 ad 3.* ſheweth, that the Prieſt muſt make 29 croſſes, to wit, three when he ſaith, *Hec dona, hæc munera, hæc ſancta*; three when he ſaith, *benedictam, aſcriptam, ratam*; two when he ſaith, *ut nobis corpus & ſanguis*; one when the bread is conſecrated; another when the wine is conſecrated, at the word *benedixit*; five when he ſaith, *hoſtiam puram, hoſtiam ſanctam, hoſtiam immaculatam, panem ſanctum, & calicem ſalutis*; three when he ſaith, *corpus & ſanguinem ſumpſerimus*; three when he ſaith, *ſanctificas, vivificas, benedixis*; three when he ſaith, *per ipſum, cum ipſo & in ipſo*; two immediately after the cup; and three when he ſaith, *pax domini*. But the Miſſal hath them now another way, to wit, he muſt croſs both the bread and wine together three times, and again them both three times, then them apart once, and again them both apart once, and again

thrice and once, and again once and twice; signing himself between them; so oft with his hand; and then he must sign the chalice with the host; and then sign himself with the Platter, and once with the chalice; and all these in saying the Canon and *Communio*, and besides a hundred more; as when he comes at first unto the Altar, he must make a Cross on his face, and say, *In nomine Patris, Filii, & S. S.* then he blesteth the incense with the same words; then he besprinkleth both the horns of the Altar, &c. Many other such ceremonies have they, which if they be looked upon, by one who knows not what signification they put upon them, they are like a Stage-play. Though they give a signification unto every one of these ceremonies, yet so uncertainly, that one expoundeth them one way, and another expounds them another way; and the most that any of them saith, is, This rite may signifie this thing. So uncertain are things of religion when we stray from the bounds of Scripture. If we consider the authority of them, they are will-worship and devises of men, and brought into the Church some by one way, and some by another; some sooner and some later, and for the most part in conformity unto Jews or Heathens, as may be seen in *Poly. Virgil. de invent. rer.* If we consider the number of them, though Augustine speaking of the Sacraments said, the signs of Christians are fewer then the signs or rites of the Jews; even in number fewest, and in signification most clear; yet now they are more a great deal then the Jewish, as that one particular of the Vesture sheweth; and in signification both obscure and uncertain, and which is worse; whereas God would have the people then to be instructed by those rites (which the Apostle, under the Gospel, calleth beggarly rudiments) and now he would have his people informed in a more open and plain way, they hold the people in ignorance, and under more beggarly rites; as that the Bishop must have seven pieces of Vesture more then the Priest, to signifie the seven gifts of the spirit, wherein he should excel the Priest; the *Tractus* must be sung with a slow pronounciation, to signifie the miseries of this life; the *Corporale* signifieth Christ's body wrapped in a linnen cloath, &c. What need is there of such shadows or representations? Hath a Bishop need to learn from his slippers and his coat what manner of man he should be? Is the slow singing at one time more then at another, a ready way to teach people the miseries on earth? And which is worse then any of these, if we consider the main aim and doctrine of the Mass, it is derogatory to the sufficiency of Christ's Sacrifice; for they teach and contend, that every day they sacrifice unto God the Father the very flesh and blood of Christ, for the forgiveness of sins of all which offer, and for whom they offer, either quick or dead. But this is a cunning fallshood contrary to Scriptures, injurious to Christ, abominable to God, offensive unto men, and monstrous in the Church, as hath been proved by many. But my main purpose is, to shew the changes of the Mass from time to time. But they will say, Ceremonies are variable, and they have retained unchangeably, the main part of Gregory's Missal, which is the Canon. I reply unto the first, it is true Ceremonies are variable; but first they should not be multiplied, as the Roman Church doth. 2. The Ceremonies should be changed for the edification of the Church; but their changes are contrary, for some part that was read so that the people might hear and understand, is now read so that the people shall not hear what it is; and many ceremonies do require much time, ere the people can know what they do signifie; whereas they might learn the same things sooner, if they were informed plainly and directly; and many ceremonies are so dark, that even Priests know not what they do signifie. Next, whereas they say they retain the Canon of the Mass: First, have they not put away some parts of Gregory's Missal,

Missal, and added far more? And doth not such addition and abolishing make up a great change? 2. Though we stand not for maintaining the Canon, as being not the work of Christ, nor of his Apostles; as Gregory confesseth *lib. 7. ind. 2. Epist. 63*; but either his own, or (as he seemeth to say there) of one *Scholasticus*; yet it is the mighty providence of God for the conviction of the Romish Church, that the Canon is continued: For they hold first, That in the Mass is a true, singular and proper sacrifice. 2. That the Bread and Wine are transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of Christ. 3. That the People should not partake of the Wine. 4. That men attain salvation, or eternal life, by merit of their works: but all these are clearly confuted by the words of that Canon. First, concerning the Sacrifice, it saith, a little from the beginning, *Petimus uti accepta habeas & benedicas hac dona, hac munera, hac sancta sacrificia illibata*. Here observe first, that the words are in the plural number, gifts, sacrifices: But Christ is not many gifts, nor many sacrifices, he is one gift *Ioh. 4. 10.* and one sacrifice *Heb. 9. 20. & 10. 10.* therefore Christ is not signified by these words. 2. The Canon saith, We pray that thou wouldest accept and bless these gifts: Should we think that Gregory would have men to pray for the acceptation of Christ, and for a blessing unto him, who is the dearly beloved of the Father eternally? I beleeve, Gregory did not understand the words so: And after the words which are called The Consecration, it is said, *Supra qua propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, & accepta habere, &c.* that is, On which be pleased to look with a favourable and gracious countenance, and accept them as thou were pleased to accept the gifts of thy servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham; and the holy sacrifice and immaculate hosty, which thy High-Priest Melchisedek offered unto thee. Whether shall we believe, that the offerings and sacrifices of Abel, Abraham and Melchisedek were acceptable unto God through Christ; or that they were the patterns of accepting the sacrifice of Christ? I beleeve certainly, that Gregory did not think the first, but the second; and so, that he would have Believers to pray for the acceptation of their offerings in and through Christ; and so it is said in the beginning of the Canon, Most gracious Father we humbly beseech thee, for Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord's sake; and we pray, that thou wouldest accept... these gifts. Moreover in the same Canon it is said, *Hanc oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed & cunctae familiae tuae, quaesumus domine ut placatus accipias, i. e.* O Lord we beseech thee that thou, being pacified, wouldest accept this oblation of our sacrifice [or of us thy servants] and of all thy family. Who can think that Gregory did mean, by these words, the oblation of Christ? Again it is said, *Quam oblationem tu Deus omnipotens, &c. i. e.* Which oblation, O thou Almighty, we beseech thee, that thou wouldest be pleased to make, in all respects, blessed, ascribed, ratified, reasonable and acceptable. Can these words be meant of the offering of Christ, and not rather of the offering of the people? And so it may be said of these words, We offer unto thy excellent Majesty, of thy gifts, and of what thou hast given. And these be all the words, at least the greatest part of the Canon, concerning a sacrifice; and since these be not understood of a proper and singular sacrifice, certainly in the Mass no true and proper sacrifice is offered. But they will say, the words are, *Hac sancta sacrificia illibata*, which cannot be understood of the offerings of the people; and therefore must be understood of Christ's sacrifice. Answer: First, for the word *sancta*, it may be understood of the peoples offerings, in respect of dedication, as well as the sacrifice of Melchisedek is called holy and immaculate hosty; and the more, if we take them with the words preceding, We beseech thee humbly for Christ's sake, that thou

Out of the Canon is confuted 1 The doctrine of the sacrifice.

2. Transubstantiation.

wouldest accept and bleſs theſe holy oblations. As for the word *illibata*, *Alwin* (who was the Teacher of Raban, as ſome write) *de Divin. Offic.* ſaith, *Illibata dicuntur, id eſt, non praguſtata, id eſt, illibata* is not as yet taſted, but abiding whole. Yea and in the ſame place he ſaith, By *dona, munera & ſacrificia*, one and the ſame thing is commended with ſeveral names; and what is offered upon the Altar is called *munera*, as the Lord ſaith, If thou offer thy gift. It is clear that he underſtood the gifts of the people; and conſequently not a ſingular and proper ſacrifice. I know alſo, that *Illibata* ſignifieth not offered; and that ſignification doth more confirm what I have ſaid. Secondly, concerning Transubſtantiation; the Canon ſaith, *Quam oblationem tu Deus ... benediſtam. ... facere digneris, ut nobis corpus & ſanguis fiat dilectiſſimi Filii tui Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti*. Here they ſay, are both the ſacrifice and tranſubſtantiation. But firſt, If all theſe words be conſidered together, it is clear that (as I ſaid) the words, *Quam oblationem benediſtam, ratam, aſcriptam, rationabilem acceptabilemque*, are not meant of the body of Chriſt; becauſe it is craved that the oblation may be bleſſed ... to the end, it may be the body and blood of Chriſt; for what we crave that it may be made the body, is not as yet the body. 2. I truſt none is ſo ignorant, to think that the word *ſiat* doth neceſſarily ſignifie to be made a ſacrifice, and to be tranſubſtantiated; and if that word can, in that place, admit another ſignification, it proves not either of the two, and far leſs both; and ſo we ſee how great a work is grounded upon the uncertainty of the ſignification of one word. I have already twice ſhewed how Raban expoundeth the word for a ſign, figure, ſeal and representation; and here I add the words of Auguſtine *Epift. 23. ad Bonifa*. Chriſt was once ſacrificed in himſelf, and is every day ſacrificed unto people in the Sacrament; neither is it falſely ſaid, that he is ſacrificed, for Sacraments have a ſimilitude of the things whereof they are Sacraments; and for this ſimilitude, they oſt have the names of the very things; as in a certain mannner, the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, is called the body of Chriſt; and the Sacrament of Chriſt's blood, is called his blood. So ſay Auguſtine; and I could add the like teſtimonies of other Ancients, but I ſaid, I would prove it from the words of the Canon: Then obſerve firſt in the words immediately following, it is ſaid, *Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem*. 2. After the conſecration, *Offerimus præclara Majeſtati tua ex donis tuis ac datis hoſtiam puram. ... panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ & calicem ſalutis perpetuæ, ſupra qua propiti ac ſereno vultu reſpicere digneris, &c.* 3. When the Prieſt takes the hoſty into his hands, before he communicateth, he is ordered to pray in this manner, *Corporis & ſanguinis tui Domine Ieſu Chriſte, Sacramentum, quod licet indignus accipio, not ſit mihi iudicio & condemnationi, ſed tua proſit pietate corporis mei & animæ ſaluti*. 4. When he takes the Cup, he is ordered to ſay, *Gratias tibi ago, Domine Sancte Pater omnipotens. ... & precor ut hoc Sacramentum ſalutis noſtræ, quod ſumpſi indignus peccator, non veniat mihi ad iudicium neque ad condemnationem*. Whence we ſee, that both before the conſecration (as they ſpeak) and after the conſecration, that which is received is called Bread and the Cup, out of what the people offereth from what God had given them; and it is prayed, that God would look graciouſly on theſe things, even on that Bread and Cup, as he was pleaſed to look on the offering of Abel; and that Bread and Cup is, two ſeveral times, called the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and the Sacrament of our ſalvation. Wherefore certainly, according to the Canon, the Bread is ſtill Bread, and the Sacrament of Chriſt's body, and the Sacrament of our ſalvation; and it is not tranſubſtantiated into Chriſt's body. But ſaith the Jeſuit *Io. Hart*, againſt *Io. Reynolds*, yea the

Bread and Cup do *tropologicè* signifie the very Body and Blood of Christ. I answer, This is a begging of the question; for we hold, that there is a trope or figure in the words of Christ, This is my body; which they deny: And why should that be denied, more than to be affirmed in the words of the Canon; and the rather, that in the same Canon, and in the prayers after consecration, the Bread and Cup are expressly called the Sacrament of Christ's body, and the Sacrament of our salvation? A Sacrament is not the thing signified, but a sign and seal of it; and therefore according to the Canon, there is no transubstantiation of the Bread and Wine. Thirdly, Concerning the Communicants, it is to be observed, that the Canon is conceived in form of a Prayer, and in the name of the People; and therefore, by the way, I say, it should be pronounced so, that the people may hear and pray in the mean time; but it is said now with a low voice, lest the people hear and understand. But to the purpose; in the Canon it is said, *Supplices te rogamus, Omnipotens Deus, ... ut quotquot ex hac Altaris participatione sacro sanctum Filii tui corpus & sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione Cælesti & gratia repleamur, i. e.* We humbly pray thee, Almighty God, that so many of us as shall, in partaking of the Altar, receive the holy body and blood of thy Son, may be filled with all Heavenly blessing and grace. Hence it is apparent, that they who receive the one element, should also receive the other, since they are conjoined in the Canon. And not any Papist can deny, that the custom was otherwise at that time, and some hundred years thereafter. Fourthly, Concerning the merits of men, it is true they pray, after the *Agnus Dei* is sung, in these words, *Hac sacro sancta commixtio corporis & sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, fiat mihi omnibusque sumentibus salus mentis & corporis, & ad vitam æternam, promerendam & capefcentam preparatio salutaris, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.* But whether the word *capefcentam* doth not declare the other word *promerendam* to be taken there improperly; or if the word *promerendam* should be taken properly for deserving, let it be judged by the words of the Canon; where it is said expressly, *Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam & societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis & Martyribus & cum omnibus sanctis tuis, intra quorum nos consortium non estimat meriti, sed veniæ quesimus largitor admitte per Christum Dominum nostrum,* that is, We beseech thee, that thou wouldest be pleased to give freely unto us sinners, thy servants; hoping in the multitude of thy compassions, some part and fellowship with thy holy Apostles and Martyrs, and with all thy Saints, into whose society, we beseech, admit us; thou not reckoning our deserving, but grant us pardon, for Christ our Lord's sake. Who, weighing these words seriously, can imagine, that the first contriver of the Canon could plead for salvation by his own merits or deservings? Certainly, these words of the Canon do renounce all our merit, and teach us to rely upon the mercy of God for Christ's sake. And therefore, unless the first prayer be contrary unto the Canon, the word *promerendam* is declared by *capefcentam*, that is, they pray that the Communion may be a saving preparation for attaining eternal life. And hereby we may learn how to expound that word *mereamur* in many passages of the Ancients, as I have touched before. I conclude this point, seeing the Canon hath nothing of proper sacrifice in it, nor of transubstantiation, and ordereth that they who receive the bread should also receive the cup, and it takes away the merit of mens work; it is the mighty providence of God, for the conviction of the Romish Church, that the Canon continueth, when so many changes have been made in the Missal; and also it is a singular (I will not say prudence or wisdom, but) policy of the Bi-

3. The denying of the Wine unto the People.

4. Mens meriti.

*A notable
mistake*

shops and Priests, that they will not pronounce the Canon so, that the people may know and understand it; lest the people know those errors which are so plainly contrary unto the Canon. I have also observed another place and change in a prayer after the *Pax*; there is a prayer in these words, O God, Father, fountain and original of all goodness, who being moved in mercy, wouldest that thy only begotten Son, should for us descend into the lowest part of the world, and assume flesh, whom unworthy I hold here in my hands, I adore thee, I glorifie thee, and I praise thee with my whole mind, and intention of my heart; and I pray that thou wouldest not forsake thy servants, but forgive us our sins, that we may be able to serve Thee, the only true and living God, with a pure heart and chaste body, for the same Christ our Lord's sake. We see this prayer is directed, from the beginning to the end, unto God the Father, and so have the first contrivers ordered it. But now in the Missal is a division, and between the words, I hold in my hands, and, I adore thee, &c. the rubrick saith, *Hic inclinatus sacerdos ad hostiam, dicens, Te adoro, te glorifico, &c.* as if the words preceding were only directed unto the Father, and the words following were directed unto the host; and so they adore, glorifie, and praise the host, as the only living and true God. Now who hath made this change, and when particularly it was changed; I think it can as hardly be pointed, as who did sow the Tares amongst the Wheat; but every one may see that an abominable change is made there. Raban knew not this rubrick and adoration, nor *Io. Beletb*; neither is any mention of it, in any of the forms of Mass recorded by *Cassander*.

*The Bible
and Worship
in vulgar
language.*

12. Methodius, a Bishop of Moravia Juliametana, went with one Cyril into Poland, in the daies of Lewis the Godly, and converted many of the *Sclavi* unto Christianity. He found the Vandal Letters, and translated the Scriptures into that language; and in their Liturgy they used the vulgar language: therefore he was summoned to Rome; he went, and defended himself by the testimony of Paul, *Rom. 14.* Every tongue shall confess unto the Lord; and he did shew the inconvenience of speaking in an unknown language among these new Profelytes. So Pope Nicolaus granteth liberty unto the Slaves and Polonians to use their own language. When he returned from Rome, he dealt with others in Dalmatia and Illyricum to put away the Latine, and serve God in their vulgar language. The Bishops and Priests were so offended with him, that he was constrained to return into Moravia, where he died, *Catol. test. ver. lib. 9.*

*Against the
sacred single
life of the
Clergy.*

13. Huldricus or Uulrik (usually called Saint Ulrik) Bishop of Augusta Vindelico. did write unto Pope Nicolaus the I, against the Decree for single life of Priests. After a modest and grave Preface, he saith; Since there are very many proofs both in the Old and New-Testament; let it not, I beseech, be grievous unto thy Father-hood, that a few, of many, be inserted into this page. The Lord in the old Law ordained marriage unto the Priests, which he is never read to have forbidden again. But in the Gospel he saith... because of fornication, let every man have his own wife. The hypocrites say falsely, this belongeth especially to Laicks; and they themselves, although entred into the Holy Orders, spare not to abuse other mens wives. After other testimonies of the Scriptures, he citeth unto this purpose, some testimonies out of *Regula Clericor.* and out of *Augustine*; out of *Tripartita Historia*, he citeth the History of *Paphnutius* in the Council of Nice; then he bringeth the practice of Pope Gregory the I, who once condemned marriage of Priests, and when he saw so many heads of babes, even more then 6000, which were taken out of his pond, he condemned his own Decree, and said; It is better to marry, then to give occasion of murder. And then

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Ulrik inferreth, If they had read such an accident as I have, I beleevē they would not (possibly) judge so rashly . . . Unto so fond, filthy suggestion of this command, (I will not say counsel) they have further said, It is more honest to have dealing with many women secretly, then openly in the sight and knowledge of men to be knit with one. Which surely they would not say, if they were of him or in him, who said, *Wo to you Pharisees hypocrites, who do all things to be seen of men, &c.* The late Romanists have great spight against this Epistle, and call it a Lutheran fiction; their *Judices expurgatorii* have ordained that it shall not be Printed again; and they have forged arguments against it from the name of the Authour, and the Age wherein he lived, &c. But the more they study to darken it, it is the more cleared; as may be seen in the Treatise of Bishop Hall, *The honour of the married Clergy, lib. 3. sect. 2, 3, 4.* One proof of it, is, that *Aeneas Sylvius de morib. German.* speaking of Ausburg, saith, Udalrik is the Saint of this Title, who did reprove the Pope concerning Concubines. So he nameth lawfull wives.

14. Gunther Bishop of Colen, and Thietgaud Bishop of Trevers, went with a Commission from their Nation, unto Pope Nicolaus; and were hardly dealt with, because they freely delivered the grievances of their Nation. They escaped with their lives, and did write back complaining of the wrongs which he had done them; and then they say, The eternal Emperour hath furnished his Empress and Spouse with spiritual and everlasting stuff; and beautified her not with frail or perishing dowry . . . Which benefits thou as a briggard interceptest, and takest from the Church of God, and transferrest unto thee; thou art a Wolf unto the Sheep, and thou killest the living; thou drawest the strong from above, and by thy wonders thou thrustest down to Hell. . . thou bearest the person of an High-Priest, but plaicst the Tyrant; under the Coat of a Shepherd, we find thee to be a Wolf; thou art called a Father, but falsely, and thou shewest thy self a Judas by thy deeds; when thou callest thy self the servant of servants, thou contendest to be Lord of Lords; and according to the discipline of Christ our Saviour, thou art the lowest of all the Servants of God's Church, but in ambition thou runnest headlong; whatsoever pleaseth thee, is lawfull; and thou art become a drone to Christians. [What remains but to call him the Antichrist, whom the Romanists call the third Elias?] They conclude; For these causes we, with our brethren and colleagues, will neither stand at thy command, nor acknowledge thy voice; neither do we fear thy Bulls and Thunders, &c. Of his Primacy they say, The Holy Ghost is the Authour of all Churches, how far soever they be separated thorow the World; the City of our God, whose Citizens we are, belongeth to the four airts or corners of Heaven; it is larger then the City which the holy Prophets have called Babylon, because she makes her god-head equal unto the Heaven; and braggeth that she is eternal, as if she were God having all wisdom; and glorieth that she neither erreth, nor can erre. *Ph. Morn. in Myster. pag. 175.* Where also is another Epistle written unto the same Pope, drawn out of the French Annals: it concludeth thus; We will in no way receive thy wicked sentence, which is far from the zeal of uprightness, unjust, unteasonable, and contrary to the Canonical laws; yea, with all the Synod of our brethren, we despise and condemn it as unlawfull, accursed, and fondly pronounced; and truly we will not communicate with thee, who art a favourer and pertaker with accursed persons, and despisers of holy religion; we are content with the communion of the whole Church, and society of brethren, above whom thou exaltest thy self, whom thou despisest, and from whom thou separatest thy self by thy swelling pride: Now we who have experience of thy craft and deceit, and also know thy

Bishops call
the Pope a
Wolf, &c.

disdain and swelling dominion, we yeeld nothing, nothing at all unto thee nor thy pride; whereby thou indeavourest to overwhelm us all at the pleasure of our enemies, whom thou favourest; and thou shalt know that we are not thy Clarks, as thou vauntest of thy self; but if thy pride would suffer thee, thou shouldest acknowledge us thy brethren and fellow Bishops. Hence it appeareth, that they begun by experience to smell out, where the Antichrist or the man of pride was.

A lamentation for the Church in her pretended head; and remedy petitioned from Kings.

15. When the controversie was between Charls the Bald, and the two Kings of Germany, for the division of Lorain, or (as *Ph. Morn.* speaks) for marches, Luithpert Bishop of Mentz, was so respected for his gifts of prudence and holiness, that the Kings did refer the deciding of the controversie unto him. When the Pope did begin to usurp more and more upon the Bishops of Germany, Luithpert writ unto King Lewis thus; The present cause permits me not to be silent any longer, which if I forsake, I cannot be excusable before our Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom it appertains; and I should be convict of my promise made unto your Majesty, if I sitting in the watch, wherein I am set, do see danger coming on you, and with idle and unfaithfull silence I dissemble, and becoming sloathfull I will seem an hireling rather than a Shepherd of the Church, the Pastoral care of which, unworthy I have taken upon me. The dignity of the Church is grievously shaken and defaced in the Seat of Saint Peter, even so that by a hid persecution the like hath not been heard; not by Infidels or them who know not the Lord, but by them (ô how to be bewailed!) who should be guides and governours of the Church; they endeavour to advance the doctrine of man above the word of God; and the malady of the head, if it be not prevented by timely and wholesom medicine, must needs spread through the members. Ye know the danger of God's people, which is fearfully approaching; neither can ye be ignorant, that the Pastours (at which the elements do tremble) who should provide for the safety of the weak, have left the path-way, and themselves run into perdition, and they open a ditch to so many as follow them. Wherefore I exhort your wisdom, who lovest truth and righteousness, that according to the wisdom given unto you from above, ye would deal with them which know the truth and love righteousness, what way the scandals of dissension may be removed, which the sower of Tares, by his craft, ceaseth not to spread; and that peace and long wished for unity, may be restored unto the Church; and the help of watchfulness may be had in time, lest foolish negligence give way unto the wounds; for all the body of the Church is not yet wounded, although the head be smitten with sores, and several members seem to be diseased; and therefore the infirm must be helped (if they will accept of cure) by those which are known to be whole and sound; or they must be cut off, according to the command of our Physician, lest the whole body perish. Wherefore it seemeth unto me both necessary and expedient, that the religious Prince Charls, your brother, being time requested unto this purpose, that as well he, as the Priests of his Kingdom, may meet with you and your Bishops, and may be partners of the same work with you; that when ye shall, by the help of God, return peaceably from your intended journey, with one consent and common endeavour, by the grace of God, ye may restore peace and concord unto the Catholick and Apostolical Church, according to orthodox doctrine. *Ph. Morn. in Assester. pag. 162.* Observe here the estate of the Church at that time; and that when the head is diseased, the body cannot be readily cured, but by common authority of Princes and Synods.

16. Hincmar (of whom I have made mention in Pope Nicolaus) was many years Arch-Bishop of Rhemes; upon several occasions he did solicit and flatter the Popes, and at other times did practice and write against them; as is to be seen in *Baron. Annal. tom. 9.* and the Cardinal doth accordingly allow and disallow him. In one of his Epistles he professeth, that he had received a Palle from Pope Leo the IV, not as a badge of subjection; and he avoweth plainly, that in doubtfull causes the Provincial Bishops should ask counsel from the Arch-Bishop, neither should a Bishop go unto the Pope, untill he advertize and confer with the Arch-Bishop, neither needeth the Arch-Bishop await for judgment from the See of Rome, so far as he hath certain decrees of Canons, Laws and Councils. And he did forbid his Nephew Hincmar to obey the Pope's citation, when he summoned him to Rome. In an Epistle to Pope Hadrian the II, he quoteth a testimony of Pope Leo the I, that authority is derived from Peter, and the other Apostles, unto all the Bishops of the Church; for the privilege of Saint Peter is, wheresoever according to his equity justice is done, no less in Rhemes then in Rome, and no more in Rome then in Rhemes, but is alike unto all every where, according as Bishops more or less discharge their office. And he expounds these words, *Thou art Peter ...* as Augustine doth in *Ser. 13. de verb. Dom.* I will build my Church upon that firm and solid confession which thou hast confessed. *Ph. Moyn. in Myster.* in an Epistle to Hincmar Bishop of Laudun, saith, The seventh general Council so called by the Greeks (indeed a wicked Council) concerning Images, which some would have broken into pieces, and some would have to be worshipped, was kept not long before my time by a number of Bishops gathered together at Nice; the Acts thereof the Bishop of Rome did send into Francia, in the Reign of Charls the Great (the See Apostolick willing it to be so) a Synod was held in Germany by the convocation of the same Emperour, and there by the path-way of Scriptures, and the tradition of the Fathers, the false Council of the Greeks was confuted and utterly rejected; of whose confutation there was a good big volumn sent from Charls, by some Bishops, unto Rome, which in my young years I did read in the Palace. This testimony is of more credit then a hundred late Writers, who deny that Synod at Frankford, or that a Synod under Charls did condemn the second Synod at Nice. Thereafter in that Epistle he saith, We should believe that the motion of repentance is from God, as the Apostle saith, *If God will give them repentance* To have a Church is not to have a primacy in Divine things; for then all rulers of the Church should have primacy; all those wicked men rule not the Church, who seem to be within; neither is it denied but they give baptism. In the same Epistle, he rebuketh his Nephew for denying baptism unto Infants, *Catol. test. ver. lib. 9.*

The power of
Provincial
Bishops.

Rome and
Rhemes com-
pared.

17. At that time was much to do in the doctrine of Predestination. Gotteschalk (by birth a Frank or Belgik, as *Aventin. lib. 4. Annal. Boior.* calleth him) was ordained a Priest by Rigbold *chorepiscopus*, in the vacancy of the See of Rhemes. The now named Hincmar, in an Epistle unto the Church of Lions (which is in *Biblioth. Sixt. Senen. part. 1. pag. 1053. edit. Colon.*) writes that he held these five Articles: First, God, before all ages, and ere he made any thing, even from the beginning, did predestinate unto the Kingdom whom he would, and did predestinate unto destruction whom he would. 2. They who are predestinate unto destruction cannot be saved, and who are predestinate unto the Kingdom cannot perish. 3. God willeth not that all men be saved, but only them who be saved; and whereas the Apostle saith, *who willeth that all men be saved*, he meaneth only all them who shall be saved. 4. Christ came not to save all men, nor did he suffer for all men; but

The five Ar-
ticles of Got-
teschalk,

are defended
and opposed,

and be con-
demned.
The Articles
at Carissiac,

are censured
by the Church
of Lions
Can. I.

only for them who shall be saved by the mystery of his Passion. 5. Since the first man fell of his free will, none of us can use free-will to do good, but only to do evil. Remigius, Bishop of Lions, in the name of the Church of Lions, defended these five Articles, as is to be seen *loc. cit.* Whereupon Hincmar writ unto Pope Nicolaus (as *Baron. Annal. ad An. 948* relates) against Gottschalk, and calleth these Articles the heresie of the *Predestinations*, which was overthrown in Affrick; and thereafter in France by authority of Pope Celestine, and by the care and vigilancy of Prosper. When Gottschalk returned from Italy, Raban Bishop of Mentz, summoned him into a Synod; and when he could not persuade him to change his mind, he did write unto Hincmar and others, and did oppugn some conclusions which he had wrested from these five Articles. Remigius writes again, shewing that all the arguments of Raban did not touch the Articles, as it is in the above-named Bibliotheca. Then Hincmar summoned Gottschalk unto a Synod of 12 Bishops, and some Priests and Abbots, in Carissiac on Isara, where four Articles were enacted against him; he was condemned of heresie and contumacy; he was whipped with rods and cast in prison. The Church of Lions, after sight of these four Articles, sent forth their censure of them, both which are in *Biblioth. cit. pag. 1082*. The Canons are these: First, God Almighty made man without sin, upright, with free will, and set him in Paradise, whom he would to abide in the holiness of righteousness. 2. Man using ill his free-will, did sin and fall, and became the mass of perdition of mankind; but the good and just God did chuse of the same mass of perdition, according to his foreknowledge, whom by his grace he did predestinate to life, and prepared life eternal for them. 3. But others whom in the judgement of righteousness, he left in the mass of perdition, he foreknew them to perish, but he did not predestinate that they should perish; yet because he is just, he did predestinate everlasting punishment unto them; and therefore we say, there is but one predestination of God, which concerneth the gift of grace or the rendring of righteousness. *Can. II.* In the first man we have lost the freedom of will, which we have received by Christ; and we have free will unto good, being prevented and helped by grace; and we have free will unto evil, being forsaken of grace; and we have free-will, because it is freed by grace, and by grace healed from corruption. *Can. III.* God will have all men, without exception, to be saved, although all men be not saved; and that some are saved, it is the gift of him who saveth; and that some perish, it is the merit of them who perish. *Can. IV.* Our Lord Jesus Christ, as there was not, is, nor shall be any man, whose nature is not assumed in him; so there was, is, and shall be no man for whom he did not die, although all be not redeemed by the mystery of his Passion; it concerneth not the greatness and copiousness of the price, but it concerneth the part of unbelievers, and them who beleeve not with that faith which worketh by love; for the cup of man's salvation, which was made through human infirmity and divine vertue, hath in it self that it may be profitable unto all; but if it be not drunken, it cureth not. Followeth the sum of the censure of the Church of Lions: in the first part of the first Canon is no mention of the grace of God (without which no rational creature ever could, or now can, or shall be able to be, or abide, or persist in righteousness and holiness) as if man had been so set in Paradise, that by his free will only he could have continued in holiness, according to the Pelagian error. In the second part they took it ill, that although it be said, The elect are saved by the grace of God, and life eternal is prepared for those Elect; yet it is said, that God hath chosen those Elect, according to his foreknowledge, without mention of grace; as if it were grace that the Elect attain life; and grace that life is prepared

pared for them; and it were not grace, but foreknowledge that they are chosen, which is manifestly contrary to the Catholick faith; because God in chusing them whom he hath predestinate, foreknew not their merits so, as that therefore he hath chosen them, or because he fore-saw that of themselves they would be good; but the very election, that of the mass of perdition they were made the vessels of mercy, without any good merit; it was only grace by which they were severed from the children of perdition; for the Apostle diligently commends unto us this election not of merits but of grace, whereby not the good works of any were foreknown, but only divine mercy was prepared. *Rom. 9*, For the children being yet not born, nor having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to the election might stand, not of works, but of him who calleth; and *2 Tim. 1*. according to his own purpose and grace which was given unto us in Christ . . . In the third part they do note that the truth is denied, and also confirmed by the testimony even of them who deny it; while they say, that God in his just judgement hath forsaken others, that is, the reprobates in the mass of perdition; and that he did not predestinate, but only foreknew that they would perish: for how foreknew he only, and did not predestinate that which by their own confession he did decree in just judgement? Why dare man accept in part, and deny in part the true and perfect predestination of the just judgement of God, whereby he, in his eternal counsel, did fore-ordain the righteous unto life, and the unrighteous unto punishment? How hath he foreknown only, and not also fore-ordained what by their confession he hath discerned in just judgement? As if the Almighty God hath both fore-known and fore-ordained, what in his just judgment he was to do unto the elect; but did foresee and not fore-ordain, what he was to do in the same just judgment concerning the reprobate; seeing on both sides is the same judgement and the same righteousness, whereby reward is given unto the righteous, and punishment unto the unrighteous; for if this predestination were violent or unjust or prejudicial unto any, it should no way be beleevd of him, in whom is no iniquity. And seeing most manifestly it is not violent, (because it compelleth no man to be evil,) nor unjust (because it punisheth them only, which through their own fault continue in evil,) nor prejudicial (because it pre-judgeth not any, as if through his sentence, and not their own merit, they do perish;) what is blamed where only equity and righteousness is found? Truly that doth Divine predestination towards men, which Divine prescience also doth; he foreknew that they would be evil, but he did not by his fore-knowledge compel them to be evil; he did predestinate them to be punished who did continue in evil, nor yet did he compel them by that predestination, that they were or did continue evil. And this is his equity, that who willingly continue in evil, should be unwillingly punished These things have we said, to the end, that if any thing be spoken unadvisedly upon occasion of obscure doctrine, or a perplexed question, it should not be maintained contentiously, or by synodical authority; but rather it may be as soon amended by acknowledging Divine truth. Of *Can. 11*. they complain, that it is defined confusedly, obscurely, and too briefly; and they oppose six Aphorisms out of an Epistle of Pope Celestine, unto the Bishops of France; and two out of the Council at Arausican: which are; First, In the transgression of Adam all men have lost natural power and innocency, and no man can by his free-will arise out of the depth of that ruine, unless the grace of our mercifull God lift us up. 2. No man useth well his free-will but by Christ. 3. All the indeavours, all the works and merits of the Saints should be referred unto the praise and glory of God, because no man can please him otherwise, but in so far as he hath given.

Can. 11.

ven. 4. God worketh so in the hearts of men and in free-will, that every holy thought, godly purpose, and each motion of good will is from God; because by him we can do any good, and without him we can do nothing.

5. We profess that God is the author of all purposes and of all virtues, whereby from the beginning of faith we go unto God; and we doubt not but all the merits of man are preveened by his grace, by whom it is that we begin to will or to do any good; by which help and mercy of God free-will is not taken away, but made free; that of darkened, it becomes light; of wicked, upright; of fainting, heal; and of unwise, provident; for so great is the goodness of God toward all men, that he would have those things to be our merits, which are his gifts; and he will give everlasting reward, according to those things which he hath given.

6. We confess that the grace and help of God is given even to every act, and it is given not according to our merits, that it may be meer grace; that is, given freely, through his mercy, who saith, *I will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy.*

7. We confess free-will, although it hath need of Divine help.

8. The liberty of will being weakned in the first man, cannot be repaired but by grace.

9. The liberty of will then is free, when it serveth not sin; for it was given such from God unto the first man, which being lost, cannot be restored, but by him who could give it; and therefore Truth saith, *if the Son make you free, you shall be free indeed.* The censure followeth; if it be said, *we have lost the freedom of will in the first man;* as if after the transgression of the first man no free-will remain in men, it is not agreeable unto truth; because if there be no free-will of mankind, how shall God judge the World? But if it be therefore said, because through the merit of his transgression we have lost the vertue of free-will, as it was made in the first man; take heed lest that which follows concerning the lost liberty of that will, which we have received by Christ our Lord, be so said, as if since we are regenerate by Christ, we have received such a condition and vertue of free-will, that henceforth we may be such in this present life, as that man was before sin; that as he was living without all sin, so the regenerate in Christ may live in this world without sin; which surely belongeth not unto the estate of this present life, but unto the blessedness of eternal life. But if it be said only, that for the beginning of grace which we attain by regeneration, we may seem to receive the liberty of will, which we lost in Adam, although nevertheless the fulness and perfection thereof, is to be expected in the life to come; why is the most clear truth darkned with so great ambiguity and confusion of words? Now how great absurdity is in that which followeth, *And we have free-will unto good being prevented and helped* as if after we are regenerate by the grace of Christ, then we begin to have as free-will unto good, so free-will unto evil; as if by that regeneration, when we are preveened and helped by grace, we have free-will unto good; and when we are deserted of the same grace, we have free-will unto evil. What reason or consequence of meaning can be here? Doth the grace of that regeneration work this in us, that from thence we get free-will as unto good, so unto evil? Further, if when we are renewed in baptism, we receive in Christ the liberty of will that was so lost in Adam, doth then only the grace of God preveene and help us? Or doth the same grace, as once it helped us that we should be free unto good; so leave us once, that we are made free unto evil? What is this so obscure, and (almost) no preaching of grace? Had it not been better to have made use of those sentences of the fore-named Fathers, which define this matter fully and clearly? Or that this definition had been framed in their words, and plainly been declared, how this grace of God preveineth and helpeth us, that is, whether once so great grace is given unto us in baptism, which may be sufficient for

for the whole time of our life, or whether it should be implored and gotten daily; and whether we have need of it for some good things, or for all? None of these things appear here; and therefore it had been better to have been silent, then to speak so fondly of so great a matter. For we have need of the grace of God not only for a good work, as it is said in this chapter; but also for the very beginning of faith, without which grace we cannot come unto the Sacrament of regeneration; we have need of grace for all and every good thing through every day; we have need of it to stir up in us a good will; we have need of grace to speak good and wholsom things; we have need of grace for all good waies of good works. Concerning *Can. III.* First they exhort to keep peace and unity, and to shun contention: Then they say, Behold one may think and say (as formerly it hath been thought and said) the Apostle said not generally, and (as they have added) without exception, *who will have all men to be saved*; but especially concerning them of whom he had said before, *For all men, for Kings, and for them which are in authority*; that when he saith *All*, he understands all sorts of men, even of all condition, sex, order. What unconsequent or contrariety unto the truth, is in this exposition? Likewise one may say (as it is found to be said by some Ancients) that the Apostle speaks of whole mankind; what ill or danger hath this exposition? For he who thinks so, doth not think that any man doth resist and go against the will of God, whereby he willeth all men to be saved; that God cannot do what he willeth; and both the one and the other speaking diversly, yet do agree faithfully and unanimously, that whether the Apostle spoke so or so, yet no man is saved but by the gracious mercy of God, and none is suffered to perish but in his just judgment. Certainly this is manifest in that question, that although God will have all men generally and indefinitely to be saved; yet in the hearts of some, through the bountifulness of mercy, he worketh the same in his will, that both they have a will to be saved, and they are saved (to whom the Apostle saith, *With fear and trembling work forth your salvation; for it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do, according to his good pleasure*;) but in the hearts of others, through the severity of his hid and just judgement, he worketh not this saving will, but leaveth them to their own will; that because they would not beleeve, they should be damned in just punishment. And this may be said, indeed, of them which have heard the word of the Gospel, but through the hardness of their own unbelief would not receive it. But what shall be said of so great a multitude of the wicked, who have been from the beginning of the world, untill the coming of Christ? And them who cannot be denied to be as yet in the utmost parts of the earth, unto whom never a Preacher is come; who could no way beleeve in him of whom they have not heard; nor receive a Preacher, seeing none hath been sent unto them. Shall such therefore be damned, because they have not beleeved, who never could hear? And nevertheless they shall be condemned for their other sins, and especially for original sin, wherein all have sinned; for it is not written in vain, *Pour out thy wrath upon the Nations which know thee not*; and the Apostle saith, *Rendering vengeance in flaming fire on them who know not God*. If one should ask of those, What hath the will of God done in them, who willeth all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth? What shall we answer? Will not a godly and prudent man chuse rather to be silent? Or certainly say with the Prophet and Apostle, Thy judgments are a great deep, and, O the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how incomprehensible are his waies! Concerning *Can. IV.* IV. they say, in this new question three questions are propounded: First, that it is said, *No man was, is, or shall be, whose nature is not assumed in Christ.*

Of this question we hold thus, That the assuming of man's nature by Christ, was not of necessity of beginning, [*ex necessitate incipiendi*] but was only of his power and grace; so his flesh descendeth thorow all generations; so he is truly born very man of them, that what he pleased by shewing mercy, and healing and redeeming, he might thereof assume and reject what he pleased, or not. So in that unspeakable mystery of his incarnation, he mercifully did assume his elect, whom he came to redeem justifie and save; and whom he did judge unworthy of that mercy and redemption, he left them out of that marvellous susception. Let us therefore acknowledge truly that the susception of human nature in Christ, hath left unbelievers void of this mercy, and that he hath bestowed it only on them, that they have common nature with Christ, who receive him, and are renewed by his Spirit, by whom he was conceived. Away therefore with that superfluity, whereby it is said and defined, that there was, is, or shall be no man, whose nature he hath not assumed. 2. It is affirmed, *No man was, is, or shall be, for whom Christ hath not suffered.* Of which question what other can we answer, but that first we demand them who have defined this, and admonish them to weigh vigilantly and faithfully, lest perhaps by little considering what they should say, they say and write such things against the faith and their own conscience; for to omit those who are now, or shall be till the end of the world, among whom shall be the Antichrist, certainly of that innumerable multitude of the wicked, which have been from the beginning, untill the coming of Christ, and being dead in their wickedness are condemned in everlasting pains; we think not that they who have written this, do beleve that Christ hath suffered for them which are dead in their wickedness, and now condemned in everlasting judgment; for if it be beleevd that he hath suffered for them; why may it not also be beleevd; that he hath suffered for the Devil and his Angels? Therefore, as it cannot be said that Christ Jesus hath suffered for those wicked and damned Angels; so far be it, that we should believe that he hath suffered for those wicked and damned men But of those who as yet continue in their unbelief and wickedness shall perish, if good men who have defined these things could demonstrate unto us, by sure and cleat testimonies, from the authority of the Holy Scriptures, what the Lord hath suffered for those, we should also beleve the same; and if that they cannot, let them not contend now for that which they read not; let them be ashamed to determine what they cannot find to be decreed by any Council of the holy Fathers, or determination of Ecclesiastical doctrine; or if they find anything written by the ancient Doctours, whereby occasion of such interpretation may be given, yet saving the reverence due unto them, let them rather contain themselves, and submit unto Divine authority. 3. They say, *All the unbelievers are not redeemed by the mystery of Christ's blood; so neither are the beleivers redeemed, who have not faith which worketh by love.* Why should we speak of this question, seeing it is manifest from what is said, that no redemption in Christ is unto any unbelievers; and all beleivers who come truly unto faith and grace of regeneration, receive their true redemption and true regeneration; because they cannot be truly regenerate, unless it be truly certain that they are redeemed from the power of the Devil and bondage of sin; neither can they be truly redeemed, unless they be cleansed in the laver of mercy, and made free from the guilt of sin, and from the power of the Prince of this world; unless (which is most absurd in this definition) it be said, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath suffered even for the wicked who perish in their sins; and it be affirmed, that every beleever is not truly redeemed by the mystery of His passion, and renewed in his baptism. Hincmar, Bishop of Rhemes, could not take this censure

sure patiently, but writ Epistles unto several Bishops in defence of his opinions: and Remigius sent abroad his censures of them, as *Vsser. in histor. Gotzescal. cap. 8.* hath at length. John Scot did follow Hincmar, and although in other things he had purchased a name; yet because here he undertook a wrong cause, Florus a Deacon of Lyons, and Prudentius Bishop of Tricastin did not spare him; as is at large *loc. cit. cap. 9. & 10. & 11.* I will shortly shew their testimonies, whereby summarily their doctrine may be known. Florus saith, Whereas he [John] saith, that *man sinning hath lost liberty, but not the power and vigour of the liberty*, he saith not rightly; for he hath not kept in part, and lost in part, the gift of liberty; but as he hath lost the power and vigour of liberty, so he hath lost liberty it self; so that now he is not free unto good from which he hath fallen, he continueth free unto evil; because as of his free-will he forsook good, so by free-will he cleaveth unto evil. Man therefore after that damnation hath free-will, whereby he may incline and doth incline unto evil through his will; he hath free-will, whereby it is possible that he may arise unto good; but that he ariseth unto good, it is not of his own vertue, but of the compassionating grace of God; for he who is heavily diseased, may possibly receive health; but that he may receive health, he hath need of a medicament; and he who is dead, it may be said, that possibly he may rise and live, yet not by his own vertue, but by the power of God; so the free-will of man being wounded and dead, may be healed, but by the grace of God shewing mercy. Again John saith, *if any cause precede will* (that is, nature) *to think good or evil, it is not nature*: where he speaks manifestly against truth; for if no cause precede the will of man to think or do good, whence is in man a good will, that is, a good affection to think or do any good? For man hath not of himself a good will--- not doth he any good--- but he hath it from him of whom the Apostle speaks unto believers, It is God who worketh in us both to will, and to do according to his good will: He by his mercy preventeth the will of man; as the Psalmist saith, My God, his mercy shall prevent me: He inspires into man the grace of thinking well; as the Apostle saith, Not that we are able to think a good thought as of our selves, but our sufficiency is from God. Therefore, He is the cause of good will in us; He is the cause of good desires, and of perfecting; He is unto us the cause of mercy and grace, by which we are able not only to do well and to perfect, but also to think well. And not only doth he these things in his elect in this life, but also before the foundation of the world, he hath predestinated them by his grace, that they should be holy and blameless before him, as the Apostle witnesseth. Seeing therefore so great and such a cause, which is the cause of all good things both in making and rewarding his creatures, is unto us the best and eternal cause of good will; preventing us by grace, that we may will well, and do well; how saith this man, that no cause precedes our will and works? Or if any cause precede them, that cause is not nature? Seeing the Almighty God (who is the cause of our good will) is the highest and best nature.... But far be it to say, that this highest and best cause precedes our will to think or do evil; and nevertheless a cause precedes, not efficient, but deficient; that is, the forsaking of the chief good, and covering inferior things; when the soul falleth from the love of God, and coveteth inferior things.... But albeit God is not the cause of our ill will, nor any subsisting nature, but the affection of the reasonable creature, falling from the love of the Creator; yet we may not say, that he is not the just revenger of our wicked thoughts, or eternal Predestinator of just judgment and vengeance; which this fellow would, by such ambiguities, make void--- Again this man saith, *There is no predestination of God, but of them who are prepared for everlasting*

That censure
is oppugned
by some,

and maintai-
ned by others.

bleſſedneſs. We know ſurely, that this is an error of this age : It is to be marked in the writings of the Prophets, that the word *predeſtination* is not expreſſly mentioned; yet becauſe things concerning both predeſtinations appear and are declared moſt openly, the Apoſtle moſt confidently uſeth their teſtimonies for confirming this doctrine, and hath given them to be ſo underſtood by the Church, teaching us by his authority and example; and informing us, that we ſhould not contentiouſly and idly ſtrive for the word *predeſtination* in the Oracles of the holy Prophets; but by godly and peaceable underſtanding, whereſoever the matter is manifeſtly declared, we ſhould, without doubting, acknowledge and maintain the predeſtination of God. And if it be asked, How ſhall the World be judged righteouſly, whom the neceſſity of predeſtination forceth to periſh? Far be it that any of us ſhould ſay it; becauſe it is moſt open blaſphemy, that God by his predeſtination forceth any man to ſin, and to periſh by ſin. But by the judgment of predeſtination, whom continuing in their ſins he hath decreed to puniſh, he rather calleth them from their ſins, and ſtirreth in them (by hearing) a whoſom terrour, that they fearing may be amended, and amending ſhould not be damned. It is alſo moſt falſe that the fellow affirmeth, that there is no predeſtination of puniſhment; for if puniſhment were not predeſtinate for the Devil and his Angels, and all the wicked that are to be puniſhed with them, Truth would not ſay, Go into everlaſting fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels. And where he ſaith, *Predeſtination is alwaies to be underſtood of the gifts of God's bounty*, it is alſo falſe; for it is found and truly underſtood of the judgments of juſt damnation: Of which damned (through their own deſerving, and the juſt judgment of God) when this man ſaith, *Cap. 14. § 4.* that they are juſtly forſaken, in the damned maſs, according to the merit of original ſin; and they are ſuffered to live wickedly, and are at laſt to be condemned with everlaſting fire; even unwillingly, and contradicting himſelf, he ſaith no other thing, but that in Divine judgment they are predeſtinate unto everlaſting life; for if all that maſs be condemned, certainly it is condemned in the juſt judgment of God, and without doubt unto everlaſting perdition and puniſhment. And it is a wonder how he ſaith *Cap. 14.* That God hath predeſtinate pain unto ſinners, and hath not predeſtinate ſinners unto pain; for when he predeſtinated pain for them, he was not ignorant who were to be puniſhed. And when he confeſſeth ſaying, *The foreknown*; if God foreknew certainly who were to be puniſhed with theſe torments, what elſe did he, when he prepared moſt certain pain for every one of them, but predeſtinated them certainly for pain? For ſurely theſe only ſhall ſuffer, whom he hath foreknown to ſuffer; and what is it, that by unchangeable preſcience he hath foreknown them for pain? It was not to be feared, that what he foreknew to be juſtly, he hath not predeſtinated to do it juſtly. There is indeed another condition of mens laws, who ſo ordain certain puniſhments unto delinquents, that nevertheless they know not thoſe which do ſin thus, or which ſhall be tormented in theſe puniſhments; and therefore they may appoint and prepare puniſhments for ſinners, and know not that the puniſhments are juſt; and yet not appoint for puniſhments the ſinners, whom they know not at all; but if they knew certainly the perſons which are worthy of thoſe puniſhments, they might juſtly ordain them for the pain, as they appoint the pain for delinquents; as in the execution of judgment, whom they find guilty of capital crimes, they both rehearſe unto them the death which is appointed by the Law, and by open ſentence they adjudge them unto death; which is done by a certain knowledge of judgment, that they dare appoint as puniſhment for ſinners, ſo ſinners for puniſhments. Seeing then both theſe are rightly and juſtly done

in the Courts of men, being informed and directed according to certain knowledge, that they discern justly and irreprovably pain for sinners, and sinners for pain; and yet not any of those guilty persons is compelled unto sin by the Laws nor Judges, but only because he who hath sinned is justly punished; how much rather may we beleve certainly, that this is done in Divine judgment, that (because by eternal knowledge he knows the pain which in justice is due for sinners, and the sinners to whom it is due) seeing he causeth none to sin, he predestinates most justly both punishments (which he knows to be most just) for sinners; and sinners (who are never unknown unto him, but most certainly known by eternal verity.) for everlasting punishment. So and more writeth Florus. And the judgment of Prudentius is in the abovenamed history, *Vsser. cap. 11*; where among other things he shews, that when Æneas (who had been a member of the Carisiac Synod) was to be ordained Bishop of Paris; Prudentius being called unto his ordination, did excuse himself by Letter, and sent unto Wenilo, Metropolitan of Senonen, four articles; which if the elect Bishop would not subscribe, he did protest that he would no way consent unto his ordination. These Articles are: First, That he confesse, that as free-will is lost in Adam by merit of disobedience; so it is restored unto us by our Lord Jesus Christ, and freed (now in hope, but afterwards really, as the Apostle saith, We are saved by hope) that nevertheless we have alwaies need of the grace of the Almighty God for every good work; whether for thinking, or beginning, or working, or perseverantly perfecting; and that without that grace we can no way either think or will, or do any good. 2. That he beleve and confesse, that in the most high and secret purpose of God, some are by the gracious mercy of God, before all ages, predestinated for life; and some, by his unsearchable righteousness, are predestinated for pain; to wit, that whether in them which shall be saved or condemned, he hath predestinated that which he foreknew he would do in judging; as the Prophet saith, *Qui fecit, que futura sunt, Esa. 45.* (juxta LXX Interp.) 3. That he beleve and confesse, with all the Catholicks, that the blood of Jesus Christ was shed for all men beleiving in him through the world; and not for them which have not beleived in him; nor will ever beleve; as the Lord himself saith, *Matth. 20.* The Son of man came... to give his soul in redemption for many. 4. That he beleve and confesse, that the Almighty God saveth whom he willeth; and that none at all can be saved, but whom he will save; and that all are saved, whom he will save; and therefore it is not at all his will those be saved, whosoever are not saved; as the Prophet saith, *whatsoever the Lord willeth, he doth that both in Heaven and on Earth.* And (saith Prudent.) although there be some other things, wherein he hath satisfied and subscribed, in which (being condemned in Pelagius) the Church hath universally consented; yet these being (against him and his followers) cleared from his froward expositions, by the Apostolical See, at the instance of the blessed Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage; and of Augustine with other 214 Bishops; and being published unto all the World, by many both Epistles and Books, all the Church to day rejoiceth in, confesseth, preacheth, holdeth, and shall hold. This Epistle of Prudentius, is in the 2 tome of the French Councils; and by it we may see not only his mind, but the universal doctrine of all the Church in all the World, as he affirmeth. Although Histories do not expresse whether Æneas did subscribe these Articles, yet it may be gathered from the 99 Epistle of *Lupus Ferariensis*, where he commends this Æneas; and saith, that Prudentius, with the other Bishops, did confirm his ordination. By authority of Lotharius a Synod was held, *An. 855.* at Valentia; the Canons thereof follow hereafter: For the present I add the words of *Baronius* concerning it

generally, saying, The Bishops thought good to bring no other thing into the Church, then what the most holy Fathers and faithfull Teachers of the Church had, in all sincerity, taught formerly in Africa, in the Council at Carthage; and in France, in the Council at Arasiscap, whereunto we should cleave in all points; to wit, that the godly are saved no other way, but by the grace of God; and the wicked are condemned for their own iniquity. And that the wicked do not perish, because (as some say) they could not be good, but because they would not. Then he sheweth that the Acts of this Synod were sent unto Hincmar; and that he did by writing condemn these errors. But *Vsser* taxeth *Baronius*, that he hath written of this matter slenderly, and from the writings of Hincmar, and from Acts of Synods convinceth him; especially he declareth, from a book of the Church of Lions, that there was diversity of opinions among them of Lions, concerning the fifth Canon of this Synod, which (in the end of that book) thinks the greatest difference between the Elect and the Reprobates to be, that in the Reprobates remaineth the guiltiness of the first transgression, which is taken from the Elect, by the blood of Christ. Also he sheweth, that in the year 856, in the moneth of August, Charls the Bald did call a Synod at Bonoile (by Paris); and another in September at Nielph, where he gave unto Hincmar the Articles of the Synod at Valentia; and what he had received from others in favour of Gotteschalk, that Hincmar should answer unto them; and that after three years, Hincmar did return a great book of God's predestination, and of man's free-will; as *Flodoard* sheweth, *Hist. lib. 3. cap. 13*; and that the adverse party was not satisfied by that great volume; neither was the authority of the Valentian Synod lessned; and therefore *An. 859*, Charls calleth another Synod in *Audemanturmo Lingonum*, where for the instruction of God's people, the Canons of the Valentian Synod were voiced and confirmed again, and proclaimed; only in the fifth Canon they express not the four Articles (because they perceive, Hincmar was offended by so express condemning them, as if they thereby had neglected the limits and law of charity) and they did add the name of John Scot unto the nineteen Articles. This Synod is called *Lingonenis in Concil. Gall. tom. 3*. After 14 daies was a more frequent Synod of twelve Provinces at *Saponaria*, a Village of the City of Tullen, where was King Charls, and his Nephews Lotharius and Charls, sons of the Emperour Lotharius; there the Canons of the former Synod, and the Carisiac Articles were read again and again; great contention was between Remigius and Hincmar, with their followers (the one pleading for, and the other against the Articles of Gotteschalk;) but (as Hincmar writeth in an Epistle Dedicatory unto Charls the Bald) the stir was calmed by the wisdom of the Arch-Bishop Remigius, exhorting them all to bring unto the next synod the books of the Catholick Doctours; and as they shall find them agreeing unto the Apostolical and Catholick doctrine, all should hold together unanimously. It appeareth in the Acts of this Synod, that it was so soon closed, because of the murmurs in the country. All this time Gotteschalk was still in Prison in the Monastery of Hautvillier, whence he sent forth first a short confession, and then a larger one, confirmed by testimonies of Scripture, and of the ancient Doctours. In the end of the latter, he craved that there might be a free Synod, wherein truth might be made known unto all, and errors altogether taken away; and he lamenteth that for baseness of his person truth is despised, and his adversaries follow not charity, and refuse verity, only that they may seem victorious. Now of all that I have read concerning his Confessions, and the writings of both parties, I gather that at that time the greatest controversie was, concerning the predestination of the wicked unto punishment, howbeit there

was also some difference concerning free will, and the efficient cause of conversion, or of faith and good works. And because Hincmar in his Epistle unto Pope Nicolaus, and Semipelagians make mention of Hereticks, whom they call *Prædestinati* or *Prædestinatiani*; here I add concerning that name, that the first who mentioneth it, was he who writ the continuation of *Ierom's* Chronicle; for he (about the 24 year of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*) writeth, saying, At this time began the heresie of *Prædestinati*, which had the beginning from *Augustine*. So it is expressly (saith *Vsser* in *Hist. Gottes*. cap. 2.) in two old manuscripts, one in the King's Bibliothéke, and another in the Benedictines at Cambridge; although in the Printed books it is not said, from *Augustine*; but, from the books of *Augustine*, being ill understood. And certainly these words of Hincmar are frivolous, since Pope Celestine did not write against such an heresie, but against the Pelagians, as is clear in his Epistles unto *Augustine*, and he doth approve the doctrine of *Augustine*, and *Prosper* in his Epistle unto *Augustine* (which, and the Epistles of *Celestine*, are amongst the Epistles of *Augustine*) writeth, saying, Many of the servants of Christ, which are in the City Massilies, think that in the writings of your Holiness against the Pelagian Hereticks, whatsoever you have disputed concerning the calling of the Elect according to the purpose of God, is contrary unto the opinion of the Fathers, and the mind of the Church. But it is sure, that the Massilians were Semipelagians: And *Arnobius* on *Psal.* 108. hath this note, Mark (saith he) that it was of his will, that he would not; Because of the heresie, which saith, God hath predestinated some unto blessing, and others unto damnation. In a word, whosoever pleaseth to search for this heresie, he cannot find that ever there was such an one; but that the Pelagians or Semipelagians, have used the name to discredit the sound doctrine of *Augustine*; and they seeing his books to be in high esteem, and authority in the Church, were afraid to put it upon him; and they did wrest some conclusions out of his books, which they did brand with the odious name of such an heresie.

Whence was
the word *Præ-*
destinatians.

17. At this time was Published an *Exegesis* or Commentary, on thirteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul, which was lately Printed at Rome, under the name of *Remigius Rheniensis*, which lived about the year 540, a Jesuit *Baptista Villapand* gave out, that he had found it at *Saint Cecilia* in Rome, and did publish it as a rich treasure lying so long time in a manuscript. *Andr. Rivet*. in *Critic. sacr. lib.* 4. cap. 27. sheweth the vanity of the Jesuit, seeing the same book was Printed above 30 years before that, at Paris, two several times; and in the Book is mention of *Gregory* and *Beda*. I add another reason; that *Exegesis* on 2 *Thess.* 2. at these words, *Except there come a falling away first---*, All Kingdoms shall fall away from the Roman Empire; and the man of sin, to wit, the Antichrist, who although he is a man, yet shall he be the fountain of all sins: Be revealed and made manifest, [and the son of perdition] i.e. a son of the Devil, not by nature, but by imitation; and is called perdition, because perdition shall come by him [He shall sit in the Temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God.] This may be understood two waies. And here hath first that opinion, that Antichrist shall be born at *Babylon* of the Tribe of *Dan*, &c. and then he addeth, Or also, he shall sit in the Temple of God, i.e. in the Church, shewing himself as if he were God; for as the fulness of God-head did rest in Christ; so in that man who is called Antichrist, because he is contrary unto Christ, the fulness of all wickedness and iniquity shall dwell; because in him shall be the head of all wickedness, the Devil, who is the King above all the children of pride. In these words the Apostle demonstrates unto the *Thessalonians*, that the Lord shall not come

The Exegesis
of the Epistle
of Paul, by
Remigius, is
undicated.

to judgment, untill there be a defection of the Roman Empire [Note] which now we see fulfilled and Antichrist appearing in the World, who shall kill the Martyrs of Christ. *So far there.* It is true, Chrysostom and others had long before expounded that Text in the same manner, but none did apply it in that manner; neither could it be applied before that time, seeing the Empire of Rome, though sometimes more weakned than at other times, yet was never so low before the daies of Lotharius; then every Nation had their own King, and Lotharius had a part of France, and a part of Italy; and his Successour had no more but a part of Italy. As for the appearing of Antichrist, we have heard before, in *Seet. 14.* what Gunther and Thiertgaud writ unto Pope Nicolaus; and in *Seet. 15.* what Luithpert writ unto King Lewis, both which agree with this exposition and application. Hence it followeth, that this Commentary could not be written before this time. Next consider for what cause the Jesuit, and after him others, do commend this Commentary; to wit, thereby they would prove the fancy of Transubstantiation to have been so old; for on *1 Cor. 10.* it is said, *The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?* Certainly, first it is consecrate and blessed by the Priests and the Holy Ghost, and then broken; and now although it seem [*videatur*, or, *is seen*] to be Bread, in verity it is the body of Christ; of which Bread whosoever communicates, he eats the body of Christ. And again it is said there, *That Bread doth pass [transit] into the body of Christ,* neither are they two bodies, but one body. Because the explication of this testimony, may serve for clearing many other such testimonies, I will set before you the words preceding and following, and then confer all together: First, a little from the beginning of that Chap it is said, *He saith not, The Rock did signifie Christ; but as if it had been in truth, The Rock was Christ,* though certainly it was not so by substance, but by signification: Likewise, speaking of the two sons of Abraham, he saith not, *These signifie the two Testaments; but, These are the two Testaments:* Christ then, in respect of firmness, is the Rock, not by substance; and the water which did flow out of the Rock, signifieth the doctrine of Christ, and the grace of the Holy Ghost; of which in the Gospel, *Who thirsts let him come to me and drink*, &c. It is also called a spiritual and following Rock, because it signifieth spiritually Christ, who followed them; of which spiritual Rock, following them, they did drink; because when human help failed them, Christ was at hand giving help; by whose power (who is the Word of God the Father) they were delivered out of the Land of Ægypt, and brought into the Land of Promise. *So far there.* And in the other place it is written thus, *The Cup is called Communication, i. e. partaking, because all do communicate of it, and receive a part of the blood of Christ, which it containeth in it: [And the Bread which we break] on the Altar [is it not a partaking of the Body of Christ?]* Certainly, first it is consecrate and blessed by the Priests and Holy Ghost, and then it is broken; and now although it seem [*videatur*, or, *it is seen*] to be bread, in verity it is the body of Christ; of which bread whosoever communiceth, they eat the body of Christ; [because one Bread] to wit, of Christ; [and one Body] to wit, of Christ, [we many are] who eat that Bread; the flesh which the Word of God the Father did assume in the Virgins womb, in the unity of person; and the bread which is consecrate in the Church, are one body of Christ; for as that flesh is the body of Christ, so that bread doth pass (*transit*) into the body of Christ; neither are they two bodies, but one body, for the fullness of the God-head which was in him, filleth also that bread; and the same God-head of the Word, which filleth Heaven and Earth, and all things therein, the same filleth the body of Christ, which

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which is sanctified by many Priests through all the World, and maketh it to be one body of Christ; and as that bread and blood do pass into the body of Christ, so all which in the Church do eat worthily, are the one body of Christ; as he himself saith, *He who eats my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abides in me, and I in him.* Nevertheless that flesh which he did assume, and that bread, and all the Church, do not make three bodies, but one body; and as they which do communicate of the body and blood of the Lord, are made one body with him; so they which do wittingly communicate of things offered unto Idols, are one body with the Divil. And in the next Chap. he saith, Christ having ended the solemnities of the old Pasover . . . immediately he passeth unto the new Pasover, which he left unto his Church to be frequented (or frequently observed) in remembrance of his Passion and our redemption: He did break the bread, which he gave unto his Disciples, to shew the breaking of his Body, and his Passion, was not to be without his own will; as he had said, *I have power to lay down my life, [Take ye, eat ye, this is my body which shall be delivered for you.]* As the flesh of Christ which he did assume in the Virgins womb, is his true body, and was killed for our salvation; so the bread which Christ gave unto his Disciples, and unto all them which are predestinated for eternal life, and which the Priests do consecrate in the Church daily, with the vertue of the God-head which filleth that bread, is the true body of Christ; neither are they two bodies, that flesh which he did assume, and that bread, but they make one true body of Christ: In so far, that when the Bread is broken and eaten, Christ is sacrificed and eaten, and yet he abideth whole and alive; and as that Body which he did lay on the Cross was offered for our salvation and redemption; so daily that bread is offered unto God for our salvation and redemption; which although it is seen to be bread, is the body of Christ; for our Lord and Redeemer providing for our frailty, because he knew that we are frail unto sin, did deliver unto us this Sacrament; that because he cannot now die, and we do sin daily, we might have a true sacrifice, by which we may be expiated: Therefore because they make one body, and are offered for our redemption; he said, *This is my body which shall be delivered for you;* and he did add, *[Do this]* that is, sanctifie this body, *[into my remembrance]* that is, of my Passion, and of your Redemption, because I have redeemed you with my blood: The Lord leaving this wholsom Sacrament, unto all beleivers, that he might fasten this into their hearts and memory, did after the manner of a man, who approaching unto death, leaveth some precious gift unto a certain friend, saying; *Have this with all diligence by thee, in remembrance of me, that when thou seest it, thou mayest remember me:* Which friend receiving that gift of his most dear friend, if he did love him with all his heart, cannot but condole and be sad for the death of his friend, whensoever he beholdeth that gift left by his friend: Likewise we, how oft soever we come to consecrate or receive the Sacrament of that eternal gift, which the Lord, being to suffer, left unto us to be kept in remembrance of him, should come with fear and compunction of heart, and with all reverence, calling to mind with how great love he did love us, which did offer himself for us, that he might redeem us. *[Likewise and the Cup]* understand, he gave unto them *[after he had supped, saying, This Cup is the new Testament in my blood]* i.e. *the Cup which I give unto you, signifieth the new Testament;* as Fulgentius, *or it confirms the new Testament in my blood, or by my blood.* Here are all the words of that book, which concern the change or sacrifice in the Sacrament; and we see mention of a change, and a real change, and a real sacrifice; but no word of a change of a substance of the bread, which still remaineth; and is broken, after consecration, in remem-

brance of Christ's Passion, and of our redemption: And observe these words, The bread which Christ gave unto his Disciples, and unto all which are predestinated for life eternal, and which the Priests do consecrate daily with power of the God-head, which filleth that bread, is the true body of Christ; neither are they two bodies, the flesh which he did assume, and that bread; but they make one true body of Christ. Now what bread is that which he giveth unto all them which are predestinated for life, but even which he did assume in the unity of his person in the Virgins womb? And the Elementary bread is no more said to be his body, than it is said, The Rock was Christ; and it is his body, as all which do eat worthily, are his body, or made one body with him; and that is not by Transubstantiation, although really, but in a mystery or spiritual manner; albeit also the manner of the union between the Bread and Christ's body, and between Beleevers and Christ's body, be different in the special kind of mystery: The bread doth pass into the body of Christ really in the own manner, not by change of substance, but of use, signification, office and condition. And that bread is the very sacrifice of Christ in remembrance, as the gift which one friend leaveth unto another in remembrance of his love; so that whensoever we do sin, we may have daily in remembrance that true sacrifice, whereby we may be expiated. And the consecrating of that bread is the sacrifice of Christ, as the eating of the Lamb was the Pasover; the one in remembrance of their ancient deliverance out of Ægypt; and the other in remembrance of Christ's Passion, and of our Redemption. And that bread is the body of Christ, so that after the blessing (or consecration) it is seen to be bread, and is broken and eaten. These all are spoken there of that bread; and therefore according to that testimony, the bread is not transubstantiated, but is a remembrance of Christ's Passion and sacrifice, if we will speak properly. And moreover, at that time, all Beleevers did communicate and take part of the Cup; for which cause it is said there, the Cup is called the communication of Christ's blood. When the whole testimony is considered, it serveth more against the Romish Church now, than for them. But to return to the Authour of the book, it was Printed at Paris under the name of Haymo, Bishop of Halberstad; but (as the learned Antiquary Bishop Usher, hath observed in *Hystor. Gottesc.*) neither is it his; for though the Argument before every Epistle, be said to be Haymo's; yet before none of them is it said, that the *Exegesis* is his: And I add another reason, the opinions of Haymo are different from that *Exegesis*; I will name but one, Haymo on the *Revel. lib. 1.* near the end, saith, The Pillars of the Temple are not only they who are more perfect; as Paul saith, Peter and James and John, which seemed to be Pillars, &c. Here Haymo not only calleth these three more perfect, but Pillars also, which is more then Paul saith; but this *Exegesis* speaks not so much of them, for on *Gal. 2.* at these words, *which seemed to be something*; or as we have, Who were of reputation; it is written there, They seemed unto themselves to be something; for they did seem to have learning and vertue of themselves, but they neither had learning nor vertue of themselves, nor of their own merits; and therefore although they did seem unto the people to be something, they were nothing. He who writes so liberally of the three Apostles, would not (probably) have written so sparingly of them in the other place; and so the Authour of the *Exegesis*, would not have called Peter the head of the Church. Who then is the Authour of that *Exegesis*? The above-named Remigius, Bishop of Lions; as Bishop Usher proveth *loc. cit.* and we may find that his doctrine in that *Exegesis*, doth accord with that which we have heard; he did maintain concerning election, free-will, &c. as appears by these passages. On *Rom. 5* he saith, As

That *Exegesis* was not written by Haymo,

but by Remigius, Bishop of Lions; and is contrary to the present Church of Rome, in many particulars following

by

by Adam sin and death did enter, so by Christ came justification and eternal life: therefore the Apostle saith, We are reconciled unto God; because as by one man sin entred into the World, that is, into the univetsality of mankind, (except Christ, which is from above) and by sin death came; so death both of body and soul hath gone over all men, even as on the first man, in whom all have sinned: So by our Lord Jesus Christ justification hath entred, and by justification life eternal... for in him all men have sinned, which were in his loins; as Levi was in the loins of his father, when he paid tithes. And he saith congruously, that sin entred first, and then death by sin; because so soon as he did sin, he became mortal; as the Lord had foretold, saying; *In whatsoever day thou shalt eat thereof, thou shalt die the death*: He did sin by coveting and eating, and he was made mortal in sinning. Amongst other things observe here, that Remigius makes no exception of sin in the universality of mankind, but only of Christ, and therefore the Virgin Mary is not excepted; and after the same manner do all the Ancients speak, in this point. On *Cap. 9.* What man can declare, why the Almighty God did chuse Jacob, before he was born, and rejected Esau, when neither the one, nor the other, could do any good or ill; except that on him, that is, on Jacob, he would bestow his grace and mercy, and on Esau he would fullfill his just judgment... therefore as it was not the purpose of God, and his predestination according to election of the good merit of Jacob; so the election of the Gentiles, was not according to the election of merits, but according to the free grace and predestination of God; therefore for what cause Jacob was chosen without good works, and Esau was hated without ill works, it is only known unto God, who knows all things before they be, and whose judgment is alwaies just.... He said unto Moses, I will have mercy, on whom... This is the order, On whom I will have mercy, by calling him unto my faith; I will have mercy, by giving him my faith, that he may beleve in me; and I will shew compassion on him, that he may live righteously, and be mercifull, and persevere in good works, according to which he shall receive the reward. [Therefore not of him who willeth] understand, is the will [nor of him who runneth] is the race, [but of God shewing mercy] is mercy, that he giveth unto man to will good, to do and to persevere: The only good will is not sufficient, unless also the mercy of God prevene him unto this end, to give unto him to will what is good, and to perfect the same good; as the Psalmist saith, His mercy shall prevene me, and his mercy shall follow me: But haply one will say, Why are the Elect rewarded, or what reward have they deserved, if both the good will, and the perfecting of the good work, be given unto them of God? I answer, therefore are the Elect worthy of remuneration; because so soon as they do perceive, that they are prevened by the grace of God, they do labour with all their indeavours to obey his will. [For the Scripture saith to Pharao:] The Scripture speaketh not by it self, but another by it; as here God speaketh. These last words I have marked, against them which say, The Scriptures is dumb and dead. At these words, *Hath not the Potter power*... he saith, So the Almighty God, the Potter of mankind, hath power out of the mass of perdition and sin, that is, out of the mass of mankind, to make one vessel unto honour; that is, to create one for this end, that he may be honoured in him; and that he honour him by calling him unto his faith, and by saving him unto life; and another unto dishonour, that is, in his just judgment to destroy the Reprobates, because of their wickedness; for of a corrupt mass, all the vessels are corrupt; but if the Potter, by the Engine of his Art, will purifie some of them from the fault of the mass, by baking it in the fire; may he not be magnified in those? And that

he suffereth some unpurified, he is not to be blamed, because he continueth in his power, for the mass is his. On *Cap. 11.* at these words, *I have left 7000 ...* faith he; neither faith he, Are left unto me; but, I have left and reserved unto my self 7000 men; which when others became Idolaters, have not bowed And it is to be considered, because [according to the election of God's grace] that is, according to the gift of Predestination, the remnant is saved, not according to the merit of their works; wherefore he saith, in the Epistle unto the *Ephes.* As he hath chosen us, before the foundation of the World, in him, *i. e.* in Christ, that we should be holy and unblamable. [And if of grace] they are saved, who beleeve amongst the Jews [not now] was it [of the works of the Law] by which they thought to be justified, who continue in infidelity; [else grace were not grace] that is, if they were saved otherwise, which cannot be but by the grace of God; or else grace it self were not grace, but a merit But the election hath obtained it, that is, they who were chosen out of that multitude; whom before he called a remnant, now he calleth election; and as before circumcision is taken for the Jews, so here election is for the Elect, who obtain justification by faith. On *Cap. 15.* at these words, *whatsoever is written, is written for our instruction ...* he saith; The Apostle joineth himself unto all Beleevers, and will shew that all things which are written in Divine books, are not written for them, whose deeds and works are there reported, for they are in rest long ago; but for our salvation, and of them which are to come, that we may have whence we may take example of faith and good works; and whence we may know with what works God is pleased, and with what he is provoked to punish ... for what did it avail to Abraham that Moses hath written, he was obedient, and that he commends him to have pleased God? But he saith, Whatsoever things are written in the Law, Prophets, Psalms and other Scriptures, are written for our instruction, that we which are come unto the faith, may thence learn. Seeing Remigius writeth that the Scriptures are written for the instruction of all Beleevers; would he then have consented unto the Act of Trent, which forbids the use of the Scriptures unto Beleevers? On *1 Cor. 1.* at these words, *That no flesh should glory before him;* he saith, No flesh, that is, no man: The wise and mighty cannot glory, because they are not called by him for their wisdom and riches; neither had they divine wisdom, or spiritual riches of themselves: The Apostles could not glory, because whatsoever they had of favour, they received it from God without their merits, and they cannot glory that they were chosen for their wisdom and riches He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord; he glorieth in the Lord, and not in himself, who confesseth that all the good he hath, he hath received it from God, without his own merit; and therefore seeks not his own glory and praise, but his glory from whom he hath received whatsoever he hath. On *Gal. 6.* on these words, *God forbid that I rejoyce but in the Crofs of Christ;* he saith, that is, I will not rejoyce in the riches and dignities of this World, but in the Crofs of Christ, *i. e.* in his suffering, which was done on the Crofs, will I rejoyce, from whence is my redemption and salvation. Or I will rejoyce in the Crofs of Christ, that is, in this will I rejoyce, if I can follow the suffering of Christ, what he hath sustained for me, I may sustain the like for his name. Hence we may see, that Remigius did not rejoyce in the painted or moulded Crofs, but in Christ's sufferings for our redemption. On *Eph. 2.* at these words, *Built on the foundation;* he saith, The foundation of the Prophets, Apostles, and of all the faithfull, is Christ; because they are grounded and established in faith of him; as he himself said, Upon this Rock, that is, upon me will I build my Church. Here Remigius expoundeth the Rock to signifie Peter. On *Cap. 5.* at these words,

words, *Not having spot or wrinkle*; he saith, In this world the Church may be said to be glorious one way, because it hath Kings and Princes subject, and it hath many orders and degrees; but it cannot be without spot or wrinkle of sin, because it hath many penitents in it; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us; and, there is not a man upon earth which doth good, and sinneth not; wherefore it is better that we refer these words unto the general resurrection. On *Cap. 6. The sword of the Holy Ghost is the Word of God*, as the Apostle saith; that is, the doctrine and knowledge of the Divine Scriptures, which is given unto us by the Holy Ghost: And it is called a sword, because as enemies are put to flight by a sword, so by the knowledge of Divine Scriptures, we may put to flight all the craft and devices of the Divil, by following what the Scripture teacheth, and eschewing what it forbiddeth; and not only may we overcome the Devils, by the knowledge of the word, and by the help of God; but by authority thereof we may convince all Hereticks, and destroy all their errors. Reader, observe in this testimony the manifold use of the Scriptures; and especially that they are a rule wherewith all errors may be destroyed. On *Phil. 2.* at these words, *It is God who worketh in you*; he saith, Lest he seem to exclude God from our salvation, or as if without the help of God we could be saved: he subjoins, For it is God who worketh in you; therefore every good which we have, as well the good will, as the good operation, is not of us, but of God. . . . [both to will] that is, to have a good will [and to do according to good will] that is, that we may alwaies will what is good. On *Cap. 3.* at these words, *If I may comprehend, in whom I am comprehended*; he saith, All the Elect which are predestinated for eternal life, are comprehended in the Passion of Christ; because thereby are redeemed not only those who are saved after his resurrection, and who are purged in baptism, but all the godly which were before his coming. . . . *whosoever are perfect*, in comparison of others, *let us think so*, understand, that we are not perfect; for whosoever are perfect, that is, who are thought to be perfect; let us understand, that this is in comparison of Believers, and who have less understanding, because we are not perfect, in respect of what we shall have at the day of judgement. On *1 Tim. 2.* he saith, Seeing the Psalmist saith, *The Lord doth whatsoever he willeth*; and the Apostle saith, *which will have all men to be saved*: Why are not all men saved? To which I say, Because it is true what the Psalmist saith, For he hath said, and it shall be; likewise he will save all men which are saved, and which by his mercy seek to be saved; for the Apostles have put the whole for a part; as in the Gospel the Lord saith, *when I shall be exalted from the earth, I will draw all men unto me*: for he drew not all men, nor draweth all men; but all, that is, the Elect out of all sorts and Nations, out of all sex and condition; from Kings unto Beggars, from the perfect unto the babe of one day; yet none can be saved, but whom God willeth, because he sheweth mercy on whom he will; for if all men had continued in perdition, just had been the judgment of God; but that his mercy and power might be shewed, because he is powerfull to save all men, in those which do perish he shews his just judgment, and his mercy in them which are saved; for his grace preventeth us that we have will, and our will should accord with his will, and then he will give us ability; and because we join our will to his will, we are worthy to be rewarded; and nevertheless it is all to be ascribed unto his grace, whatsoever good we do: He saith then, Which will have all men to be saved, understand thou, all which are saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the Trinity, which is the highest and substantial truth. On *Cap. 3.* he saith, The Church is called both the ground and Pillar of truth, which is but one thing;

for the firmness of faith, and because [the Church] is established by heavenly doctrines and Divine miracles. In this observe, that the faith or truth depends not on the testimony of the Church; but the Church is a ground or Pillar, because it hath firm faith, and is established by Divine doctrines. On 2 *Tim.* 1. at these words, *I thank my God, whom I do serve from my fore-fathers;* he saith, This he saith that he may shew, that the ancient Fathers which were before the coming of the Lord, had the same faith which he and the other Apostles had; and did descend from those Fathers unto the Apostles, and from them unto us; as also it descendeth from us, unto them which shall come after us. In this one testimony, many things may be observed against the present Tenets of the Romish Church; (if I would stay) but one thing (though but a negative) I cannot omit that in all these descendings, is no mention of any dependance on the Roman Bishop or faith; so that if we have the faith, which the fore-fathers and Apostles had, and they which had the same from them; whether the Church of Rome now have the same, or not have it, we have the true faith: On *Cap.* 2. at these words, *The Lord knows who are his;* This is the impression of the Seal, He knows, that is, the Lord hath chosen them which belong unto his inheritance; and this is the seal of faith, because when others depart from the faith, they which are Elect can in no way be seduced. Many such other testimonies may be observed in that *Exegetis*, which Villapand calleth a rich treasure; a rich treasure it is, which so clearly sheweth the faith of the Church of that time; and that the Church of Rome now, having forsaken that faith in so many particulars, hath departed from the truth. And therefore *Bellarmin* was more wary then his brother; and though he did bring that testimony concerning the change of the bread, yet no where else would name that book, nor the Authour of it, in his book *De Scriptoris Ecclesiasticis*, although he forgot not others of less note.

18. Haymo was Bishop of Halberstad about this time, but it seems he was younger then Remigius. He writ sundry volumns, especially two books of Homilies. In the first, called *Pars hyemalis*, he hath these sentences. In *Feria 4. quatuor tempor.* at these words, *Ave, gratia plena;* he saith, She is well said to be full of grace, because she had attained what no other woman had attained; to wit, she did conceive and bear the Authour of grace. Behold, he expoundeth these words otherwise then the Papists do now. And here his words are, *Gratiam quam nulla alia meruerat, assequitur;* and I have translated the word *meruerat* after this manner, because (as I have marked before) the Ancients do use it in this signification; and (as follows) Haymo was far from the opinion of man's merit; *Ibid.* at the words, *That Holy thing which shall be born of thee;* he saith, For distinction of our holiness, Jesus is affirmed singularly to be born holy; for although we be made holy, yet we are not born holy, because we are bound with the condition of corruptible nature; that every one of us may with the Prophet sigh and say, Behold I was conceived in iniquities, and in sins hath my mother brought me forth: but he only was truly holy, which that he might overcome the condition of corruptible nature, was not conceived by the commixtion of carnal copulation. The Papists do hold that the Virgin Mary was free of original sin; to the end, that they may the more plausibly commend her to be worshipped as the Queen of Heaven. But behold, here Haymo saith more then Remigius said; for he saith not only that it was the singular priviledge of Christ, to be born holy; but more he saith, That he might overcome the condition of corruptible nature, he was not conceived by commixtion. Certainly, the condition which he overcome, was singularly the condition of Maries corruptible nature, seeing she was conceived by commixtion, *Dominic. 4. post Epiphan.* There was a great storm

storm on the Sea, because the Persecution of Pagans, the Devil stirring them up, did arise against the Church, so that the ship was covered with the waves; that is, the persecution waxing, the Church did scarcely lurk in a few Beleevers, neither durst any man confess the name of Christ publicly, who was not prepared to die presently for Christ; which to have been in the daies of Dioclesian and others, the Histories do declare. This testimony confutes the Papiests holding that the Church doth flourish at all times; and witnesseth with us, that the Church hath been forced to lurk at some times. In *Dominic. in Septuages.* on the Parable *Matth. 20.* he saith, This Vine-yard is the holy Church, which hath been from the beginning of the World, untill the end thereof; so many godly as it bringeth forth, it begetteth so many branches: This Vine-yard was planted amongst the people of the Jews, but after the incarnation of our Lord, it is enlarged unto the ends of the earth, &c. In the same Homily, he saith; Because eternall life is rendred to no man by way of debt, but is given through the gracious mercy of God; therefore . . . And nearer the end, he saith, Seeing it is given to none by debt, but only of gracious mercy unto whom he willeth, none can grumble at the righteousness of God; because he sheweth mercy on whom he willeth, and whom he willeth, he hardneth; he shews mercy of his own goodness, and he hardneth without iniquity; because although his judgments are sometimes hid, yet they are not unjust. In *Feria 4 post Iudica*, on *Ioh. 10.* he saith on these words, *And I give unto them eternal life*; These are the Pastures which he did before promise unto his Sheep, wherein no herb withereth, but all is green, all waxeth, all abideth whole; and whatsoever is once taken in, is possessed for ever. *And they shall not perish for ever*; here understand, as ye shall perish which are not of my sheep. *And none shall pluck them out of my hand*; that is, from my power. Here he affirmeth the perseverance of the Elect, and the damnation of them which are not elected. In *Feria 6 post Iudica* on *Ioh. 6.* on these words, *My flesh is meat indeed*; he saith, Seeing all men do desire, by meat and drink, that they may not hunger nor thirst; nothing can do this truly, but this meat and drink, which maketh them, who receive it, to be immortal and incorruptible; and that is the society of the godly, wherein shall be full and perfect peace and unity. . . . Then he expoundeth how this may be which he hath said, and what it is to eat his flesh, and to drink his blood; *He who eats my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abides in me, and I in him*; that is, to eat his flesh, and to drink his blood, to abide in Christ, and to have him abiding in us; and therefore who abides not in Christ, or in whom Christ abides not, without doubt neither eats he Christ's flesh spiritually, although carnally and visibly he do press, with his teeth, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; but rather, he eats to his own judgment the Sacrament of so great a thing, who being unclean did presume to come unto the Sacrament of Christ, which no man takes worthily, but who is clean. Hence we see, that Haymo thought wicked men cannot eat the body of Christ, but only the Sacrament of it; and whosoever eats Christ's flesh, abides in Christ, and is immortal; therefore he did not beleeve Transubstantiation: And here again, he confirms the perseverance of them who have true grace. In the Homily *De Passione Christi secundum Matth.* he saith, After he had supped, he gave them bread and wine, to wit, in a mystery of his body and blood; for because bread strengthneth the heart of man, and wine augmenteth blood in man, justly is the bread turned into the body of Christ, and the wine into his blood; not by figure, or by shadow, but in truth; for we beleeve that it is the flesh of Christ in truth, and likewise his blood; but because human frailty is not accustomed to eat raw flesh, and to drink blood, therefore the same

flesh is translated into bread, and his blood into wine. And in the next page he saith, He gave it unto his Disciples, and said; Take ye, eat ye. This is contrary unto them which give the Eucharist unto dead men; for when the Lord had said, Take ye; presently he adds, And eat ye; because it is not sufficient to take, unless each do eat it to his salvation; because what they could not take in their life, they shall not be able to take after death. Like- wise taking the Cup, he gave thanks, and gave it unto them; and said, Drink ye all of it; that whosoever takes, should drink. Here is Transubstantiation will a Romanist say: But observe first, How can the opinion of Transubstantiation stand with the preceding testimony? 2. He speaks here as Remigius did before; to wit, not a substantial change, but a real change in respect of use and condition. 3. He saith, Christ's flesh is translated into the bread; as well as he saith, the bread is turned into his body; but this they will not maintain, and neither of them is done substantially, and yet both really; to wit, as he saith in the first words, in a mystery. 4. He saith expressly, Christ gave them bread, and commanded to eat; therefore it is still bread, and must be eaten. The bread is such bread as strengthneth the heart, and the wine is such wine as augmenteth blood; therefore the substance of bread and wine doth remain. And here he condemns another practise of the Romanists, which although they do not profess in writing, yet I have heard credibly reported, that they do (as baptize dead children, so) put bread, or the hosty, into the mouths of the elder persons, when they are dead. This Haymo writ also a large Commentary on the Revelation; wherein, though he fail in the application of the Prophetical part, as not knowing what was to come, yet is he Orthodox in doctrine, and contradicts the present Romish Church in many particulars; and (as once I have said before) we look upon the pure mettle, and leave the dross. In *lib. 1.* at the words, *Grace and peace*; he saith, It is to be noted, that it is not said, Peace and Grace, but grace is permitted, and peace follows; because none can attain the peace of reconciliation, unless the grace of mercy previene him; because that we may come to the peace of God, we are prevented by the grace of God; and generally, all things which we have from God, whether in faith, or in work, in abstinence, fasting, and other things, are given to us freely of his only mercy. On *cap. 2.* at the words, *I will make him a Pillar in the Temple*; he saith, None doubteth that the Temple of God is the Church of the Elect. . . . The Lord then saith, Who overcome, understand ye, the temptations of the Diel, worldly lusts, and carnal delights, I will make him a Pillar in the Temple of my God; that is, I will make him strong in good work, that he shall not fear any loss; but moreover by the strength of his fortitude, that is, by his example and doctrine he may sustain the Church: And where it is said, He shall not go forth any more, it is manifestly known that he had gone forth . . . but being recalled, he shall go no more forth; that is, he shall be separated no more from the grace of Christ. As in this place, so in a hundred more of that Commentary, he calleth the member of the Church, the Elect; and he speaks oft of their perseverance. In *lib. 2.* on *cap. 3.* at these words, *I will sup with him*; he saith, The head supped with the members, and the members with the head; because Christ died for the Elect, and the Elect die with him, that they also may perfect the will of the Father: Christ feedeth us, because he inlightneth us with his faith; and on the other side, we feed Christ, when we do delight him with our faith and works. On *cap. 8.* at these words, *And another Angel came, and stood before the Altar*; he saith, This other Angel is the man Christ-God; of whom the Prophet saith, His name shall be called the Angel of the great Counsel; for he is the messenger of the Father's will, which came and stood

stood before the Altar with a golden Censer, to shew that he is the true High-Priest of good things to come; for it is the ministry of a Priest to stand at the Altar, and diligently to burn the Incense being prepared with spices; for he is the Angel of Angels, and the High-Priest of Priests. Moreover, before the Altar, that is, before all the Church, which burneth with the fire of God's love; and offereth unto God a true sacrifice (that is, a contrite heart,) killing himself, that he might be a living and reasonable sacrifice: For before this Altar standeth the Angel, that is, the true High-Priest, by whom we send all our Sacrifices unto God the Father; wherefore also the Priests, in all their prayers, make mention of him, that by him they may be heard, saying; Through our Lord Jesus Christ To this Angel the Incenses are given, that he should offer them unto the Father upon the Altar, that is, upon himself, by whom the godly do direct, unto the Father, their prayers, and all their works; as it is written, If any man sin, we have with the Father an Advocate, Jesus Christ the just, and he is the propitiation for our sins. Here he expoundeth not that Text, as the Rhemists and other late Papists do, of a created Raphael or other Angel; and out of it, they would prove the lawfulness of praying to Angels. On *Chap. 9.* at the words, *And there arose a smoke out of the pit;* he saith, That is, the doctrine of wicked Hereticks is made manifest; which is well compared unto smoke, because it wants the light of truth; and what in the Holy Scripture gives light unto the godly, that poureth blindness upon Hereticks, and they cease not to obscure the light of faith unto others. . . . *And there come locusts upon the earth,* to wit, Disciples of error come to deceive the earthly hearts of men; for locusts neither walk forward, as some wights, neither do they flee as fowls; because the Disciples of Hereticks, and Hereticks themselves, neither have upright faith that they may flee and seek heavenly things with the godly; of whom Esaias saith, Who are these which flee as Clouds; nor have forward or right walking of works, that they can say with the Psalmist, *He set my feet upon a Rock, and directs my steps.* The locusts do leap and eat every green thing, because they are lifted up with pride; and kill so many souls as they can, which have the greenness of faith *And it was commanded them, that they should not hurt the grass . . .* Heretick grass is taken in a good sense, for it signifieth sucking ones, which cannot eat solid meat, but delight in the superfluous of the Letter; to whom the Apostle saith, I could not speak unto you as spiritual men, but as carnal . . . And every green thing, signifieth them who have made better progress; who can now understand what John saith, In the beginning was the word. And the Trees are they who are perfect and strong in the faith, because such can indure the wind of temptations . . . *But only the men which have not the sign of God in their fore-heads,* understand ye worthily; because here are excluded, not only those which are without the Church, that is, Pagans and Jews; but also false Christians, who have the sign in their body, that is, are baptized, and are within the Church, but with their works do defile the faith which they seem to have; and therefore are hurt. . . . seeing many do confess Christ in words only, but having a form of godliness, deny the power thereof; they confess they know God, but deny him by their works. The Reader may judge, whether in all this testimony he describeth not the Jesuits, as if he had seen or had experience of them; at least, his words are contrary unto them; for they especially do speak against the Scriptures, and cease not to obscure them; and so forth: But especially, mark how Haymo expounds *The sign of God in their fore-heads*; whereas the Rhemists in their Annotations, and others of that stamp, do expound it of the sign of the Cross. In *lib. 6. on chap. 19.* at the words, *I fell at his feet, to worship . . .* he saith, Because John saw him grea-

ter then himself, he falling down would have worshipped him; for here both the Angel and John take their own persons: for whereas the Angel had said, I am *alpha* and *omega*, the first and the last; he shews in this place, that he was sent in the person of Christ; when considering his own person, he forbids that John do not worship him . . . he saith, See, that is, beware that thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant; for we both, thou and I, have one Lord; and in nothing am I preferred above thee, but in doctrine, which I am sent to teach thee; neither am I thy companion only, but also of thy brethren; to wit, I profess my self the co-equal of all beleeving men, which have the testimony of Jesus, that is, the faith of Jesus . . . *Worship God*; as if he had said, Do not worship me, who speak these words unto thee, but him in whose person I appear. How far differeth Haymo here from the Reformed Church? And yet the Rhemists on that Text say, *The Protestants abuse this place, and the example of the Angel, forbidding Iohn to adore him . . . but in truth it makes for no such purpose, but only warneth us, that Divine honour and adoration due unto God alone, may not be given unto Angels*. But we see, that Haymo knew not any such distinction; and he gives a reason, why no Beleever should worship an Angel in any way. In *lib. 7.* on the same chap. he saith, If the first man had not sinned, he had continued immortal; but because he contemned God's command, immediately he incurreth God's wrath, and dieth. A little after, Haymo hath many significations of the word *Sun*, in Scripture; but he shews not that it signifieth the Pope. At the last words of the Book, he saith; Observe, this Book beginneth with grace, and endeth in grace; because both by preveining grace are we saved, and by subsequent grace are we justified: wherefore Paul also ordreth his Epistles unto the Churches, in this manner, that he beginneth with grace, and closeth with grace. He hath many such passages, but these may serve for a tast of the doctrine, of those times, in the Church.

19. Lupus was Abbot of the Monastery of Ferrara, by the water Lupa running into Sene, at the same time. He writ several Epistles unto King Lewis, to Hincmar, &c. which were Printed at Paris, *An. 1588*. In the first Epistle, he saith, Now they are accounted troublesom, who are desirous to learn; and as if they were set in an high place, the unlearned gaze on them continually; and if they can espy any fault in them, it is not called human frailty, but it is imputed unto the quality of learning. In the 2 and 4 Epistle, He comforteth his Master Einhard, after the death of his wife; he speaks honourably of marriage, and comfortably of the estate of the godly after this life, without any mention of Purgatory, or mass for the defunct: and he interlaceth these sentences, The word of God inlightneth the most obscure darkness of this life; as it is said, Thy word is a Lantern unto my feet: The way of man is not in his own power, but the footsteps of men are directed by God; and the liberty of man's free-will, hath altogether need of the help of God's grace. When we are in any distress, the more truly we are sensible of our frailty, the more speedily should we run unto the help of God's mercy; and it is sweetly said, Where man's power faileth, the help of God is present; neither is this a long travel, if we endeavour: for he who calleth saying, Come unto me, who are weary; he informeth them which come, and without all doubt he crowneth them continuing in him. Say with the famous and most sweet Augustine, Give me, Lord, what thou biddest do, and bid do what thou wilt; seeing God both previenes and follows us, that we may will or do any good. In the 112 Epistle, Let the worthiness of virginity be commended so, that the humility of marriage be not despised. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 9. Trithem. in Catal. illustr.* saith, that he writ of redemption superfluously, even to the
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salvation of Reprobates. Here *Trithem.* doth him wrong, as appears by the book it self, which was Printed lately at Rotterdam, with a Preface of the learned Doctor Kiver, or *Renatus Devirans*, who hath a part of his XXX Epistle written unto Gotteschalk, answering unto that question, Whether we shall, after resurrection, behold God with bodily ey? Here he commendeth the modesty of Augustine, and denieth that God can be seen in his substance, which priviledge is reserved unto the Spirit; and then he saith, Though I pay my debt of love unto thee, much respected brother, I cannot fully discharge it; but I exhort thee, that thou spend not thy spirits any more on such questions; lest being taken up with them more than is needfull, thou be lesse able to search and teach profitable things. In the mean time, let us walk in the most large field of holy Scriptures, and give our selves wholly unto the meditation of them, and seek the Lord's face humbly, piously and continually, for no good shall be lacking unto them who seek him. Then that Preface shews, that this Abbot was not Authour of that Book, which Trithemius and others do call his; but another Lupus, who did live at the same time; to wit,

20. Lupus Servatus a Benedictine, in the Abbey of Saint Amand, in the Diocye of Tournay, writ a Treatise of free-will, predestination, and of the price of Christ's blood. The sum of that Treatise the Authour did collect in an Epistle unto King Charls the Bald, who had commanded him to write on that subject. His words are; God made Adam upright, as the holy Scripture teacheth, and in him he created us all originally upright; this father of mankind forsaking natural uprightnes (none forcing him) did sin so grievously, that himself, and in him he condemned us all which are begotten of both sexes; God therefore made human nature excellently good, but man hath corrupted it miserably by his spontaneous fault: Adam was then, as saith blessed Ambrose, and we all were in him; but Adam perished, and we all perished in him: Let us praise God's work, and confess that nothing but punishment is due unto our fault. But God, to whom all things which were, are, and which are to come, are present (for he is what he is) nor can be any addition or diminution of his knowledge; seeing he fore-knew the whole mass of mankind to be corrupted with sin, would not hold from it the good of his creation, seeing he could use well even evil things; and before the foundation of the world, he did chuse out of that mass, whom by grace he would deliver from deserved punishment; as the Apostle saith, *As he hath chosen us before the foundation of the world*: But others, on whom he vouchsafes not this grace of mercy, he in just judgment leaveth them in damnation, which they have deserved by sin. And thus, as the Apostle saith, he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardneth. He shews mercy on such whom he assumeth by grace, and he hardneth those whom he doth not mollifie by the same grace; but howbeit in hid, yet in just judgment he leaveth them. Those then on whom he shews mercy, are predestinated for glory; as the Apostle saith, *whom he hath fore-known, he hath predestinated*, and they are called the vessels of honour. These do ow unto him what they are, and what they have, because they are made by his goodness, when before they were not; and of his bountifulnes they are saved, when they were lost. But those whom he hardneth, that is, whom he softneth not, which are left in damnation, which they have originally and actually deserved, are called vessels fitted unto contumely, and prepared for destruction. That those are created, it is the good gift of God; and that they are punished it is their own evil. Blessed Augustine in many of his books, and especially in that he writ last, doubteth not to say, that they are predestinated to punishment; not meaning a fatal necessity on them which shall perish,

but the unchangeable desertion of them which are forsaken: For he had read, If God shut up a man, who shall open unto him? And also consider the works of God, that none can correct what he hath despised: And that also, I have given them over into the desires of their hearts, and they shall walk in their own devices. And I think he was led into this thought, especially by that testimony concerning God, Which made what was to come: And to whom it is said, *Thou wilt give to every one according to their works*; which, indeed, he will do to each one, except whom he blesteth by forgiving their iniquities, and hiding their sins; which advancing his grace with highest praises can say, He deals not with us according to our sins, nor rewardeth us according to our iniquities. With Augustine do, in other words, agree Jerom, Gregory, Beda, Ildore... as I could easily demonstrate. Certainly the first man did, by sinning, lose free-will in good, which he did despise; and he holds it in evil, which he chose: But as if a man willeth, he can kill himself, by withholding food from himself; but when he is killed, he cannot make himself to live; so man could willingly lose the use of free-will in good, by forsaking it; but he cannot resume it by his own strength, even although he would; therefore he shall not have free-will in good, unless it be made free by the grace of God. Our Lord Jesus, which knew (as it is written) what is in man, declareth this soundly, when he said, *Without me ye can do nothing*; to wit, no good thing; for he cannot be the Authour nor co-worker of ill, who (as John Baptist saith) is the Lamb of God, and takes away the sins of the World; to wit, both which were, and that they be not done. And elsewhere, If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be truly free.... God's grace preveneth us; as it is written, My God his mercy shall prevent me, that we may both will and begin: and his grace followeth us; as it is written, Thy mercy shall follow me; that in vain we will not or begin. These then are principally of God, as is clear by these testimonies; and but consequently ours, because they are done by us willingly; as it is written, Lord, thou wilt give us peace, for thou workest all our works unto us..... Lastly, whom God hath redeemed by his blood, it is learned by the Gospel. In Matthew the Lord saith, Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new Testament, which shall be shed for many for remission of sins: And in Mark, This is my blood of the new Testament, which shall be shed for many: But in Luke, This is the new Testament of my blood, which shall be shed for you. Then two Evangelists say, *For many*; and one, *For you*; because the Disciples are amongst the many; but none saith, *For all*. And lest I be judged to search thus rashly, holy Jerom expounding that Text, The Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his soul a ransom for many; saith, When he took the form of a servant, that he might shed his blood for the World; and said not, he would give his soul a ransom for all; but for many, that is, for them which were to believe in him. In this exposition, according to the Catholick faith, he teaches that only Believers are understood..... Who dare contradict so clear lights confirming their doctrine by Evangelical sense, but which are not ashamed to appear without light? And that I may speak with leave and reverence of so great a man, John Bishop of Constantinople [Chrysostom] not seeing this sense flowing from the fountain of the Gospel, when he expounds that of the Apostle, *That, by the grace of God, he should taste death for all men*; not for Believers only, said he, but for all the World; and truly, he died for all men: But what if all men believe not? He hath done his part. But when he thought thus, he hath not confirmed it by a Divine testimony. And if any hath shewed, or shall shew unto your Excellency, that one Faustus hath written far otherwise of the things, credit ye not him who erreth, &c.

21. At the same time was also question of the presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament. Charls the Bald gave in command unto Bertram, a Priest at Corbey, to search and write what was the doctrine of the Fathers and ancient Church in this article. *Trithemius* saith, Bertram was singularly learned, of an excellent eloquence and utterance, pregnant in judgment, and no less famous for holiness of life; and writ many excellent Treatises, whereof few have come to our hands. In obedience unto his Sovereign, he did compile a Treatise, *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, which is all inserted in *Catal. test. ver. lib. 10*, and was lately translated into our language, and Printed at Aberdeen; so that who pleaseth to read it, may easily find it. Only the estate of the question I set down here, with an argument or two; and his conclusion your high Excellency desireth to understand, Whether that Body and Blood of Christ, which is received by the mouth of Beleevers in the Church, be taken in a mystery, or according to literal verity? that is, whether it contain some secret thing which is only manifest to the eye of faith, or without the vail of any mystery; if the eyes of the body behold that outwardly, which the soul and mind do behold inwardly? Unto this he adjoineth another, Whether it be the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, and which suffered and died? Concerning the first, he shews, that the word *literal verity*, signifieth a demonstration of a thing in its proper and manifest signification; as when it is said, Christ died: And that *in a figure*, is when a thing is signified in an over-hallowing vail or trope; as when Christ saith, I am the Vine; such speeches say one thing, and signifie another, saith he. His first reason is, If the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood be celebrated without any figure, it is not properly called a mystery, wherein is no secret thing, nothing removed from our corporal senses: But that Bread which, by consecration of the Priest, is made the body of Christ, shews one thing to the outward senses of men, and crieth another thing inwardly to the souls of Beleevers; outwardly the bread is the self-same that it was before, for we see the same shape and colour, and the same tast is perceived; but inwardly, a far more excellent, different, and precious thing is signified and exhibited, because it is heavenly and divine; that is, the body of Christ is shewed unto us, yet not seen with fleshly eyes; but is seen, taken and eaten by the looking of a beleeving soul. The wine also, which by consecration is made the Sacrament of Christ's Blood, representeth one thing outwardly, and contains another thing inwardly; for what see we outwardly but the substance of wine? tast it, and it is wine; smell it, and it savoureth wine; look on it, and you see the colour of wine: But if it be considered inwardly in the mind, it tasteth not as wine; but as the blood of Christ, unto the beleeving soul; and it is acknowledged such, when it is seen; and so it is approved, when it is smelled. These to be such, it is manifest; because none can deny, but that bread and wine, is only figuratively the body and blood of Christ; for, as is clearly seen and known, no flesh is in that bread, nor can any drop of blood be pointed forth in that wine; whereas nevertheless after consecration they are not called bread or wine, but the body and blood of Christ. After thirty other arguments, proving a figure in these words, *This is my body*; he comes to the other question, and hath this argument, The flesh of Christ, which was crucified, did shew no more outwardly, then it was in it self, because it was the flesh of a very man; to wit, a true body under the form of a true body: But we must consider in that bread, not only the body of Christ, but the bodies of all Beleevers are also represented in it; for which cause, it is made of many grains of wheat; because the body of the Church, is made up of many beleevers of the word of Christ; for this cause, as in the mystical bread the body of Christ is understood; so also, in the same mystery,

the members of the Church are represented to be one in Christ; and as not corporally but spiritually that bread is called the body of the Church or believing people; after the same manner also, it must be understood to be the body of Christ; not corporally, but. Also the things which are alike, are comprehended under the same definition: But concerning the true body of Christ; it is said, He is very God, and very Man, who in the latter time of the World, was born of the Virgin: and these things cannot be said of the body of Christ, which is consecrated in a mystery in the Church; therefore according to a certain manner only, is it to be the body of Christ; and that manner, is by a figure and in resemblance, that so the truth of the thing it self, may be the more sensibly understood. In the prayers also, which are said after the mystery of the body and blood of Christ, and wherein the people answer, *Amen*; the Priest uttereth these words, We beseech thee, O Lord, which are partakers of the pledges of eternal life, that what we touch in resemblance in this Sacrament, we may receive it in the manifest participation of the thing it self. Now we know that a pledge or resemblance, is of another thing resembled; that is, they are not to be considered as they are in themselves, but as they have reference to another thing; for a pledge is of that for which it is given, and so is an Image the resemblance of that whose similitude it representeth. . . . wherefore it is the body and blood of Christ which the Church celebrateth, but as a pledge and resemblance. The conclusion is; Wherefore, most noble Prince, let your wisdom consider, that it is most clearly shewed, by testimonies of Scripture, and words of the holy Fathers, that the bread, which is called the body of Christ, is a figure, because it is a mystery; and that there is a great difference between the mystery of his body, and his body it self. . . . And we add (saith he) that the Bread and Cup, which are called the Body and Blood of Christ, do represent and are in remembrance of the Lord's death; as he said, Do this in remembrance of me; and Paulexpounds, How oft ye eat this bread, . . . shew forth the Lord's death. Now some Popish *Indices* have forbidden this book altogether, as unlawfull; and those of Doway perceiving that the forbidding of it, did occasion men to look after it, thought it better to let it go abroad; but in some places maimed, and in others perverted; as where it is said *visibiliter*, they will have it *invisibiliter*; and where it is said, *secundum creaturarum substantiam*, they bid to expound it, *secundum externas species sacramenti*. Likewise Bishop Usser, in *Histor. Gottesc. cap. 11*, writes, that he had seen other books of Bertram in manuscripts, and containing the same doctrine; especially his book *De Prædestinatione*, which he writ in defence of the doctrine for which Gotteschalk did suffer, is extant under the name of Ratrannus, Monk of Corbey.

22. Remigius Bishop of Autisiodor, or of Auxerre, about the year 880, was called *Doctor Sententiosus*; he writ many works. On *Psal. 10*, he saith; All my faith is in Christ, by him only do I beleve to be justified and saved; he is my mountain, and my refuge; for he is my Lord, which is God by nature; but all ye who are men, are infirm as I. On *Psal. 18*. The Heavens declare the glory of God; to wit, that he saveth not by works of righteousness, which we have done; but of his own righteousness; for all men have sinned, and stand in need of the glory of God, being justified freely. This is the declaring of God's glory; that is, his mercy which is shewed by the Sun, wherein God is glorified. So long as we are in this body, it cannot be but sin is in us; then it reigneth, when we consent, and make our will subject unto it: wherefore the Apostle saith, Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies: therefore, O Lord, cleanse me, and spare me; but so that I be not subject to my own thoughts, nor the inticement of others. On *Psal. 21*. Adam made the old people by conformity

formity unto him; to wit, he was a servant; but the Lord hath made the new people, because he justifieth freely, without our preceding merits; for we made our selves sinners, but the only mercy of God makes us righteous. . . . The poor shall eat me; that is, shall receive the Sacrament of my body and blood; and they shall be filled by following me, and denying themselves; because to eat the Lord, is to have a will to follow him in all things, and to be one with him. On *Psal.* 29. Eternal life is not by merit; because we could fall of our selves, but we could not rise of our selves; but through his will, that is, only of mercy. On *Psal.* 33. Truly, they only are blessed, they only are saved, which are justified by grace, and not by their merits. On *Psal.* 39. When we live well, let us ascribe nothing to our merits, but all to the grace of God. On *Psal.* 55. If we will offer sacrifice to God, we need not seek any thing without to offer, within us is the Incense of praise, and the sacrifice of faith. On *Psal.* 64. Propitiation is miseration shewed after sacrifice: So Christ willing to shew mercie [*propitiari*] on his people, became a Priest, praying unto the Father, with hands lifted up upon the Crofs; he offered a sacrifice, because he offered himself on the Altar of the Crofs; he is the Priest, he is the Sacrifice, the Propitiator, and the propitiation. On *Psal.* 85. God the Father could give no greater gift unto men, then that he made his Word, by which he made all things, to be a head unto them, and did fit these men to be as members unto Him; so that He is God with the Father, and Man with men; who both prayeth for us, and prayeth in us, and is praised unto by us. He prayeth for us, because he is Priest and Sacrifice, interceding daily with the Father for us. He prayeth in us, because he is our head; neither is this any wonder, if Christ and the Church be in one voice, because they are in one bodie. He is prayed unto by us, as our God; he is prayed unto in the form of God; he prayeth in the form of man; there the Creator, here a creature. On *Psal.* 70. It is a great gift of God, and a great knowledge of man, to observe and understand, that whatsoever he is, he is nothing without the grace of God, and he is nothing of himself; for he which will be any thing of himself, he tendeth not to be; but who studieth to be something, by the grace of God, abideth in true being [*in vero esse.*] This is grace, by which we were made, when we were not; of ungodly, we were made godlie; of slaves, free; of damned, were assumed into the Kingdom. On *Psal.* 96. Let them be confounded who glory in Images; for Images are not to be adored, neither is an Angel to be adored; because it is said in the Revelation, See thou do it not. *Catal. testat. verr. libr.* 10.

23. Paschasius Rathbert, Abbot of Corbeyen, at the same time writ a book *De Eucharistia*. He saith *Ca.* 1. Christ hath left unto us his Church, no greater thing then this Sacrament and Baptism, and the holy Scriptures; in all which, the Holy Ghost (who is a pawn unto his Church) doth work inwardly the mystical things of our salvation unto immortalitie. But in them is nothing wondrous unto unbelievers; and yet unto them who beleeve nothing is better, nothing is given more wonderfull in this World: Not that these wondrous things lie open unto the eies, but by faith and understanding they are favourie with divine mysteries; and in them immortalitie and participation of Christ, in the unity of body, is granted unto mortal men. *Ca.* 5. We drink Christ's blood spiritually, and we eat his flesh spiritually, wherein eternal life is beleeved; to think otherwise, according to flesh, is death: and to eat the flesh of Christ spiritually, is eternal life. *Ca.* 6. Unless one abide in Christ, and Christ in him, he cannot eat of Christ, nor drink his blood: And what is it that men eat? Behold how oft all do eat at the Altar indifferently, one eats the flesh of Christ spiritually, and another not, although we see that he takes a

morsel from the Priest's hand. What then getteth he, seeing there is but one consecration, if he get not the body and blood of Christ? Truly, because he eateth unworthily; as Paul saith, he eats and drinks damnation to himself. *Ca. 15.* Drink ye all of this, as well Ministers as Beleevers. In many Chapters, he distinguisheth between the sign and the thing signified. *Biblioth. de la Bigne, tom. 6.*

*The conversion
of the Bul-
garians,*

24. When Leo Armenius Emperour of Constantinople, had Wars with Martagon Prince of Bulgaria, his sister was taken Captive; the Emperour caused her to be instructed in the Christian faith, and she was baptized. Martagon sent for her, and in lieu of her he sent her husband Caphara. When she was returned, she did commend unto her Brother the Christian religion many a time; but he did nothing regard her speeches, untill the Country was plagued with pestilence and famine; and then he called upon that God whom his sister had so oft talked of, that he would deliver him and his people: Soon thereafter they were delivered, and he did acknowledge the power of Christ, and sent unto the Emperour for Teachers; then he was baptized. But the people moved insurrection against him, because he had forsaken the rites of his Ancestours. He was nothing afraid, but became victorious, and then they all became Christians. *Zonar. Ann. tom. 3.* After the death of the Emperour Theophilus, the Prince of Bulgaria seeing the Empire to be governed by a woman, and a young child, sent unto Constantinople, alledging his League now to be out of date; and he denounceth wars. Theodora returned answer, that she would defend the Empire, and if it shall please God that she prevail, he would be overcome by a woman; and he may consider what a shame that were unto him; but if she were overcome, his victory were not honourable, in taking advantage of a woman. When he received this answer, he was content to renew the former league, *Zonar. ibid.* I mark this History, to shew the difference of people in old times, from them who have lived lately; when Kings will make Wars without any denunciation, or accepting any reasonable intreaty. The Emperour Basilus Macedo did perswade many Jews to embrace Christian religion; and to effect that he gave them both money and liberty. He made also a League with the Rhositi, a Nation of Scythians, by the Mountain Taurus, but upon condition that they would accept Christianity, and sent Teachers unto them: But they lingere, and said unto the Bishop, That they would see some of those miracles, which he said Christ had wrought, or else they would not beleeve him. Then said he, Say what you would have done. They answered, Throw that book into the fire, which teacheth of Christ; and if it burn not, it shall be an argument unto us that Christ is God, whom thou preachest. The Bishop was content, a fire is kindled; and the Bishop lifting up his eyes and hands unto Heaven, said, O Jesu Christ very God, glorifie thy own name. So before them all he threw the Gospel into the fire: It continued in the fire a long space without any change. The Barbarians were astonished, and beleeving in Christ, did crave to be baptized. *Zonar. loc. cit.*

*and many
Jews,*

*and some Scy-
thians.*

CHAP. IV.

OF BRITAIN.

1. IN the Year of our Lord 824. the Danes were Lords of Northumberland, and raised wars against Edmund King of England; they took him, and because he would not deny Christ, they tied him unto a Tree, and shot at him

him till he died; then they cut off his head, and cast it among the bushes. His own Subjects did bury him both head and body at Halefdon, which from thence was called Edmundsburrow.

2. In the Synod held at Celicyth in England, about the year 816, the fourth Canon is, Let no Scot be permitted to administer Divine Service within any of our Diocies; because as no Bishop nor Presbyter should meddle with another Diocye without consent, far less should any people receive any Service from them of another Nation, which give no honour unto Metropolitans nor other Bishops. *Sir Hen. Spelman in Concil.* Hence it is clear by the testimony of that Synod, that at that time Scotland did not acknowledge Bishops. Of this more hereafter in Cent. XI.

3. In the year 832. Hungus King of Peichts died, and left his son Dorstforld to be his Successour, and he was killed by his brother Egan. Egan did think to establish himself in the Kingdom, by distributing his Fathers treasure amongst the Nobles; and by marrying his brothers wife Brenna, lest she thinking her self degraded would excite her father, the King of Merchis, against him. Nevertheless she murdered him, in revenge of the murder of her husband. Then Dongal King of Scots, sent unto the Peichts, and craved their Crown unto Alpin son of Achajus, and the sister-son of Hungus, and so the nearest heir. They returned answer, No Prince of another blood, might by their Laws reign over them; and they were accustomed to transfer the Crown from one house to another, as they had judged expedient; and for the present they had chosen Feredeth their King, neither by their Laws could they deprive him, during his life. Dongal sent a second message, with certification, that if they did refuse to do justly unto the only heir, he would invade them by Battel. The Peichts sent some armed men, to inhibit the Messengers from coming nearer, under pain of death. Wherefore the Ambassadors did presently denounce Wars in the name of King Dongal and Alpine, *Boeth lib. 10. cap. 7.* Then King Feredeth took unto his proper use all the riches and jewels, which others had given unto the Churches; and he bereft Church-men of all the Tithes and their possessions, and he gave their lands unto his domesticks; the Nobles condescending, and esteeming all things to be but as fallen into an enemies hand, which had been given unto the Church. In the mean time Dongal levied an Army; and by the way he died in the water *Spey*, by force of the stream. Then Alpine was crowned King of Scots, and led forward the Army; at Restennet he slue Feredeth with many of his Nobles. Bruda then was King of Peichts, but injoied not the Kingdom many moneths; his son Feredeth had as bad success. Then the Scots were careless, as if the Peichts could make no more resistance. But another Brudus amasseth all their forces, to fight not so much for lands and liberty, as for life and children. In Anguise they had the victory, and Alpine was taken and brought, with his hands bound, unto the next village, where he was beheaded in the fourth year of his Reign; and his head was fixed on a pole upon the Walls of Camelon, in token of their Victory. Then Brudus conceived it easie to root the Scots out of the Island, and to this end he levied an Army; but in the field variance fell amongst them, so that Brudus was constrained to dismiss them. Within three moneths he died, and his brother Drusken succeeded. At this time some young Gentlemen, pretending themselves to be Merchants, came into Camelon, and brought away Alpine's head unto his son Kenneth. He was desirous to revenge his fathers death, and to recover his own right; but the Nobility said, It was more expedient to delay, without war or peace, because the wisest and valiantest were slain. At last they were perswaded to take Arms; and when the Armies came near, they joined without the command of their Lea-

ders, and fought cruelly. In the end the Peichts fought peace, and the Scots would not hear of it: wherefore Drusken gathered all his strength, and in Fife was utterly overthrown; many Peichts were slain, none of them (almost) remained in their land; some did escape into Northumberland, and some into Denmark. The Scots from thenceforth possessed all the land on the North of Adrian's wall, and Edinburgh became the Headburgh of Scotland. *Boeth* saith, They who did take the Tithes from the Church, had neither Tithes nor Land within less space then ten years, for this was *An. 839*. At that time the Bishops seat of the Peichts, was translated from Abernethy by Earn, unto Saint Andrews, and that was called the Bishop-seat of the Scots; for before that time Scotland had no Bishop, and Ministers were chosen by the suffrages of the people, after the manner of Asia, saith *Io. Bale in Catal. Illustr. cent. 14. cap. 6*. And *John Mayr in Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.* saith, The Scots were instructed in the faith by Priests and Monks, without Bishops. *Boeth lib. 6. cap. 5.* speaking of the Emperour Decius, saith, In this time the Scots were very profound in Theology and Holy Writ, by the doctrine of certain Monks, which in those daies were called *Culdei*, that is, the honourers of God; for then all Priests that honoured God, were called *Culdei*. Here it is clear, that *I. Mayr* and *Boeth* do speak (after the manner of their own times) of Monks and Priests, and they use both these terms; and in ancient times, the only term was *Culdei* for the Teachers of the word; but more of this when we come to the erection of Bishops.

4. Constantine, the son of Kenneth, convened his Nobles at Scone, about the year 862, ordained that Church-men should attend Divine Service diligently, and abstain from all civil affairs; they should live content with the Patrimony of their Churches; they should preach the Word of God unto their people, and live as they teach; they should be free from all charges of Wars; they should not feed Horse nor Hounds for pleasure; they should bear no weapons, nor judge in civil actions; if they do, they should pay for the first fault a sum of money; and for the second, they should be degraded. He made also other Laws for bringing the people unto their old frugality and industry. Here Laws are enacted for Church-men, without Pope or Bishop. In this King's time came the Danes, with the Peichts, into Scotland, under two Generals Hubba and Humber, they were discomfited in Fife; but Constantine was slain. King Gregory chased the Peichts (which were remaining) into Northumberland; where he fought so happily with the Danes and Peichts, that they were all (almost) slain, by Gregory on the one side, and by Alfred King of England on the other; and Northumberland was possessed by the Scots, granting liberty unto the Saxons to go or abide. Because the Britons had aided the Peichts, Gregory took from them Cumber and Westmerland, and slue their Prince Constantine. His brother Herbert, considering the hostility of the Scots and Danes, chose to make peace with the Scots. So Alfred drew up a general peace of all the Christians in Britain, against the Danes as a common enemy; and it was agreed that Gregory, for his valiantness, should perpetually enjoy Northumberland. This Gregory, by Act of Parliament at Forfar, did confirm all the privileges of the Church; and ordained that Church-men should not be drawn before Civil Judges, but only before their ordinary: he granted unto them to make Laws and Constitutions for the good of the Christian faith; to discuss all debates concerning Oblations, Tithes and Legacies or Testaments; to accurse all Rebels, and that all persons which were excommunicated should not be heard in Civil Courts. *Boeth. Histor. lib. 10. cap. 19*. Some Irish men had spoiled Galloway, and returned privily: therefore Gregory went with all hast into Ireland, he fought two Battels against

against two Governours, and vanquished them. Dublin was rendred unto him; he visited the young King Duncan, and protested that he came not for greediness of their Land, but to redress the wrong. With consent of the people, he took upon him the name of Tutor of the King, and committed him unto the trustiest of the Nobles, permitting them to use their own Laws; and requiring only of them, that without his seal they would admit no English, nor Britan, nor Dane amongst them; for assurance he took with him 60 men in pledge. This Gregory was called the Great, and died *An. 892. Buchanan. Hist. Scot.*

5. The fore-named Alfred was the first King of England, who had unction from Rome. He divided his movables into two equal portions; the one he appointed for uses secular, and divided it into three parts; one for his family; another for building of new works, wherein he had great delight; and the third he reserved for strangers. The other half he dedicated unto uses Ecclesiastical, and divided it into four portions; one for relief of the poor; another to Monasteries; the third to the Schools in Oxford, where he had erected a School for Grammar, another for Philosophy, and a third for Divinity; whereas before they had neither Grammar nor Sciences, because Pope Gregory the I. gave in command, that Britain should have no Schools, for fear of Heresies, but only Monasteries, *Bale*. And the fourth part he sent for the relief of distressed Churches without his Realm. *Sir Hen. Spelman in Concil. pag. 176.* sheweth, that he bewailed the ignorance of the Clergy in his time, that few on the South-side of Humber knew the Liturgy in English, or could translate an Epistle into the vulgar language; yea when he came first to the Throne, he found not one on the South-side of Thames. Note here, they did use the Liturgy in Latine, because they had received it so from Rome, and because the people in former times did understand it; but when the people understood it not, the King would have it rather in the vulgar. Alfred died *An. 901.*

6. John Scot (who was surnamed *Ærigena*, or born in Aire, for distinction from a former born at Melrose, and another in the XIII Century born in Duncce, otherwise called *Subtilis*) was famous for his pregnant judgement, wondrous eloquence, and (in those daies) rare knowledge of the Greek, Chaldean and Arabian languages. He went to Athens, and studied there some years. He returned into France, and was much respected by Charls the Bald; at whose command he translated the Books of Dionysius *De Hierarchia*, into Latine. Anastasius Bibliothecary of the Vatican, in the Preface before that Translation, writeth unto the same King, It is wonderfull how that barbarous man, which was born at the end of the World, and might have been thought to be as far distant in language, as he was in conversation from men, could understand such things, and turn them into another language; I mean (saith he) John Scot, whom I have heard to have been a very holy man. It is no marvel that he call him barbarous, because the Scots before that time, and some hundred years thereafter, did never acknowledge the See of Rome. This John did write a book, *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, against the opinion of carnal presence; which was condemned at the Synod of Verceilles, as followeth. *Bellarmin de Eucharist. lib. 1. cap. 1.* saith, This man was the first who writ doubtingly of this matter. It is the fault of the Romaniists that his book is not extant; but since it was not condemned by the Church for the space of 200 years, and none of his time spoke against that book, he wanted no reason in it. He writ a book of 19 Chapters, *De unica Prædestinatione*, more curious then sound; which was answered by Florus of Lions, as is before. He writ also a book with a Greek Title, *περί Φυσικῶν Διακρίσεων*, of the

distinction of natures: Some write, In it is the resolution of many profitable questions, but so that he followeth the greeks more then the Latines, and for this the Pope did persecute him; he fled into England, and was in account with Alfred, and was his Counsellour and Teacher of his children; afterwards he retired to the Abbey at Malmsbury, where his Disciples murthered him with their pen-knives; being inticed thereunto by the Monks, because he did speak against the carnal presence; as saith *Zepper. de calumnia heres. Berengar.* and was accounted a Martyr, as is recorded by *Guiliel. Malmsbu. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

CHAP. V.

OF COUNCELS.

1. **M**Any Synods were assembled in the beginning of this Century, and all *ex jussu Imperatoris*; as is express in the beginning of them particularly. In the year 813, Charls the Great assembled four Councils, one of 30 Bishops, and 25 Abbots at Mentz. In *Ca. 4.* it was ordained, That Baptism should be solemnly administred at Easter and Pentecost; but in case of necessity they might baptize at any time. *Ca. 5.* Seeing we have one God and Father in Heaven, and one mother the Church, one faith, and one baptism; therefore we should live in one peace and concord, if we desire to come into that one and true inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven; for God is not the Authour of confusion, but of peace; and he saith, Blessed are the peaceable. *Ca. 6.* an Act is, That fatherles children should not be dis-inherited: [This Act is to be expounded by another, following in the Council at Cabilon.] And the Fathers protest, that if it seem, they have passed bounds in admonishing his clemency, the Act be amended. *Ca. 8.* We will that Bishops have power to provide, rule, govern and dispense Spiritual and Ecclesiastical things, according to the authority of Canons; and that Laicks be obedient unto Bishops in their ministry, to rule the Churches of God, to defend widows and fatherles: And that Bishops should consent unto Counts and Judges to do justice; and that just Laws be not corrupted by lies, false witness, false oaths or rewards. *Ca. 10.* We decree that there be a distinction, between them which are said to have left the World, and them who yet follow it: It is therefore provided, by a Law of the Fathers, that who are separated from the secular life, should abstain from worldly pleasures; as, that they be not present at games, nor unhoneft and filthy bankets. *Jerom ad Nepotian.* saith, We should love the houses of all Christians, as our own; but so, that they may know us rather for comforters in their griefs, then feasters in their joviality: let them not be Usurers nor seekers of filthy gain, nor exerce any fraud; let them fly the love of money, as the mother of many evils: let them leave secular offices and affairs; let them not ascend the steps of honour ambitiously; let them not take gifts for the benefits of Divine medicine; beware of guile and oaths; fly envy, hatred, and back-biting; nor walk with wandring eys, with unstable and wanton tongues or proud carriage; but let them shew forth the shamefacedness of their minds, in simple habit and conversation: let them altogether abhor the filthiness of words, as well as of deeds; eschue the frequent visitations of widows and virgins, and no way haunt the houses of women: let them indeavour alwaies to keep the chastity of an undefiled body, giving due obedience unto their Superiours: Lastly, let them be diligent in teaching and reading, in Hymns and Psalms continually. They who give themselves to be

be servants in God's worship, should be such, that all that while they study to knowledge, they may administer doctrine unto the people. *Ca. 11.* Abbots and Monks are ordained to conform their lives unto the rule of Benedict, even as they have promised. *Ca. 12.* Monks are forbidden to go out of their Monasteries, unless upon necessity, and with leave of their Abbot. *Ca. 16.* To leave the world, is to resist the pleasures of the world; as Paul saith, Who use the World, as if they used it not. *Ca. 17.* We who have left the World, should wholly observe this, that we have spiritual armour, and forsake secular armour; nor may we stay the Laity from bearing weapons, because it is an old custom. *Ca. 24.* We ordain, that fasting be kept four times a year by all men; that is, the first week of March, and all should come unto the Church on the fourth, sixth, and Sabbath daies; the second week of June on the same daies, and let all fast untill the ninth hour [or third hour after noon,] likewise the third week of September, and the whole week before Christ's nativity. *Ca. 35.* If any shall proudly condemn the Fasts, and will not keep them with other Christians; it is ordained in the Gangrene Council, that he shall be accursed, untill he profess amendment. *Ca. 38.* We command that Tithes be alwaies payed, which God hath commanded to be given unto him; lest if any one hold from God his due, God take away his necessities from him for his sin. *Ca. 44.* Let the people be alwaies admonished to make their Oblations in the Church; for this is a soverain remedy for their own souls, and the souls of theirs. *Ca. 45.* Let Priests admonish the people alwaies to learn their Creed, which is the sum of faith, and the Lord's prayer; and we will that they be condignly censured which condemn to learn these two; and therefore, they should send their children unto a School or Monastery, or to a Priest, that they may learn the Catholick faith, and the Lord's prayer, that they may be able to teach others at home; and who cannot otherwise, let him learn them in his own language.

2. In the Council at Worms is first a Confession of faith, which is a plain and sound exposition of the Creed of the Apostles, and no mention in it of Christ's descending into Hell. *Ca. 1.* None should presume to make chrisim, but the Bishop. *Ca. 4.* Let no Church be consecrated, untill the Bishop receive the gift of the Church confirmed by Charter, and sufficient means for him who shall serve in it. *Ca. 8.* Of the Revenues of the Church, and Offerings of the Beleevers, let four portions be made; one for the Bishop; another to the Clerks for their service; a third for the poor and strangers; and the fourth to be kept for the Fabrick of the Church. *Ca. 10.* All Clerks are forbidden to lie with their wives, upon pain of deposition. *Ca. 17.* Let no Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon have Dogs for hunting, nor Hawks. *Ca. 25.* Let Pennance be enjoined unto Penitents at the pleasure of the Priests, according to the difference of faults, and quality of time, persons, places, age, sighs and affection of offenders. *Ca. 32.* All Christians are forbidden to marry any of their kindred, so far as can be known. *Ca. 35.* Women who cause themselves to make abortion, should without all doubt be punished as murderers; but who in their sleep do smother their babes, we should judge more easily of them, because they have fallen into this mischance unwillingly. *Ca. 41.* Who continue in malice and envy, after they are admonished by the Priest, should be excommunicated. *Ca. 51.* Unto each Church a manse should be given free from all service; and the Priests should give no service but Ecclesiastical for Tithes, for the peoples oblations, alterages, Church-yards; but if they have any other thing, let them pay dues unto their Superiours. *Ca. 51.* When means may be had at the sight of the Bishop, let every Church have their own Presbyter. *Ca. 52.* If a Church be new built in a Village, let the Tithes of that Village be

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payed unto that Church. *Ca. 61.* When witnesses cannot be had to testifie of the certainty that an Infant was baptized, nor themselves can shew that they were baptized, without all scruple they may be baptized. Our neighbours the Mores advise us to do so, because they redeem many such from the Barbarians.

3. In the first words of the Council at Rhemes, *An. 815*, it is said expressly, This is assembled by the Emperour, after the manner of ancient Emperours. Here the Epistles and Gospels were read for information of Deacons. *Ca. 6.* The Missals were examined for information of Priests. *Ca. 9.* The rules of Benedict were read for reformation of Monks. *Ca. 10.* *Liber Pastorales* of Gregory was read for reformation of Pastours. *Ca. 11.* Divers Sentences of several Fathers were read, that both Prelates and People might be stirred up to zeal and study of good works. 12. A form of hearing Confessions, and prescribing penance, was ordered. *Ca. 13.* Eight principal vices were declared, that all men might know them, and by the help of God abstain from them. *Ca. 14.* Bishops were commanded to read more diligently the Scriptures and writings of the Fathers, and to preach unto the people. *Ca. 17.* Bishops and Abbots should not permit wanton jests in their hearing, but have with them the poor and needy; and the word of God should be sounding beside them. *Ca. 35.* As the Lord commandeth, no servile work should be done on the Lord's day, nor Markets be held. *Ca. 39.* Tithes should be given fully. *Ca. 40.* Prayers and Oblations should be made for the Emperour and his children, that God would preserve them in all felicity in this world; and of his mercy make them rejoice with the holy Angels in the world to come.

4. At Cabilon it was ordained, that Bishops and Priests should read the Scriptures diligently, and teach their people; they should maintain and erect Schools for young ones. Priests and Monks were rebuked, which did persuade people to give liberally unto Churches and Monasteries, that themselves might live at more ease; and they order that all such goods, as Parents at their death had given foolishly, should be restored unto their children. Bishops and Priests should not be drunk; for how can such rebuke the people? They should not meddle with civil affairs, nor exact any thing from the inferior Priests, nor for chriim, nor for dedication of Churches, or ordination of Priests. They who give publick scandal, should make publick repentance. Concerning Pilgrimages they note many faults; Clarks think themselves free from discharging their office, and cleansed from their sin, if they go to such or such places; Laicks think they may do what they will, if they go thither and pray; Noblemen under pretext of Pilgrimage towards Rome or Turone, do spoil many poor subjects; and poor folks go in Pilgrimage, that they may have the more free occasion of begging, and many times say, that they are going thither, when they have no such purpose; and some are so foolish, that they think the only sight of such places cleanseth them from their sins. And how all these things may be redressed, they expect the will of the Emperour, and not a word of reformation by the Pope.

5. At Aken was a Council by command of Lewis the Godly. There it was decreed amongst other things; First, That every Church should have sufficient maintenance for the Priest, that none need to beg. 2. None of the Clergy, of whatsoever degree, should wear any cloath of Scarlet, or such precious colour, nor have rings on their fingers. 3. Prelats should not have too large houses, nor many horses, nor frequent harlots, nor play at dice, nor have gold or silver on their shoos, slippers nor girdles. Whence may be understood the pride and pomp of Prelates in those daies; which gave occasion unto *Platina* to say, O if thou, Lewis, wert now alive! the Church hath need of thy holy

holy statutes and censure, all orders of the Church are now so luxurious and voluptuous; thou wouldst see now, not only men (which haply might seem light) but horses, and other beasts clothed in purple, with a company of young men running before, and another of older following after; not upon Asles, as Christ did (who is the only example of living well upon earth) but upon fierce and harnished horses, as if they were triumphing over an enemy. I will not speak (saith he) of their silver vessels, and precious household stuff, seeing the ancient dishes of Italy, and ornaments of Attalus, and vessels of Corinth, are nothing in respect of them; and what follows on this, their intemperance I forbear to mention.

6. At Melda, upon the River Matrona, was a Synod assembled by Charls the II; where, among other Canons, it was decreed: First, That every bishop should have in his house one, which according to the pure mind of the Catholick Fathers, who is able to instruct the Priests in the faith and commandments of God; left the house of God, which is his Church, should be without the Lantern of the Word. 2. That Presbyters should not be suffered to continue abroad, but that they dwell at their Church. 3. A charge was given, in the name of Christ, unto all Bishops, unto Kings and all in authority, and unto all who have power in election and ordination in any Order Ecclesiastical, that none be admitted by simony, by whatsoever faction, promise or gift, either by the person or another for him. 4. That no Bishop do retire into a remote place for his own ease, and so neglect his charge; but that he visit his Parishes diligently, and he, with his children, live in chastity, sobriety and hospitality. 5. That the damnable custom of some Bishops be amended, who never or seldom visit their people; although the Lord hath said, I have set thee a Watch-man, &c.

7. At Rome was a Synod of 47 Bishops, convened by Pope Leo the IV, at the command of Lotharius; where these former Canons were confirmed in other words; and moreover, that a Bishop should not be consecrated unless the Clergy and People do crave him: Priests should be diligent in searching the Scriptures, and in teaching the people, and should not permit games in their fight; Priests should not be taken up with fenory, hunting, hawking, or any rural work, nor go abroad without a sacerdotal habit: Abbots must be able to cognosce and amend, whatsoever might be done amiss by their brethren.

8. At Valentia *An. 855.* was a Council by command of the same Lotharius; there was three Metropolitans, Remigius of Lions, Agilmar of Vienna, Roland of Arles, and 14 Bishops, with a venerable company of Priests and Deacons. Six Canons were enacted: The first for eschuing all new-coined words in doctrine. *Ca. 2.* God foreknows, and hath eternally foreknown, both the good things which the godly were to do, and the evil which the wicked were to do; because we have the voice of the Scriptures, saying, O eternal God which knowest all things, and hid things, ere they be done; *Dan. 13.* we faithfully hold, and it pleaseth to hold still, that He foreknew that good men were to be good by his grace, and according to the same grace were to receive everlasting reward; and that he foreknew that the wicked were to be wicked through their own wickedness, and were to be damned with everlasting punishment through his justice; as the Psalmist saith, Power belongeth to God, and unto him belongeth mercy, that he may render unto every one according to their works; and the Apostle teacheth, To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek glory, and honour, and immortality, he gives eternal life; but unto them which are contentious. . . . And again, In flaming fire rending vengeance on them which know not God. . . . And

that the foreknowledge of God did not put upon any evil man, any necessity that he could not be otherwise; but that He in his Almighty and unchangeable Majesty (as he knows all things ere they be) did foreknow that the wicked were to be such of their own will: Nor do we beleve that any is condemned in His prejudice, but according to the merit of their own iniquity; nor that the wicked do perish because they could not be good, but because they would not be good; and through their own fault continue in the mass of perdition or original and actual sin. *Ca. 3.* But concerning the Predestination of God, it pleaseth and faithfully doth please, according to the authority of the Apostle, saying; Hath not the Potter power over the clay, to make of the same mass one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? We confidently confess the predestination of the elect unto life, and predestination of the wicked unto death; and in the election of them who are to be saved the mercy of God precedes the good merit; but in the damnation of them who perish, their wicked merit precedes the just judgment of God: And in that predestination God hath only appointed what he was to do, either in his gracious mercy, or just judgment; as the Scripture saith, Which hath done what things were to be: But in the wicked he foreknew their wickedness, because it is of them; and he did not predestinate it, because it is not of him; but because he knows all things which he did foreknow, and because he is just, he did predestinate the punishment that follows their merit; for with him (as Augustine saith) is as well a fixed decree, as a certain knowledge of every thing; and hither belongs that saying of the Wise Man, Judgments are prepared for the Scorners, *Prov. 19.* Of this unchangeableness of the foreknowledge and predestination of God, by which the future things are already done, may that well be understood. *Eccles. 3,* I know whatsoever God doth, it shall be for ever; nothing can be put to it, and nothing taken from it; and God doth it, that men should fear before him. But that any are, by the power of God, predestinated unto evil, as if they could not be otherwise, We not only do not beleve it; but even if there be any which will beleve such evil, with all detestation (as did the Arausicane Synod) we say *Anathema* unto them. *Ca. 4.* Item of the redemption of the blood of Christ, because of so great an error which hath begun in this point; so that some (as their writings declare) define, that it was shed even for the wicked, which from the beginning, unto the coming of Christ, being dead in their wickedness, are punished with everlasting damnation; contrary to that of the Prophet, O death I will be thy death, and O grave I will be thy destruction; it pleaseth us, to hold and teach simply and faithfully according to Evangelical and Apostolical truth, that this price was given for them, of whom our Lord saith, So must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever beleeveth in him shall not perish; but . . . And the Apostle saith, Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many: And moreover, the four Articles that were defined unadvisedly in the Synod of our brethren [at Carisiac] for their inutility, are also error contrary unto truth; and likewise other things concluded foolishly in the 19 Syllogisms [of John Scot] and glorious with no secular literature (although it be boasted otherwise) in which rather the argument of the Devil, then any argument of the faith, is found; we discharge them altogether from the hearing of Beleevers; and by the authority of the Holy Ghost we inhibit them, that those, and such things, be altogether shunned; and we do judge, that introducers of new things should be corrected, lest they be smitten more severely. *Ca. 5.* We believe that it should be held firmly, that all the multitude of the faithfull is regenerated by the water and the Spirit, and thereby truly incorporated into the Church; and according to Apostolical doctrine

are baptized into the death of Christ, and washed in his blood; because neither could be true regeneration in them, unless there were also true redemption; seeing in the Sacraments of the Church nothing is in vain, and nothing in mockery; but altogether all things are true, and rely upon its truth and sincerity. And yet of that multitude of the faithful and redeemed, some are saved by eternal salvation, because through the grace of God, they continue faithfully in their redemption, hearing in their hearts the voice of their Lord, *Matth. 10. & 24.* Who continueth unto the end shall be saved; and others, because they would not continue in the salvation of faith, which before they had received, and did chuse rather to make the grace of redemption in vain, through their wicked doctrine and life, then to keep it, attain no way to the fullness of salvation and possession of eternal blessedness: Seeing in both we have the doctrine of the godly Doctour, Whosoever are baptized into Christ, are baptized into his death; and, All which are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ; and, Let us draw near with a true heart in fullness of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and being washed in the body with clean water, let us hold fast the profession of our hope without change: And again, For them which sin willingly, after the received knowledge of the truth, there remains no other sacrifice for sin; and, He that despises the Law of Moses *Ca. 6.* Item of grace by which the Believers are saved, and without which never any reasonable creature hath lived blessedly; and of free-will, which is weakened by sin in the first man, but by the grace of Jesus Christ is renewed and healed in his Believers: We believe constantly, and with full faith, the same that the most holy Fathers have left to be kept according to the authority of the Holy Scriptures; what the Arausican and African Synods have professed; what the blessed High-Priests of the Apostolical See have held in the Catholick faith; and presuming to decline no way into another side, concerning nature and grace: But we reject altogether the foolish questions, and almost the fable of old women, and *Scot's* pottage (which the purity of faith cannot digest, and which have miserably and lamentably arisen in these most dangerous and grievous times, unto a heap of our labours, and breach of charity) lest Christian minds be corrupted, and fall from the simplicity and purity of faith which is in Jesus Christ: So far they. What they say here of *Scot's* pottage, they understand that Treatise of *John Scot*; and have borrowed the phrase from *Jerom's* Prologue, on *Jerem. lib. 1.* (speaking of *Celestius*, a Disciple of *Pelagius*, a Briton, and not a *Scot*.) And from this word *Baronius ad An. 855. §. 1.* writes, that this Synod was convened against some vagring Scots, of whom *Gottschalk* was the prime man; and thereby hath brought not only his *Brainus & Posssevinus*, but also our *Zeth Celvisius* into this Historical error; whereas neither was *Gottschalk* a *Scot*, nor of one accord with this *John Scot*, as we have cleared before.

9. At *Macra*, within the Diocly of *Rhemes*, was a Synod *An. 881.* There they distinguish between the power Civil and Ecclesiastical; and shew, that only Christ Jesus was both King and Priest, after the Incarnation; and as the one hath need of the other, so neither should a King assume Priestly power; nor a Priest meddle with secular affairs, or usurp Royal power; but they come not to shew what power belongeth unto the Magistrate in Ecclesiastical affairs. They do recite a Synodal Homily of *Gregory the I.* wherein the ambition of Priests is taxed, in these words; Because we have slipped into external purposes, partly through barbarous clamours, and partly through negligence of our time; and we have left the ministry of Preaching, and to our punishment are called Bishops, who keep the name of honour, and not the virtue there-

of; for they which have been committed unto us do forsake the Lord, and we are silent when they are weltring in their wicked works; nor do we reach the hand of correction; they perish daily with much wickedness, and we are careless when we see them going into Hell. But how can we amend the lives of others, since we have little thought of our own? for we are so bent upon Secular cares, that we are unsensible of what is within, because we do affect so much other things without us; for with the use of earthly care, our minds are hardened from heavenly desire; and when with the very use we are hardened in the actions of Adam's world, we cannot be softened unto those things which do concern the love of our Lord; when we are taken up with extraneous actions, we do forget the ministry of our own actions; we forsake the cause of our Lord, and do wait on earthly affairs; we take on us the place of holiness, and are drowned with earthly actions. It is verily fulfilled in us, what is written, And there shall be like People, like Priest: For the Priest is no better than the People, when we go not beyond them in the holiness of life. Behold! now is not any Secular action which is not administered by Priests. We see with how heavy a sword the World is stricken, and with what rods the people do daily perish; whose fault is this but ours? Behold! Towns are wasted, the Tents of the Church are overthrown, Monasteries are thrown down, the Fields lie wast; and we are the Authors of the peoples death, who should lead them into life; for, for our sin are the people beaten down, because through our sloth they are not instructed unto life. Let us take it to heart. Who were ever converted by our teaching, or being admonished by us were brought unto repentance? Who hath left their luxury by our information? Who hath forsaken pride or avarice? Here we are called Shepherds; but when we shall appear before the face of the eternal Shepherd, can we bring thither any flock which hath been converted by our preaching? But oh that we were able to preach; and could hold forth the duty of our place in the innocency of our lives! *So far they:*

10. In the first half of this Century, were many Synods in England, and did treat little or nothing in doctrine or manners, but only for jurisdiction and revenges of Bishops and Abbots; as is evident in *S. Hen. Spelman Concil.* About the year 887. was a Synod under King Alfred; at least, Laws both Ecclesiastical and Civil were published in his name. He beginneth with the ten Commands, and omits the second; for filling up the number, he saith, The tenth, Thou shalt not have Gods of silver or gold. On this place *Will. Lambard* (who did translate these Laws out of the Saxonish into Latine) saith, This omission of the second Command was not his fault, nor of the first writer, but of the first maker of the Laws; for (saith he) since the second Council at Nice, such was the darkness of these times, that for conciliating authority unto the Precepts of men, they thought good to diminish the Precepts of God.

11. At Tribur was a Synod of 22 German Bishops, *An. 895.* at command of the Emperour Arnulph, and the Decrees were made in his name. In *Ca. 1.* He commandeth to apprehend all excommunicated persons, and bring them unto him, that they may be punished with man's judgment, which will not fear the judgment of God; and if any be so rebellious, that they will not be taken, and so happen to be killed; they who kill them, shall be free from all censures both Ecclesiastical and Civil. *Ca. 6.* If any come presumptuously into a Church with a drawn sword, he commits sacrilege, and shall be punished as for sacrilege. *Ca. 11.* If any of the Clergy, although extremely coerced, shall commit murder, whether a Priest or Deacon, should be deposed; for we read in the Canons of the Apostles, That if a Bishop or Priest, or Deacon be found guilty of fornication, or perjury, or theft, he should be deposed; how much more

he who commits so great a crime? for he who professeth to follow Christ, should walk as he hath walked; when he was reviled, he reviled not again; and when he was smitten, he smote not again. *Ec. Ca. 13.* Augustine the wonderful Doctour, seemeth to have spoken clearly of Tithes in few words; Tithes are required as debt: What if God would say, Thou art mine, O man; the earth which thou tillest is mine; the seed which thou scatterest is mine; the beasts which thou weariest are mine; the heat of the Sun is mine; and since all is mine, thou who appliest but thy hands, deservest only the tenth part; and yet I give thee nine parts, give me the tenth; if thou wilt not give me the tenth, I will take away the nine; if thou givest me the tenth, I will multiply the nine unto thee: If any man ask, wherefore should Tithes be given? let him know, that therefore are they given; that God being appeased with this devotion, he would give us necessities more abundantly; and that the Ministers of the Church being helped, may be the more free for Spiritual Service..... We do judge that there should be four portions of the Tithes and Oblations of Believers, according to the Canons, *Ec. Ca. 40.* It is not lawfull in Christian religion, that a man should have her to wife, whom he hath defiled in adultery. *Ca. 41.* If any man hath committed fornication with a woman, and his brother shall afterwards marry her; the brother which first defiled her (because he told not his brother, ere he married her) shall suffer a very hard penance and correction; and the woman, according to the second Canon of the Neocæsarian Council, shall be put to death.

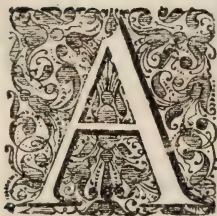
T H E
T H I R D A G E
Of the
C H U R C H,
O R

The History of the Church Fading, and of Anti-
Christ Rising, containing the space of 400. years, from the
Year of our Lord 600. untill the year 1000.

C E N T U R I X.

CHAP. I.
Of EMPEROURS.

*The Title of
the Emperour
depended not
on the Pope:*



After the death of Arnulph was great confusion in the Empire; the Italians would be at liberty, and the Germans strove for the honour of their Nation; so that *Bellarmin de Translat. Imper. lib. 2. cap. 2.* holdeth, that there was no Emperour between Arnulph and Otho the Great, because they were not Crowned by the Pope, neither went they into Italy. But *Alb. Crantz in Saxon. lib. 3. cap. 4.* saith, If he be not Emperour who is not Crowned by a Pope, who did Crown Augustus, and all the Cæsars, until Charls the Great? He by whom Kings do reign, and the mighty discern justice. If he be not Emperour who goeth not into Italy, let the Constantinopolitans lose their liberty, of whom few have seen Italy: So also the Emperours of our time [*he died An. 1517.*] Wherefore (saith he) let us not defraud these good Emperours of their own honour; we know by what way the Roman Popes have insinuated themselves into that inauguration. *So far he.* And seeing the three next Emperours did enjoy that Title, the Empire was not transferred from France to Germany by the Popes. These were Emperours beyond the Alps, as the Italian Historians term them. The Empire, through the last hundred years, went by succession, and not by election either of Pope or of Princes; except that once or twice the right heir was disappointed by their own negligence, and the ambition of others, saith *Crantz. loc. cit.* The Italians had their own respects, and would hold the Title among themselves, yet could never consent in the person of any; as followeth. The History of this Century is confused, as the times were miserable; for uncessant Wars were every where; wrongs, rapines and vices abounded, little justice was executed; especially in Italy learning decayed, charity was not known, zeal was gone, and the Infidels became strong.

*Troublous
times.*

2. LEWIS succeeded his Father in the Empire of the Germans; and Berengarius prevailed in Italy, but came not into Rome. The Hungars (a people

ple lately come from Scythia) were troublesome to both these Nations, and they forced both these Emperours to give them a sum of money yearly. Lewis espying the weakness of the Pope, and the dissensions in Italy, had a purpose to recover it; once he put Berengarius to flight, and possessed himself of the most part of Lombardy; they received him in Belona, but laid hands on him unaware, and delivered him unto Berengarius, who caused his eyes to be put out; shortly thereafter he died *An. 912*. In his time the valiant Fernando Consalves, made great conquest in Spain against the Sarazens. Then contention arose between the French and the Germans for the Empire. Lewis King of Provence, pretendeth that he is nearest in blood; but the German Princes held together, and would have chosen Otho Duke of Saxony, a valiant and wise man, who had married the only daughter of the defunct Lewis; but he refused it, pretending infirmity in respect of his age, and fearing troubles; and he perswadeth to chuse,

3. CONRADE the I, Duke of Franconia, the Nephew of the Emperour Arnulph, and brother-son of Lewis. He followed the counsel of Otho during his daies. In the beginning of his Reign, Saba King of the Moors, by the procurement of Constantine, Emperour of Constantinople, came into Italy, and occupied Pavia, Calabria, and all the Kingdom of Naples, to the small advantage of him who had inticed him; neither could they be expelled, because of the seditions amongst Christians every where: Especially when Otho was dead, Conrade was molested by his son Henry, pretending that the Empire did by line belong unto him. Conrade sent his brother against the Saxon, who was overthrown; then he repaired his Army, and sent Embassadors unto Henry, requiring him to submit upon honourable conditions: Henry would hear of no Treaty. Then Conrade fell sick, and feeling death approach, he perswaded his brother Eberhard to submit unto Henry, and sent him unto him with the Crown, Imperial Robe, and other ornaments *An. 920. Naucier*. Constantine yet reigneth in Constantinople; and Berengarius the II was called Emperour of Italy, although he had but Lombardy with great difficulty, *Pet. Mexia Histor.*

More troubles.

4. HENRY the I, coming to the Empire partly by succession, and partly by voluntary resignation, with consent of the Subjects, did refuse to be Crowned by the Pope; or (as *Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 3. cap. 4.* saith) not that he despised it, but in modesty he did decline it; neither did he need the consent of the Princes, but because he was desirous of peace, he would *ex abundanti* assemble a Diet, that he might Reign with universal consent. He applied himself to set Germany in peace, and above all to assure the high-ways from Robbers, as usually they are frequent in time of wars. Several rose against him, but were suppressed. Arnold Duke of Bavaria, before this had lived in Hungary, as in exile; now he returneth with the Hungarians; he usurped the Title of Emperour. When both Armies were ready to join, Henry called him to a parley, and by perswasion overcame him; which haply he could not have effectuated by Arms, and Arnold became obedient. Then Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, called himself Emperour of Italy, as followeth; He overthrew Berengarius, and caused him to fly, so that he died without recovering his dignity. Rodolph had no great mind to resist the Hungars, which were sent for by Albert Marquess of Tuscany, against Pope John the XII; and they took both lands and life from Albert; and moreover, did wait other parts of Italy. Therefore the Italians did invite Hugh, Duke of Orleans; he subdued Rodolph, and conquered more in Italy then any other of these late Emperours, and kept peace with Germany. Henry had wars with the Hungars, and was glad to have truce with them for nine years. In the mean

Henry is peaceable and victorious.

time he overcame the Bohemians, and brought them under the Empire; as also he overthrew the Vandals about Brandeburgh, and gave their lands unto his Field-Marshal, with the Title of Marquess. *Alb. Crantz. lib. ii. c. 8 & 9.* He overthrew the Sclavonians by the Beltick Sea, and returned with much spoil. When the nine years truce was expired, he obtained so great a victory against the Hungarians, that all the Princes of Christendom sent unto him with congratulation. Then he intended to recover Italy from Hugh and the Sarazens, but was visited with sickness, and declared his son to be his Successour, *An. 937.* At this time Constantine was dead, who had many times fought with the Sarazens in Asia, and with the Bulgarians; the Russians had brought a thousand Ships through the Euxine Sea, and were discomfited by him. His father-in-law Romanus was partner of the Empire with him 26 years, and then another Romanus succeeded unto his father. *Zonar.*

*The German
Emperour,*

5. OTHO or Otto the I, was Crowned at Aken by the Bishop of Mentz, and was many waies troubled, for Bodislaus (who had killed his brother, because he had submitted unto the Emperour, or rather for covetousness of the Dukedom of Bohem) rebelled, and with the aid of the Hungars continued Wars the space of 14 years: And in the mean time his own brother Henry, with other Princes of Germany, fought many Battels against him. In the end they all convened their forces, and as he was crossing the Rhine with his Army, they came unawares upon that part which had crossed, and at first took his Ships. The Emperour was sorely moved that he could not come at his Army, and betook himself, with such as were with him, unto prayers; and the next morning all his Adversaries were scattered, neither knew they upon what motive, such fear had overtaken them. The Italians now hearing of his success, and being oppressed by Berengarius the III; they, and especially Pope Agapet, did invite Otho to deliver the Church and Italy. He was not slow, and vanquished the oppressour; and then by all the Italians he was saluted Augustus and Emperour. *Tho. Couper. ad An. 962.* Afterward his eldest son Ludolf, taking it ill that his father did marry again; and Conrade, Duke of Lorrain, the Emperour's son-in-law, taking it also ill that he had left Berengarius Governour of Italy, they conspire against Otho; Ludolf was taken, and Conrad fled; within some moneths he received them both into favour. Then the Hungars did raise such an Army that they thought themselves invincible; and in the mean time, on the other side, the Sclavonians rose against Otho: he subdued them both. Then Pope John the XII, and his faction at Rome, began to envy the prosperity of the Germans, and sent to Adelbert, the son of Berengarius, promising assistance if he would deliver Rome and Italy; and their adverse party, with two Cardinals, sent unto Otho, intreating that he would come unto the aid of the Church and Common-Wealth, for both were in danger. When Pope John had intelligence hereof, he caused the nose of the one Cardinal to be cut off, and the hand of the other. Otho composed his affairs in Germany the best way he could, and hastned into Italy; he took Adelbert captive, and came to Rome; and was Crowned by Pope John against his will. He thought it not a fit time to arraign Pope John, because all Italy was in uproar; but did exhort him to live as it became the Apostolical See; he sent Berengarius captive to Bamberg in Germany, and Adelbert into Constantinople to gratifie the Emperour there. Thereafter the people and Clergy of Rome, intreat Otho to reform the Church and Republick, for there had been no Councils in a long time, &c. Otho having appeased the tumult in the City, and having assurance of fidelity, calleth a Synod in Lateran (which, from the great number of Bishops out of Germany, Italy and France, was termed *The Great Synod*) and

*makes con-
quest in Italy,*

*and calleth
the Pope to
an account.*

and summoned Pope John to appear, and hear his cause examined. John returned answer that he would not appear, because he knew that the Emperour purposed to dispossess him; and he accursed them all who sate in that Synod, and degraded them all of their functions. Notwithstanding his curses, the Synod continued, and the Articles against the Pope were read: First, That Pope John did not observe the Canonical hours. 2. When he said Mass, he did not communicate. 3. He ordained Deacons in a stable. 4. He had committed Incest with two sisters. 5. When he was playing at dice, he called on the Devil for help. 6. For money he had made boys of ten years old to be Bishops. 7. He deflowred Virgins, and of the Lateran Palace he made a stew. 8. He lay with Stephana his fathers concubine. 9. He caused houses to be set on fire. 10. He drank to the Devil. *Catalog. test. ver. lib. 11.* hath more Articles from *Luthpr. lib. 6. cap. 7.* When these things were propounded, the Emperour said, I know that envy follows honour . . . and in this case I conjure you all, that ye do not propound any thing against him in his absence, but what you know to be true. All the Synod, as if they had been one man, do answer; If these and worse crimes have not been committed by Pope John, let Saint Peter the Prince of the Apostles, which by his word shuts heaven upon the unworthy, never absolve us from our sins; let us be accursed, and at the last day let us be ranked on the left hand. The Emperour sent in his own name, and in the name of the Synod, unto the Pope a copy of these Articles, willing him to come and purge himself; and he promised by Oath, that nothing should be done, in that cause, otherwise then the Ecclesiastical Laws did prescribe. He returned answer thus; Pope John unto all those Bishops contempt: We hear say that you will make another Pope; which if ye do, I excommunicate you from the Almighty God, that we have no power to consecrate nor say Mass. When this was read, more Bishops were come from France and Italy; to wit, Henry of Trevirs, Wido of Muzia, Sigulf of Placentia, &c. And with one voice they writ again unto him, thus; Unto the great High-Priest, and universal Pope John, Otho By the clemencies of God, Emperour Augustus; and the holy Synod of Rome gathered in the Lord for the service of God, greeting: In the last Synod, which was held the 6 of *Novemb.* we did direct Letters unto you, wherein were contained the words of your accusers, and the causes of their accusation; and in these also we did intreat your greatness, as was just; and we have received Letters from you, not as the condition of the time, but as the vanity of your Counsellors would . . . it is written in your Letters not as becomes a Bishop, but a foolish child to write; for ye have excommunicated us all, that we shall not have power to sing Mass, or order any Church affairs, if we shall ordain another Bishop for the Romish sea. . . . If you delay not to come unto the Synod, and purge your self, certainly we will obey your authority: but if (which God forbid) you dissemble to come and purge you of those capital crimes, especially seeing nothing hindreth you, no sailing by Sea, nor distance of way, nor health, We will not regard your excommunication, but rather we throw it back on you, because we may do it justly. Judas the traitour and seller of our Lord Jesus Christ, did receive, with the other Apostles, power of binding and loosing . . . and so long as he continued good amongst the Disciples, he could bind and loose; but when the murder was killed with the poison of covetousness, and would kill *LIFE*; whom could he bind or loose but himself, whom he did strangle in an unhappy rope? Given *Novemb. 21.* and sent by Adrian a Cardinal Priest, and Benedict a Cardinal Deacon; who when they came to Tiberis, did not find him, for he was gone with Bow and Arrows into the fields; neither could any man tell whither he was gone; and when

*The Pope cons-
tantly,*

*and is con-
demned.*

they could not find him, they returned with these Letters unto the Synod, when it was convened the third time. By this citation they declare that Peter's Chair doth not preserve a Bishop from becoming a Judas, nor from answering before a Synod for his fault. Then said the Emperour, We have expected his coming, that before him we might complain of what he hath done unto us; but since we know certainly that he will not come, we earnestly desire that ye may know how perfidiously he hath dealt with us; therefore we declare unto you Arch-Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and all the Clergy; as also unto the Counts, Judges, and all the people, that the same Pope John, being oppressed by Berengarius and Adelbert our Rebels, he sent Messengers unto us in Saxony, intreating that for the love of God we would come into Italy, and deliver the Church of Saint Peter and himself out of their jaws: And what we have done, God aiding us, I need not declare; when he was delivered out of their hands by my means, and restored unto his honour, and was ingaged unto us by his oath and fidelity, which he did promise upon the body of Saint Peter, he caused the same Adelbert to come unto Rome, defended him against me, did raise seditions, and in the presence of our Souldiers, he was Captain of the War, being arrayed with Helmet, Breast-plate, &c. Now let the Synod declare what they do discern in these things. All did answer with one voice, A strange wound must be cauterized; if by his corrupt members he had done ill to himself only, and not to all others, he might in some way have been tolerated; how many chaste persons are become filthy by following him? How many good persons are, through his example, become Reprobates? Therefore we wish, that by the power of your Imperial Majesty, such a Monster which is not redeemed by any vertue from his vices, may be removed from the holy Roman Church, and another set in his place, which may go before us in example of godly conversation. . . . *Catal. test. ver. out of Luthpr. lib. 6. cap. 11.* Then (as *Io. Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 33.* writes) said Otho, Ye Romans, unto whom the election of your High-Priest belongeth, set God before your eyes, chuse a worthy man, and when he is chosen, I will confirm him. So with common consent, or without any difference John was deposed, and Leo was chosen, *An. 963.* In another Session of the same Synod, this is the sum of the oration of Leo, It is not unknown, that all these evils are entred into the Church through the ambition of Bishops, who respecting their own authority more than the peace of the Church, have taken that priviledge from the Emperours, which Pope Adrian acknowledged to appertain unto Charls the Great, in governing the Church, and the election of the Bishop of Rome; wherefore the reformation of the Church requires, that the Constitution of Pope Adrian be renewed. *Sigon.* After some disputation the same was renewed, and the Decree is in *Gratian. dist. 63. cap. In Synodo*, these are the words: From henceforth let no man, of whatsoever dignity or religion, have power to elect a *Patricius* or Bishop of the highest Apostolick Seat, or to invest any Bishop, without the consent of the Emperour, which notwithstanding must be done without money; and he himself must be a *Patricius* and King: But if any be chosen by the Clergy and People, let him not be consecrated, unless he be approved and invested by the King. If any man shall enterprize against this Apostolick authority, we discern him subject to excommunication, &c. At this time Pope John made promise to distribute the treasure of Saint Peter, unto them who would kill the Emperour. The inconstant Romans were moved with this promise, nor did they love the government of a German; so they arose against the Emperour. He was forewarned, and put them to flight. Thereafter the Romans dealt for peace, they acknowledged the Emperour's clemency, and do vow

and deposed.

The Emperors
power is re-
turned.

to abide loyal in time coming; and for assurance the Emperour would have a 100 persons in pledge. So Otho returns into Germany, and within a short space Leo was expelled, and Pope John was received at Rome. Wherefore the Emperour went back, and laid siege to Rome, did through famine cause them to render. When he was entred the City, he restored Leo; and for taking away the schism, he calleth a meeting of the Clergy. Benedict the V. (who was chosen after John) came in his Pontificals into the Synod; and Benedict a Cardinal Arch-Deacon said unto him, By what right couldst thou put upon thee the Papal Ornaments and Vesture, so long as Pope Leo was alive? Whom thou didst chuse; canst thou deny, that thou didst swear before the Emperour, that thou without his authority, or the authority of his son, wouldest never chuse or vote to any Pope? He answereth, if I have done amiss, I pray forgive me. Then said Otho, It is equitable, O Fathers, to forgive him, seeing he confesseth his fault. Benedict did cast himself down at the Emperour's feet, and craved pardon. Leo deprived him of the degree of Priesthood, and the Emperour sent him into Germany, with Adaldag Bishop of Hamburg, where he died. *Sigon. lib. 7.* Now the Emperour made another face on Italy, he created many Dukes, who afterwards were the causes of many troubles; and by their favour the Popes waxed stronger. Now also Otho had conquered Pulia and Calabria, and was called the Great; he ordained his son to be his Successour, and caused him to be Crowned Emperour conjunct with himself, after the ancient custom of Emperours; and then did return into Germany where he died, *An. 974. Pet. Mexia Hist.* Romanus Emperour of Constantinople had two sons; but Nicephorus a valiant Captain was chosen Emperour, and not long after he was deprived and slain; and then John Zimisces, another Captain, was made Emperour. He expelled 300000 Roxellans out of Bulgaria, and annexed that Province unto the Crown, and for his victory he made triumph. After six years, through the treachery of his Subjects he was poisoned, and left the sons of Romanus, Basilus and Constantine of equal authority. *Zonar.*

5. OTHO the II had Wars with the Duke of Sclavonia, then with Lotharius King of France, for the Dukedom of Lorain and Austrich, and had good success. He married Theophania the sister of Basilus, Emperour of Constantinople, and with her the Emperour did renounce the Title of Sicily, Pulia and Calabria. *Theod. à Nyen in Nemor. tract. 6. cap. 34.* Nevertheless he seeing Otho pestered with so many troubles, came into Italy to recover Pulia and Calabria, which also he did. In the second fight Otho suffered great loss; and Basilus might have taken Rome, if he had pursued his Victory. Otho not daring to encounter him any more, fled into a boat to escape by Sea, and fell into the hands of a Pyrat, who carried him into Sicily, not knowing who he was: he was ransomed, and returned into Rome, where he died *An. 984.* Then again was contention at Rome for a new Emperour. The Romans would have had their Consul Crescentius chosen. Henry Duke of Bavier, and cousin of Otho the II, did challenge the right of educating the late Emperour's son Otho, and fought the Empire for himself. The Princes of Germany (for fear of Crescentius) did with one consent speedily chuse Otho, although but 12 years old.

6. OTHO the III, with natural fortitude, was learned in Grecian wisdom; for his rare gifts he was accounted the wonder of the World. He suppressed Crescentius, and was received by all Italy. He caused his Uncle Bruno to be chosen to the Papal Chair, this was Pope Gregory the V. The Romans did hardly condescend unto his election; and therefore when Otho was gone into Germany, Crescentius caused Pope John the XVIII. to be elected.

Ecc The

The Emperour is weakened again.

The Emperour is great again and puts a Pope to death.

The order for
electing an
Emperour.

The Emperour returned with speed, and forced the Romans to submit, and deprived Pope John of life. *Aventinus* writes, that they threw his body over the Wall of the Capitol, and since that day a Pope may not visit the Capitol. Also he did set *Crescentius* upon a vile horse, after he had cut off his nose and ears, and caused him to be carried through the City, and then hanged him. The Romans were still discontented, and feared lest the Empire might return to Constantinople, because *Otho* was so neer in blood unto *Basilius*, and so a new mutiny began. So soon as the Emperour had intelligence, he (having no male children) by advice of the German Princes (saith *Naucler. chronogr. vol. 2. gener. 34.*) and of his Uncle Gregory the V. would provide against insurrection in time coming. Many do call this the work of Pope Gregory; but if his power at that time be duly considered, we may rather think with *Naucler*, that *Otho* laid this foundation of electing an Emperour. First, That from henceforth none may challenge the Empire by right of inheritance, but by election only. 2. That the electors should all be Germans. 3. That the Emperour should be a German. 4. When the Seat is vacant, the Empire shall be administred by the electors. 5. That the Emperour should be chosen at Frankford, and be called King of the Romans, untill he be Crowned by the Pope, and then be called Cæsar Augustus. 6. Some do add that the Emperour should be Crowned with three Crowns, one of straw in Mentz, another of iron at Millain, and the third of gold at Rome. He devised some of these conditions to satisfie the Italians, and by the others he thought to establish the Empire in Germany; the Articles thereafter were more particularly cleared. Henry Duke of Bavier, for the good service he did for the Emperour at Rome (as followeth) got the first place of the Civil Estate, and was made *Portitor ensis*; the Marquess of Brandenburg was designed *Camerarius*; and the Count Palatine of Rhine was created *Archidapifer*: Unto them were conjoined three Bishops, of Mentz, Colein and Trevers; and if these could not agree, the odd voice was to be given unto the Duke of Bohem. The Peers of France were not well pleased, because their Kingdom was altogether excluded; nevertheless because their Royal race was lately changed from the blood of Charls the Great, to the house of *Hugh le grand*, Earl of Paris, they let it pass. *Platin. in Gregor. 5.* In the year 1001 the Sarazens invaded Italy, and took Capua. *Otho* did quickly overthrow them, and returning into Rome, said, that he would reform some things that were amiss in the Kingdom and Church, according to ancient custom. *Sigon. de regn. Ital. lib. 7.* and some write that he purposed to fix his manure at Rome. He begun to build a Palace in the place where Julian the Apostate had dwelt. The Romans in a sudden uproar slue many Germans, took *Otho*; and had slain him in his chamber, if Henry Duke of Bavier, and Hugh an Italian Marquess, had not feigned a capitulation with the Citizens; and in the mean time *Otho* disguised himself, and escaped their hands. It was not without the Supream Providence (saith *Genebrard in Chronol. lib. 3.* about the year 315.) that the Kingdom of the Church might have place, as it was foretold by Daniel. If he had said the Kingdom of Antichrist foretold by Paul and John, he had hit the mark. *Otho* returned into Germany, and thereafter he went back to Rome, where he was poisoned by a golden cup, which the wife of *Crescentius* sent unto him; and his body was carried into Germany, *An. 1002. Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 4. cap. 26.*

C H A P. II.

OF P O P E S.

Cardinal *Baronius in tom. 10. ad An. 903.* § 1. forewarneth his Reader, that now he shall see the abomination of desolation in the Temple, as it was fore-told by Daniel and by our Lord. What doth he insinuate in these words, but that the Reader should flie out of Babel, and leave her abominations? and the rather, because he continueth lamenting and crying, *Eie for shame! alas for sorrow!* that so many Monsters, horrible to be seen, were thrust into the See which deserves reverence of Angels! how many miseries, how many tragedies have proceeded from them! And *Fascicul. temp. ad An. 894.* saith, Oh, oh good God! how is the gold become so darkned! how many scandals do we read, that have been about these times in the Apostolical See, which thou hast kept with so great zeal hitherto! what contentions, sects, ambitions, intrusions, persecutions! oh the baddest times, when the godly man hath failed, and truth is perished from the children of men! alas! what convention, what congregation, what man shall now be secure, seeing primitive holiness hath so failed! A little before *An. 914.* he saith, There was presented unto Lewis, a Monster with a dogs head, and all the other members of a man; which did resemble (saith he) the estate of that time; for men without a head did wander hither and thither, barking like dogs. And *Genebrard. in Chronol. ad An. 901.* saith, This age was unhappy for one thing, that in the space of almost 150 years, were about fifty Popes (from John the VIII, till Leo the IX) which made defection from the truth of their Predecessours; and they were *Apotactici, Apostatae potius quam Apostolici*; that is, out of all order and Apostates, rather then the followers of the Apostles. And *Naucler. loc. cit. gener. 31.* speaking of Pope Romanus, saith, Behold how far these have degenerated from their Predecessours; for these holy men did maintain the decrees of their Predecessours as their own; but now they have forsaken the worship of God, and do exerce enmity one against another, no other way then most cruel Tyrants, for fullfilling their own lusts, when there was none to restrain their vices. Therefore did God pull them quickly away as Monsters, that they might do the less harm. Who will not wonder that in the time of the Reign of Lewis the VIII, Popes did possess the chair of blessed Peter; and he did not reign above 12 years. In a word, all old Historians do write of these times, that the Popes were not Successours of Peter; and I do premit these testimonies, because the Papists may possibly say, that what follows is all written maliciously, although it be written most truly.

1. **BONIFACE** the VI, came next to Formosus; he sate short time, saith *Naucler. Platina* saith, he sate but 26 daies, because nothing is written of him. They who deny the She-Pope, and the vacancy for eight years, would fill up the time here, and say that Boniface sate 12 years. But see whether that can stand with these former testimonies in the general, concerning the short lives of the Monsters, and with their practices that follow; and by this example others may judge what credit is to be given unto the late Popish Historians.

2. **STEPHEN** the VI did so envy the name of Formosus (because he hindred his ambition) that in a Synod he did abrogate all his Decrees, and ordained his body to be taken up, two of his fingers to be cut off, and his right hand (because therewith they consecrated the Priests) to be cast into Tiberis; and the remnant of his body to be buried in a Lay-man's burial. *Platina*

Popes were not Successours of Apostles.

Against Popes

tina subjoineth, This was a great controversie and a bad example, seeing thereafter this custom was almost evermore kept, that the following Popes did either violate or altogether abrogate the decrees of their Predecessours. *Baronius ad An. 900. § 5.6.* saith, This wicked man, who entred into the Sheep-fold as a thief, ended his life in a rope by the judgment of God. So indeed (saith he) all things both sacred and civil were confused at Rome; that the advancing of the Pope was in the power of them who were more potent; so that now the Nobles of Rome, and the Princes of Hettruria, did by their secular power thrust in and out the Romish High-Priest at their pleasure. Stephen fate 15 moneths.

4. ROMANUS the I annulled all the Decrees of Stephen, and fate three moneths.

5. THEODORE the II condemned all the Acts of Stephen, and approved all the Acts and friends of Pope Formosus; and fate 20 daies.

6. JOHN the X advanced the Decrees of Pope Formosus so highly, that the Romans conspired against him; and he was forced to fly unto Ravenna, where he held a Synod of 74 Bishops, and disproved the Decrees of Pope Stephen, and confirmed the Acts of Formosus. *Baronius ad An. 904. § 4.* hath the words of this Synod; to wit, The Synod that was held in the time of Pope Stephen the VI, our Predecessour of godly memory, in which the venerable body of the worshipfull Pope Formosus was dragged along the ground out of the violated grave, and as if it had been brought into judgment, and they did presume to judge and condemn it; (the like is not reported to have been done by any of our Predecessours;) that Synod *penitus abdicamus*; and in the margine, *al. abrogamus*, we do altogether reject or abrogate; and we forbid that in no way it be presumed by any to be done, by whatsoever judgment of the Holy Ghost. *Baronius* addeth these words, Here consider Reader, with what reverence the succeeding Popes did regard their Predecessours, how much soever they were worthy of reproof; that John called Stephen of godly memory, although he was to be abhorred, both for his ingiring himself into the Chair, and while he fate for all his wicked deeds, worthy to be accursed. *Platina* saith, I would think that the Popes themselves had left the steps of Saint Peter, *à Petri vestigiis discesserint*. If thou wert to day at Rome, *Platina*, thou shouldst suffer the fire for these words. John fate 2 years.

7. BENEDICT the IV fate 3 years, and 4 moneths. *Platina* calleth him and his successors *monstra & prodigia*, by whose ambition and bribery the Chair of Peter was rather usurped then possessed.

8. LEO the V, in something more then a moneth, was taken by Christophorus a Presbyter, and his familiar, and cast into Prison. How great the authority of the Pope was, through the fault of their Predecessours, it may be known (saith *Nacler.*) by this, when so great a dignity was in a moment, by force and faction, usurped by a private man. Some think that Leo died in sorrow, that he was spoiled by one whom he had fed in his family as a Wolf; according to the Proverb of Theocritus, *τρέφειν καὶ λυκιδεῖς, τρέφει κύας ὥστε φαγάνται*; that is, feed young Wolves and Dogs to devour thee. *Nacler.*

9. CHRISTOPHOR came to the Chair by evil arts, and lost it miserably; for in the seventh moneth he was cast out, *& merito quidem*, and driven into a Monastery. *Nacler.*

10. SERGIUS the III took Christophor out of the Monastery, wherein the Romans had thrust him, and put him in a more close prison. *Platina* saith, He was a rude and unlearned man, very proud and cruel. He had been hindered by Pope Formosus from preferment, and by that faction was banished from

from Rome; therefore now he causeth the body of Formosus to be taken up, and then degraded him, cut off his head; and lastly, cast his body into Tiberis as unworthy of Christian burial; and also he deposed all the Bishops and Priests which had been consecrated by Formosus, *Platin.* Sergius did first ordain that Candles should be carried about on the day of Maries purification. Behold, I pray (saith *Platina*) how far these Popes had degenerated from their Predecessours! for they were most holy men, and refused the dignity when it was tendered unto them, because they would attend on praying and Christian doctrine; but now they sought and got the Papacy by bribery and ambition, they contemned the worship of God; they kept continual enmity and hatred one against another, like most cruel Tyrants; being set to satiate their lusts, when there was none to restrain their vices. He sate 8 years.

11. ANASTASIUS the III follows. In his time they report, that the body of Pope Formosus was found in the River by Fishers; and when it was brought into Saint Peter's Church, the Images did salute it. Let the indifferent Reader judge, whether a body lying so many years in one grave, and then in another; and then so many years in the water, could remain whole; and being without the head and hands, could be discerned to be the same. Certainly if the Images gave such reverence unto the Corps, Satan hath moved the Idols before the Idolaters, as sometime he spoke out of them. Anastasius sate 2 years. Because this is the last place where mention is made of Pope Formosus, I would ask the Romanists, whether Pope John did erre in degrading Formosus? If he did erre, how then stands their doctrine that a Pope, in his Chair, with his Cardinals cannot erre? *Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 3. 5 & 6.* If John did not erre, how then did not Pope Martin erre in repelling the doings of his Predecessour? Or how did not Pope Formosus erre in all that he did and said contrary to his Canonical Oath? If Formosus did not erre, how did his Successours not erre; of whom one did annull his Decrees and Consecrations, and another did confirm them, and annull the contrary? *Bellarmin* saith, A Pope may erre in matter *de facto*, or in *questione facti*, non *juris*. But here we see, that one of them condemned the Decrees of another in *questione juris*, or in respect of lawfulness; yea the lawfulness of their being Popes; and although Pope John, in his Synod at Ravenna, had discharged that the like be not attempted by any judgment of the Holy Ghost, [and are not these words blasphemous?] Yet Pope Sergius the III would not be discharged, but did the like and worse. Was not here Pope *contra* Pope, and that in their very Chair and Synod? And do not all the ancient Historians condemn these men as unlawfull Popes, who had forsaken the waies of the more ancient good Bishops? What is now become of their continual succession? And from whom have they now their Ordination and Consecration? even from such as both Popes and Cardinals have judged worthy to be accursed.

Some questions are propounded unto Epist.

12. LANDUS lived obscurely six moneths, at that time when Rodolph overcame Berengarius, as *Platina* thinks. Then (saith *Sigonius*) they assembled to chuse a new Pope, but nothing was done according to Laws; for Aldebert, by the perswasion of his mother-in-law Theodora, gave a Pope, not from the Romans, nor by the votes of the Clergy; but as she pleased, from Ravenna.

13. JOHN the XIII came to the Papacy in this manner, as Luithprand Arch-Deacon at Ticino hath written, at the same time. Theodora a most shameless whore, and Roman Lady, burned in lust with the beauty of this John, coming to Rome she had not only lust, but compelled him to lie with her; in the mean time the Bishop of Bononia died, and John was set in his

Behold the Succession of Popes.

place; before John was consecrated; Peter Bishop of Ravenna died; and through ambition of the whore John forsook Bononia, and usurped the See of Ravenna. Then God did take away the Pope who had so unjustly installed him; and the whore, not willing that her Paramour should be so far distant from her imbracing, forced him to accept the Papal Chair. When *Baronius* had related these words of *Luithprand*, he subjoins; Thou hast heard, Reader, the most lamentable estate of this time, when Theodora the elder, a noble whore, held the Monarchy in the City; but whence came so great dignity unto so infamous a woman? she was a noble Roman of the blood of the Senators, excellent in beauty, and crafty in wit, and conquered the Monarchy by her Adulterer. [*Stephen the VI. mark the succession of Popes.*] Theodora having attained the Dominion of Rome, caused her posterity to follow in the same; she had two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, not only alike, but more given to venery. Marozia married the fore-named Aldebert; and in adultery she did bear unto Pope Sergius a son, called John. Aldebert usurped the Dominion of Rome; and then the whores did cut off, and thrust in, Popes at their pleasure. This John shewed himself a Souldier, more then a Bishop, for he did take Arms against the Sarazens in Italy, and expelled them. *Platina* saith, The Church had need of such a Bishop. At the intreaty of King Rodolph, he ordained a child of five years old to be Bishop of Rhemes. Wherefore *Baronius ad An. 908. §. 4.* cried, Thou seest, Reader, by authority of what Pope (if he may be called a Pope) this was brought into the Church; to wit, of John, then whom none is more filthy. As his entry into that Chair was most infamous, so his death was most wicked; for when Adelbert was defunct, Marozia would have married Guido or Vido Marquess of Tuscan, that so she might convey unto him the Dominion of Rome, which did appertain unto her son Albericus. Pope John withstood her; therefore she caused Vido to pluck him out of the way, and having put him in prison, he caused a Pillow to be laid upon his mouth, in the 14 year of his Papacy. *Platin.*

14. JOHN the XII, son of Pope Sergius the III, was preferred by his mother Marozia, the people would not consent unto his election. *Onuphr. in Annotat. on Platin. ad Ioh. 11. Fasciculus tempor.* saith, He was intruded, and immediately cast out again, therefore he is not reckoned in the Catalogue of Popes; and in a tumult,

15. LEO the VI was set up. He is commended by *Platina* for his civil vertue, in respect of these corrupt times. *Io. Funccius* saith, He did nothing worthy of knowledge, except that he was desirous of peace; because (saith *Bale.*) perhaps he was glad that Isabel would suffer him to live; but she could not comport the repulse, and so caused him to be poisoned in the 7 moneth.

16. STEPHEN the VII was like to his Predecessour, and after 2 years was poisoned by Marozia. After the death of Vido, Marozia invited Hugh Duke of Burgundy, and now King of Italy, to take the Dominion of Rome; which he could not bring to pass, unless he would marry her, although he was the brother of Vido; and therefore *Luithprand* writ of her, *Nubere germanis satagens Herodiabinis*, &c. It hapned that when Albericus, at his mothers command, was holding the water (in an uncomely gesture) under the hands of his stepfather, Hugh gave the boy a blow; he resolved to revenge it, and stirred the Romans against Hugh, and was the first assaulter in his own Palace. Hugh leapt over the wall, and escaped. Albericus brought again the former government by Consuls, and under that title he governed Rome; and the election of the Pope depended on him, and after Stephen he set up again his brother John.

17. JOHN

17. JOHN the XII being restored, did nothing worthy of record, saith *Platina*. He fate 4 years 10 moneths.

18. LEO the VII is also obscure: he fate 2 years.

19. STEPHEN the VIII was vexed by the Romans. *Naucley*. saith, For his dishonest wounds he came not abroad, and lived a wretched life for a space: he fate 3 years, and died *An. 932. Onuphr.*

20. MARTIN the III in 2 years restored some Churches, and was bountifull to the poor; but he fed not souls, neither did *Baronius* exclude him from the name of Monster.

21. AGAPETUS the II was chosen in a troublefom time; therefore he sought the aid of Otho, as is said before. *Fasciculus tempor. ad An. 964.* saith of him and his Successours, Holiness left the Popes, and went unto the Emperours at this time, as is most evident. He fate 9 years 7 moneths.

22. JOHN the XIII, the son of Albericus, succeeded. How old this father of fathers could be, may be gathered by supputation of years; when Hugh was expelled, Albericus was but a boy; and till this time were not passed 20 years; neither was this Octavius, or Pope John his fathers eldest son, as *Baronius* hath marked; and therefore he saith, He who could not be a Deacon for age, like a Stage-player acteth the Pope; and nevertheless (saith he) consent made him Pope; for it is a lesser evil to have a monstrous head, then to be infamous with two heads. And a little after he preferred this Pope, above others which were chosen Canonically by the Clergy. Let *Platina* tell what he was; One (saith he) defiled from his infancy with all shame and filthiness, given to hunting, if he could spare any time from his luxury, more then to prayer. By the advice of the Senate he sent for Otho, against Berengarius; and when he was releevd, he practised against his redeemer; therefore (as is before) he was deposed, and restored again by the Romans. And immediately, even in these same daies (saith *Platin.*) the most wicked man was judged to be stricken of God, lest the Church had been wasted with a schism: Some write (saith he) that this Monster was taken in the act of adultery and killed. But he was intruded, at that time, by his father powerfully; and delighting himself with another man's wife, died suddenly without repentance. *Sigebert* saith, *Sine viatico. Fascic. temp.* saith, Behold! O everliving God, how unlike are they unto former Bishops! O the depth of God's judgments! who can search them out! Let *Bellarmin* excuse him among the rest, and pass him over in silence. *Platina* saith, he was worse then any Pope before him; but he saith not, and worse then any after him, for worse Popes are coming. *Onuphrius* on that place of *Platina* saith, He first changed his name, because he thought not his Christian name honourable enough; but we have heard that others have done the like. He fate 10 years.

23. BENEDICT the V was chosen by the Romans, although Leo the VIII (who was advanced by the great Synod) was yet alive; wherefore Otho returned to Rome in wrath, and restored Leo, as is before.

24. LEO the VIII sitting now peaceably, did renounce in favour of the Emperour and his Successours, all the Donations of Justinian, of Charls the Great, of his son Lewis. The words of the Bull, in *Crantz. Saxon. lib. 4. cap. 10.* are; Leo Bishop, the servant of God's servants, unto Otto our spiritual son in Christ, the Emperour Augustus, and unto all his Successours, Emperours, and Kings of Italy: Whatsoever the Lord Charls King of France and Lombardy, and *Patricius Romanus*; as also his father Pipin, have given of the Royalty of this Kingdom of Italy, unto blessed Peter the Apostle in the Church of Rome, whether they were given by instruments by the Notary Etherius, or whether they came by Oaths or Donations, or any other way from Justinian

*The Pope's
resignation of
former Dona-
tions.*

Emperour, or King Arithpert; all these things we give and adjudge unto you Otto Emperour, and to Alheida your wife and consort of the Empire, and unto your consorts and succesfours of this Kingdom of Italy for ever; being present the holy Evangelists, and many Patronages of the Saints that ye may have and possesse all these things for ever, for the uses of your Court, the Military affairs, and to fight against Pagans and Rebels of the Roman Empire; and therefore by authority of this instrument, we confirm and strengthen unto your posterity from generation to generation for ever; and if any shall destroy this our authority, and be found to violate it, or do contrary unto it, let him know that he shall fall under the wrath of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and our wrath, and of all our Predecessours: And moreover, if he repent not of the evil, lethim be liable unto the Julian Law of *Lase Majestatis*, &c. After the soleimn form, *fiat, fiat*, this Bull was subscribed, by all the Arch Bishops, Bishops, Cardinals, Priests and Deacons, chief Officers of the Roman Church; by the Consuls also, Exconsuls, Senatours and civil Lords; and by all which by subscribing could give any confirmation. The names fill up a page. This Bull was kept at Florence for the use of the Emperour; as Henry token a Canon of Magdeburg witnesseth, in *Catal. test. ver. lib. 11. Onuphrius* proveth, that this Leo was a lawfull Pope: And whatsoever can be said against the Bull or Instrument, *Crantz. li. cir. cap. 11.* saith, It is more authentical and legal then that Decree of Constantine's Donation, in *longa Palea*. This Leo sate 2 years.

25. JOHN the XIV was not chosen, till Otho sent his Messengers unto the election; as also this Pope did in other things reverence the Emperour; and for this cause Peter Captain of the City, two Consuls, and the Elder men, whom they call *Decarchones*, and others rose against him; they laid hands on him in the Lateran Church, and kept him in Prison 11 moneths. The Emperour made hast to Rome, and put all the above-named persons in Prison till the cause was examined; and then the Consuls were exiled into Germany, the Elder men were hanged, and Peter was given unto the pleasure of the Pope, who caused him to be stript naked, to shave his beard, and hang him by the hair a whole day, and set him upon an Ass with his hands under her tail, then so to be led through the City, in the mean time being scourged with rods; and lastly banished out of the City. After this manner did this Ghostly Father obey the Gospel, *Love your enemies*, saith *Platina*. This Pope did first baptize Bells; he called the great Bell in Lateran, John. He sate 7 years.

26. BENEDICT the VI succeeded in place and miseries; he was taken by Cintius Captain of the City, and cast into the Prison of malefactors, where he was strangled; or as others say, famished in the 18. moneth: But I fear (saith *Platina*) that the reward of Benedict was according to his merits, since none hath written that his death was revenged; and Otho is accounted a very good man, and a most ready defender of the Roman Church.

27. DONUS the II sate one year, without doing any thing worthy of record.

28. BONIFACE the VII came to the Papacy by unlawfull means. *Platin*. When he saw that the Citizens conspired against him, he hid himself; and seeing no appearance of tranquility, he stole all the Ornaments of Saint Peter's Church, and fled into Constantinople. Then

29. BENEDICT the VII was set up by the Romans. Otho was offended that they had transgressed the Acts made in his fathers time; he hastned to Rome, and exerceed severity against the rebellious Romans; they in suffering deserved death, did take unto themselves the name of Martyrs: But *Fasc. temp.* maketh a distinction; they were killed as some in the primitive Church were

were killed; alike punishment, but not alike cause. Benedict followed the Emperour in this tumult, and received from him a temporal sword; that is, authority to punish all seditious persons within the City; and so he banished some, and imprisoned others. His Successours have enlarged the petty jurisdiction. *Stella cler. Catal. test. ver. lib. 11.* He sate 9 years.

*The Pope hath
a sword gi-
ven him.*

30. JOHN the XV was no sooner set in his Chair, but Pope Boniface the VII, having made monies of his sacrilege, levied an Army and entred Rome; he took Pope John, pulled out his eys, and thrust him into Prison; where (as some say) he was murdered by Ferracius a Noble Roman, and father of Boniface now Pope again. Within 11 months Boniface died suddenly, and his Corps were drawn by the feet along the streets, the people exclaiming against him. *Platin.* John and Boniface sate 15 months, and died *An. 982.*

31. JOHN the XVI was expelled the City by Consul Crescentius. When the Consul heard that the Pope was sending his complaint unto the Emperour, he was content to reconcile with him. So between prosperity and adversity he sate 10 years, 10 months. *Platin.*

32. GREGORY the V was advanced by the Emperour, no man contradicting, saith *Alb. Crantz. Saxon. lib. 4. cap. 26.* The Romans took it ill, that the Emperour and Pope were both Germans; and in a sedition they set up JOHN the XVII, a Greek; and by the power of Crescentius, whom he had bought with money; for he had brought so much money from Constantinople, that even constant men might have been allured to wickedness by his gifts; but he died with ignominy in the 10 month, saith *Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 34.* Because he was not lawfully chosen, he is not inrolled among the Popes, by some. Hence is so great variance amongst the Johns following; for they who omit the She-Pope, and this John, call the next John the seven-tieth, whereas others call him the ninetieth; and so forth of the rest. Gregory staid in Hetruria till John was installed, and then did run unto his Nephew Ortho, who came with all hast into Italy, took Rome by force, and apprehended Pope John and Crescentius, as is before. After this Gregory did ratifie, *quod Ortho 3 ex Consilio Principum Germania constituit*, saith *Naucler. lo. cit.* that is, what the Emperour had ordained, by the advice of the German Princes, concerning the election of the Emperour in time coming. *Naucler* nameth the persons of the Electors, and their places, otherwise then I have named them from *Platina*; for he nameth first the Count Palatine of Rhine, second the Duke of Saxon, &c. But *Platina* speaks probably, and it is certain, that upon other considerations, some Articles were changed afterwards. The Jesuit *Dion. Petavins in Ration. temp. par. 1. lib. 8. cap. 17.* saith, The report is, that Gregory the V did tie the power of electing an Emperour, unto the suffrages of certain Princes, whom being seven in number, either he or some successour is thought to have appointed. But it is clear by the History that the Emperour had more power then the Pope, at that time, both in Italy and Germany; and certainly, the following Popes have taken occasion, by this manner of election, to usurp above the Emperours; or (as in *Fascic. temp.*) upon this occasion the Eagle did lose many feathers, and was at last made totally naked. Gregory sate 4 years, and died *An. 999.* Of this Century we see generally, that the Popes which were chosen by the Romans were wicked men; and as they sought the Chair ambitiously for honour and power, so they had no respect to religion (even as the Popes following in the next Century) and therefore the Emperour had the greater reason to endeavour, and could the more readily obtain that order concerning the election of the Popes; but it was soon wrested out of his hands; as followeth.

Of Divers Countries.

*A description
of a miserable
age.*

1. **I**N this Century diligence decaieeth, and every vertue fainteth through want of established Princes, especially in Italy: The distressed Pastours, in more ancient times, did shine in doctrine and holiness, when the Church was under persecution, or Pastours under correction of Archirectional power; but when Priests began to glance in silks and colours, and had liberty from subjection unto Princes, their lives became odious and filthy; their licence brought forth such monsters of men, who by avarice and ambition entred into the places of good men, and did not discharge their office. There was little study of Liberal Sciences; few and empty Schools of languages; the Clergy and Priests, having forsaken their old discipline, were given to lucre, nor were they respected by their flocks; and only Monks were noted to have some eloquence. Nevertheless as it was ordained in Synods of the former Century, that Priests and Monks should read the Scriptures and Writings of the Fathers, now by reading and preaching the same doctrine by some, God did sequester some here and there, which did beleve truly in Christ, although in so great fear of tyranny and tumults of War, that they durst scarcely speak of corruptions, idolatries, superstitions and wickedness, which at that time were so luxuriant. I will not mention divers signs that were seen in Heaven, portending so great evils. Great alterations befell in every Kingdom almost, the Hungarians oppress Italy and Germany, although they were restrained; besides many other broils in both those Nations; France hath another race of Kings; incessant were the Wars in Spain between the old inhabitants and the Moors; the Sarazens suffered neither Greece nor Asia to rest in peace. *Bellarmin in Chronolo.* speaking of this Century, saith; Behold an unhappy age, in which are no famous Writers, no Councils, bad Emperours, and no good Popes, God then providing that no heresie did arise. And *Baron. ad An. 900. § 1.* saith, A new age beginneth, which for rudeness and barrenness of goodness, is called *The Iron Age*; and for deformity of evil abounding, is *Leaden*; and for want of Writers, is called *The Dark Age*. And *ad An. 912.* saith more sharply, What was the face of the Roman Church! how filthy, when most lude and potent whores did reign in Rome! at whose pleasure Bishopricks were changed, Bishops were given; and which is most horrible to be heard, their Paramours were thrust into Saint Peter's See, which are written but to fill up the role of Popes; for who can call these lawfull High-Priests which were thrust in, without any order, by such whores? no mention of the Clergy chusing and consenting, the Canons were prest in silence; what manner of Cardinals, Priests and Deacons canst thou think were chosen by these Monsters? seeing nothing is more natural then that every one beget others like to himself; and who can doubt but that these did consent in all things unto them who had chosen them? After this manner he continued bewailing and detesting the iniquity of those times. It may justly then be added, Since the face of the Roman Church was so blurred, and those in the Chair of Peter (as they speak) were so abominable and wretched; what is become of the line of succession whereof they boast? And since that wicked generation did continue so long space of time, from whom have they ordination in the following ages? And here we may remember what Pope Gregory the I writ on *Iob. lib. 34. cap. 2.* I will yet declare a sadder thing, by the fearful order of hid dispensation; ere that Lemathan shall appear in that damned man which he shall assume, the signs of vertue shall be withdrawn from the Holy

Holy Church ; for prophecy shall be hid , the vertue of abstinence shall be diminished , the words of doctrine shall cease , and no miracles shall be seen. Which things indeed Divine dispensation will not take away altogether ; but he sheweth not these openly and in plenty , as in former times. And this is done by admirable dispensation , that by one thing both the piety and justice of God may be fulfilled ; for while , the signs of vertue being withdrawn , the Church seems more contemptible , both the reward of good men groweth , which do esteem her under hope of heavenly things , and not for present signs ; and the mind of wicked men against her appears the more easily , who neglect the promised invisible things , while they are not engaged by visible things. Therefore while the humility of Beleevers is as it were destitute of the multitude and manifestation of signs , by the terrible trial of Divine dispensation , mercy is bestowed on good men ; even by the same means , whereby just wrath is heaped upon the wicked. *So far be.* Now what do these two Cardinals , in these their lamentations ; and that Pope in this fearfull Prophecy of Divine dispensation , but confirm what is the usual doctrine of the Reformed Churches , that *The Church did lurk for a space of time.* But the Romanists in these daies will not hear this , and the deluded people are made to beleeve that the Church of Rome hath continued through all ages in glorious Majesty. And yet even in these darke times were some witnesses of the truth , although not without some dross of the corrupt age.

2. Ambrosius Ausbert , a French Monk , in the beginning of this Century , writ Commentaries on the Psalms and Song of Salomon , and ten books on the Revelation ; out of which I have selected these testimonies. *Lib. 3. cap. 5.* The old and new Testament are called one book ; because the new cannot be separated from the old , nor the old from the new ; for the old Testament is the new veiled , and the new is the revelation of the old The Lord said unto Peter , bearing the type of the Church , Thou art Peter , and upon this Rock will I build my Church ; as if he had said , Upon me will I build thee. *Lib. 4. cap. 8.* It is no wonder that our prayers and tears are offered unto God not in our name , but by the great High-Priest ; seeing Paul exhorts us , saying , Through him let us offer up the sacrifices of praise unto God. *Lib. 5. cap. 11.* When God rendreth reward unto his servants , he rewardeth his own gifts in them ; for he would not say , He rendreth a reward , unless he had gotten the works of reward ; but we could not have the works of reward , unless we had gotten from Him that we were able to work ; in this sense we ask daily , Give us this day our daily bread ; if it be ours , why ask we it daily to be given us ? It is ours by receiving , which was not ours by having. *Lib. 6. cap. 13.* The book of Predestination , as it containeth the Elect written in it by unmovable eternity ; so by no means receives it the Reprobates to be written in it ; But why so ? If this be asked of me , I answer briefly , Because God is most good , mercifull , meek and just ; mercifull , because he freely saves some sinners ; just , because for the merit of reprobation , and not without justice he condemneth the ungodly. *Lib. 8. cap. 17.* If the Elect follow preventing grace , and the Reprobates cannot accuse his justice. And *Cap. 19.* Grace goeth before a man , to shew him the way whither he should go ; and grace follows him , to move him unto that which it shews In this we give glory unto God , when we confess that by no precedent merit of our good works , but by his mercy only we have attained so great dignity. *Lib. 10. cap. 22.* How doth he which will take that blessed water , if it be given to each one freely ? And truly saith the Apostle , It is not of him that willeth or runneth , but of God who shews mercy. How can he who willeth take it , but because in both these the mercy of God is commended ? which both makes the unwilling to become

willing, and also freely bringeth the willing unto that which he desireth: As if the giver of that grace were saying, Who being freely inspired, hath begun to desire heavenly things; let him be confident, that he may freely attain those things; for no other but who willeth takes the water of life freely; because none other is brought unto eternal life even freely, but he who beginneth first to will, being preveened by grace: Hence is it said, God worketh in us both the will and the deed, according to good pleasure: But the Apostle seemeth to contradict this, when he saith, To will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not. But know, that whereas he saith, To will is present; he knew that he had received from God that whereby he would; which he himself proveth, saying, What hast thou, that thou hast not received? Understand, Nothing at all. Say then, Who thirsteth let him come ... that is, who being unwilling is made willing (by no preceding merits of good works, but by the gracious will of God) let him drink abundantly of the water of eternal joy, out of the invisible fountain.

3. Theophylact Arch-Bishop of Bulgaria, in the beginning of this Century, writ on the four Evangelists and the Epistles of Paul. His testimony is the more to be accounted, because Christophor Porfena, Prior of Saint Balbina in Rome (which did first translate his works, and then dedicated them unto Pope Sixtus the IV.) testifieth of him, that as a Bee he hath gathered into his Honey-hive the most approved sentences out of many Authours, especially out of Chrysostom, as out of a golden fountain, he had drawn very golden interpretations. And Berald (who at the order of Michael Bodet *Epist. Lingonen.* did review that Translation, when it was to be reprinted *An. 1533.* by *Iod. Bad. Aycens.*) saith in his Epistle unto the Reader, This is certain enough, that all these Commentaries are pious and orthodox, and differ far from those things which the multitude of Theologians, in these daies, do with much pride beat into the ears of the unlearned people; for he not only expounds the Apostles mind every where, but likewise *refert, sapit ac spirat*, he resembleth, savoureth and breatheth it; which or how few it can be justly said, he may easily understand who will compare the new Divines with the ancient both Latine and Greek. *So far Berald.* Out of these two testimonies, observe that Theophylact doth agree with the Ancients before him, as Chrysostom, Basilus, and others of those ages, whom he often quoteth; and doth disagree from the multitude of Preachers in the Roman Church, about the year 1533. Where then is their frequent gloriation of the constancy, and unity of the Roman Church with the Ancient Fathers? Hear then what Theophylact saith in the Articles of controversie in those daies. *In Prolog. before Evang. Matth.* he saith, Because heresies were to bud forth, which are ready to waite our manners, it was thought necessary that the Gospels should be written; to the end, that we learning truth out of them, should not be deceived with the lies of heresies, and our manners should not altogether be undone. On *Cap. 13.* near the end, speaking of Christ and his mother, he saith, The mother would shew some human thing, that she had power over her son; for as yet she had no great thoughts of him; and therefore while he was yet speaking, she would draw him unto her: Porfena here addeth on the margine, *Legem causè.* To wit, he saw that these words are against the Tenets of Rome, that the Virgin was free from all sin, and by right of her mother-hood she can command her son. On *Cap. 16.* Because Peter had confessed that Jesus is the son of God; he said, that this confession which he had confessed, shall be the foundation of Beleevers; so that every man which shall build the house of faith, shall lay this foundation; for although we build many vertues, and have not this foundation, a right confession, we do build unprofitably

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They have power of binding and forgiving, who receive the gift of Episcopacy [or oversight] as Peter did; for although it was said unto Peter, I will give unto thee; nevertheless it was granted unto all the Apostles. When? when he said, Whose sins ye forgive they are forgiven: For when he said, I will give; he signifieth the time coming, that is, after the resurrection When Peter speaks rightly, Christ calleth him blessed; but when he feareth without reason, and will not have him to suffer, he lasheth him; and saith, Go behind me, Satan. In *Luc. cap. 2.* Bishops should keep their Flock; and *ἀγροαυτείν*, that is, sing in the field, sing spiritual things, and teach the people, and hear divine visions and sayings. Bethleem is the house of bread; and what other is the house of bread but the Church, in which bread is provided? it is therefore the duty of spiritual Shepherds to seek heavenly bread; which when they have seen, they must preach it unto others The things whereof the Scripture is silent, we should not inquire. On *Cap. 16.* Nothing is so profitable as diligent searching of the Scriptures; the Devil may falsely and apparently make a search of the dead, to deceive the unwise; and from Hell he may sow doctrine according to his wickedness; but those who do duly search the Scriptures, nothing can delude them; for the Scriptures are a lantern and light, which when it shines the thief is found and made manifest; therefore we should beleeve them, and not regard the rising of the dead. And a little before he saith, As it is impossible for any man to pass from the company of the just into the place of sinners; so it is impossible, as Abraham teacheth us, to pass from the place of punishment into the place of the just The bosom of Abraham is the possession of good things, which are prepared for the just, passing from the Waves of the Sea into the Haven of Heaven. On *Ioh. cap. 1.* The new Testament is called grace; because God gives freely unto us, not only remission of sins, but the adoption of children. And it is called truth; because whatsoever the Fathers saw in figure, or spoke, He hath here preached these clearly Here we learn that the miracles of Christ's childhood are but feigned and lies, and made up by them who would scorn the mystery; for if these had been true, how could the Lord have been unknown which wrought them? for it is no way likely that he was not famous which did such miracles: But it is not so; for before he was baptized, he wrought no signs, neither was he known. On *Cap. 3.* If thou knowest not the wind, which is a Spirit subject to sense, how searchest thou curiously of regeneration by the Spirit of God, how and from whom it is breathed? If this Spirit cannot be comprehended, far less is the grace of the Holy Ghost subject to the laws of nature. Confounded therefore be Macedonius the fighter against the Holy Ghost, and Eunomius before him; for he would make the Spirit a servant, although he hear, in this place, that the Spirit bloweth whither it will; far rather hath the Holy Ghost a more free motion, and doth work where he willeth, and after what manner he willeth When thou hearest that the Son of man came down from Heaven, think not that his flesh came down from Heaven; this did Apollinarius teach, that Christ had a body from Heaven, which did pass thorow the Virgin, as thorow a Conduit: But because Christ is one person consisting in two natures, therefore whatsoever belongs to the Man-hood, is spoken of the Word; and again, what belongs unto the Word, is spoken of the Man: So here the Son of Man is said to come down from Heaven, because He is one person; and again, lest when ye hear it said, The Son of Man came down, you would think that he is not in Heaven: He saith, even he which is in Heaven; for do not think that I am not there, because I came down; but both am I here bodily, and I sit there as God with the Father Here we learn that the old Testament is like, or of the same

nature with the new; and there is but one giver of the old and new Testament, although Marcion and Manicheus, and that rabble of Hereticks deny it. He teacheth also, that since the Jews, beholding the brazen Serpent, did escape death, far rather we looking on him which was crucified, and beleeving, shall escape the death of the soul. . . . Adam died justly, because he sinned; but the Lord died unjustly, because he had not sinned. . . . and because he died unjustly, he overcame him by whom he was killed, and so delivered Adam from death, which was laid justly upon him. On *Cap. 6.* Diligent faith is a guide unto good works, and good works do conserve faith; for both works are dead without faith, and faith without works. . . . He saith, I am the bread of life; he saith not, I am the bread of nourishment, but of life; for when all things were dead, Christ maketh us alive by himself, who is that bread, in so far as we beleeve that the leaven of mankind is heated by the fire of his God-head; and He is the bread of life, not of this natural, but of that unchangeable life, which fails not by death: And who beleeve in that bread shall not suffer hunger by hearing the Word of God, nor suffer spiritual thirst; because he hath the water of Baptism, and sanctification of the Spirit. . . . And shewing that faith in Christ is not a common thing, but a gift of God, and given by the Father to the upright in heart; he saith, Whomsoever the Father gives unto me, he shall come unto me; that is, they shall beleeve in me, whom my Father gives unto me. . . . And I will not cast him out which comes unto me, that is, I will not lose him, but I will save, and I will refresh him with much diligence; for I came from Heaven to do no other thing but the will of my Father. And near the end of that Chapter he saith, When ye hear that his Disciples went away, do not think it of his true Disciples, but of them who did follow in the order of Disciples, and seemed to have the form of Disciples, while they were taught by him; for there were some among his Disciples, who being compared with the other multitude, were called his Disciples; for they abode longer time than the multitude; but being compared with others which were true Disciples, they were not to be considered, because they beleeved him but for a time, and (as I might say) with a cold heat. . . . The flesh profiteth nothing. . . . the flesh, that is, to expound these words carnally, profiteth not, but are the occasion of scandal: So then they who understood carnally the things spoken by Christ, were offended: Therefore he addeth, The words I speak, are spirit, that is, are spiritual; and life, having no fleshly thing, and bringing eternal life: Shewing that it is the excellency of the God-head to reveal these hid things, he saith, There be some among you who beleeve not; when he saith Some, he excepteth the Disciples. On *Cap. 10.* He sheweth the sure tokens of a good Shepherd, and of a Wolf. . . . and first of the pernicious Shepherd, saying, He entreth not by the dore, that is, by the Scriptures; for he useth not the Scriptures and Prophets as witnesses; for certainly the Scriptures are the dore, by which we are brought unto God, and these suffer not Wolves to enter; for they forbid Hereticks that we may be secure, and they give a reason of every thing; therefore he is a thief who entreth not into the fold by the Scriptures, and so is found by them. . . . Because the Scriptures are understood and opened by the Holy Spirit, they do shew Christ unto us; the Porter is justly expounded the Holy Spirit, by whom, as the Spirit of wisdom and knowledge, the Scriptures are opened, and by them the Lord entreth to have a care of us, and by them the Shepherd is known. And the Sheep hear the voice of the Shepherd; for because they had often called him a deceiver, and they would through incredulity confirm this, saying, Doth any of the rulers beleeve in him? Christ shews that they should not think him a deceiver, though none of those beleeved in him, but rather
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they should be cast out of the sheep-fold; for, saith he, if I come in by the dore, it is clear that I am the true Shepheard; and ye which beleeve not in me, seem not to be sheep. On *Cap. 12.* speaking of the word *Osanna*, he saith, Out of these Texts any man may understand, that the Scripture attributes salvation unto God only. On *Cap. 20.* Though many signs of his resurrection were given, yet these only are written; and that not for ostentation, or that the glory of the only begotten may be shewed; but that ye may beleeve, saith he: What is the gain? who reapeth it? not Christ; for what gain hath he that we beleeve? But it redounds unto us; for he saith, That ye beleeving might have life through his name. On *Rom. 1.* What righteousness can we have who are defiled with abomination and filthy deeds? but God hath justified us not by our works, but by faith. On *Cap. 3.* If the Law had power to justify, what need had we of Christ? If thou wilt say, By what law is this glorying excluded? is it by works, seeing the Law commandeth, He who doth these things shall live by them; for these things did the Law of Moses command. He saith, Not, but by the Law of faith, which gives righteousness by grace, and not by works. You see how he calleth faith a law, because this name was in such veneration amongst the Jews. On *Cap. 6.* He calleth life, grace, and not a reward; as if he had said, Ye do not receive the reward of works, but by grace are all these things given unto you through Christ, which worketh and doth them all. On *Cap. 10.* The righteousness of God is by faith, which requires nothing glorious or grievous of us, but all our hopes is on the grace of God. On *Cap. 11.* If of works, then no more of grace, or else work were no more work; if we be made acceptable unto God through works, grace were superfluous; but if grace be superfluous, then must works also be taken away; for where grace is, working is not requisite; and where working is, no grace is required. What then? When he hath shewed what grace is, and that it is the gift of God without the works of men; he asserteth, that the Israelites have not attained justification, though they sought it, because they sought it not rightly; and they thought to have righteousness by works, which could not be: But (saith he) the election, that is, they which are chosen have attained it; and by this word *election* he shews, that the excellency of things to come, and all other things are bestowed on men by the gift of God. On *Cap. 13* He [the Apostle] teacheth that all men, whether a Priest or Monk, or an Apostle, should be subject unto Princes. On *Cap. 16.* The Apostle teacheth that dissensions and scandals, that is, heresies are brought in, by them which bring any doctrine besides the doctrine of the Apostles. On *1 Cor. 3.* Miracles are done, very often, for the profit of others; and therefore are they done sometimes, even by unworthy men. *Cap. 14.* Signs are for unbelievers, for believers have no need of them, seeing they do already beleeve but prophecies are profitable both to believers and unbelievers Behold how by degrees he proveth plainly, that he who speaks with his tongue only, and understands not, doth the less good even to himself; and this was the meaning of Basilus on this place. . . . What then is more to be sought of God? that we may pray in the Spirit, that is, with grace, and with the mind, that is, with meditation to conceive what we should pray. On *2 Cor. 4.* That the excellency may be of the power of God, and not of us; that it may be clear (saith the Apostle) that the excellency of the apparent virtue comes not from us, but from God; or lest it be thought that we can do any thing worthy of praise, as of our selves, let us ascribe all unto God, and let us acknowledge that is of his gift, whatsoever we do well. On *Gal. 2.* Paul demonstrates, in this place, that he was equal unto Peter; for (saith he) he who wrought by Peter in the Apostleship of circumcision, wrought also by me amongst the Gentiles Some

say, It was not Peter the excellent follower of Christ, which was rebuked by Paul, but another Cephas... But hear most wise man, for neither do we say, that Peter, as ignorant what he should have done, was rebuked by Paul; but we say, that he willingly did admit reproof, that he might give unto others an example of patience. On *Eph. 1.* at these words, *The exceeding greatness of his power in us*; he saith, Nor is it easie to be understood, how great is that power and vertue which changeth a man's mind from the wonted custom, and to pull it out of errors; from which to draw a man sticking in them, so great power is requisite, that so great power scarcely appears in raising the dead; for the Lord did raise the dead with one word, and yet he converted not the Jews to him, by perswading with multitudes of words and miraculous works: He saith therefore, the revelation of the Spirit is necessary, that we may learn the same faith, which we have received, that we have received it by the greatest power and working of God; for as he raised Christ from the dead, so hath he brought us unto light when we were dead, and hath drawn us from infidelity; and therefore he saith, it was done by the exceeding greatness of his power, and the power of his vertue. On *Cap. 2.* Yea it is to be thought a greater power, to bring into the right way straying souls and addicted to sin, than to raise up the dead. And at these words, *By whose grace ye are saved*; he saith, He puts in this as being stricken with astonishment, wondering at the unspeakable gift of God; for he saith, Ye are not saved by your travel or work, but only by grace; as for your works, certainly ye were worthy of wrath and punishment. On *Cap. 6.* The Apostle sheweth how Parents may bring their children into obedience; if ye will, saith he, have your children obedient unto you, bring them unto, and acquaint them with the word of God; and say not, let Monks study the holy Scripture, for it is the duty of every Christian, and especially of him who converseth in worldly affairs; and the rather, that he hath need of more help, as who is driven among the waves of the World; therefore it is most profitable for thee that thy children both hear and read the holy Scripture; and out of them they shall learn, Honour thy father and thy mother: but if thou breed thy children in the books of Heathens, they will learn very bad things out of them; which shall not be, if they be acquainted with the word of God. On *1 Thess. 1.* It is manifest that souls are brought unto faith and salvation, not by perswasion of man, but by the power of God. On *2 Thess. 2.* The Lord will not come, unless there come first a departing, that is, the Antichrist; whom he calleth a departing, because in very deed he will cause many to depart from Christ... So that he sits in the Temple of God as a God; not in the Church of Jerusalem only, but he will sit in all Churches every where: Shewing himself that he is God; he saith not Saying, but Shewing, that is, he will attempt to prove that he is God; for he will make such great works and signs that he may deceive all men... What with-holds, that is, hindreth; but what is that? some have said it is the grace of the Spirit: some say the Roman Empire, to which opinion John Chrysostom agreeth; for unless the Roman Empire be destroyed, Antichrist can have no way to do as he willeth. Paul hath expressed this darkly, for he would not rashly take upon him the malice of the Romans, nor cast himself into danger in vain: for if he had said, the Roman Empire will be taken away shortly, they presently would have buried him quick, as threatening the ruine of the Empire: and they would have killed all the Believers that followed him, as if they wished the overthrow of so great an Empire... Only he that with holds shall with-hold... that is, when the Roman Empire shall be taken away, then shall he come; for so long as they are under the fear of this, no man will easily submit himself unto another; but when this is overthrown, he will be.

gin another dominion; and as if all were his, he will pervert the things that concern both God and man; for as other Monarchies were taken away one by another, before the height of the Romans . . . so this Kingdom of the Romans shall be destroyed by the Antichrist, and Daniel hath prophesied that it shall be so. Some understand otherwise, but I would have thee to think, as we have said with blessed Chrysostom. On 1 *Tim.* 1. at the last words, he saith, Thou seest how to search curiously into divine things, turned into blasphemy; for it is injurious against God, when we endeavour to comprehend in our mind and thought the things that are done by his will and dispensation. On *Cap.* 3. One may ask why the Apostle omitteth the Priests? because what things are spoken of Bishops, belong unto Priests; for these are commanded to instruct others, and to govern the Churches, and are inferiours unto them by the only ceremony of consecration. On 2 *Tim.* 3. That the man of God may be perfect; amendment, saith he, must be sought from the Scriptures, that nothing may be lacking to him which walks according to God: if therefore thou desirest to be perfect, and wishest neither to be cast down with adversity, nor puffed up with prosperity, (for that is perfection) seek advice of the holy Scriptures when thou wantest me: And since he writ of such reading unto Timothy, being filled with the holy Spirit, how much more are we to be exhorted thereunto which have need of this Spirit? And observe how we cannot be upright and perfect, unless the holy Scriptures do help us. On *Heb.* 9. so, And Christ was once offered; by whom was he offered? by himself, and not by another man; for though he was the High-Priest, he was also the sacrifice and the oblation. To take away the sins of many . . . Why, saith he, of many, and not of all men? Because all men beleeve not; but Christ's death is equal to the perdition of all men, that is, it is sufficient that all men perish not, and and it was paid for the salvation of all men, and he died for all men so far as was in him; and nevertheless he hath not taken the sin of all men, because they fight against him; and so they had made the death of Christ unprofitable unto themselves, which certainly is horrible to be spoken, and very lamentable, seeing that death brought salvation unto many. This was the mind of Basilus also; and nevertheless we find in the Gospel, *That he might give his life a ransom for many*, to be expounded for all. *Cap.* 10. Can never with these sacrifices which were offered year by year . . . If they, being once offered, had been available, they should no more have been offered; but when the oblation was made year by year, and often, it is clear that they were too weak for bringing salvation unto them who were desirous of it; and therefore after the first offering followed another, and again, and again another; for amongst Drugs that are called most valid and efficacious, which being but once applied or drunken, doth heal and cure; but what must be often changed and applied, hath the less vertue of healing, and doth no good unto the sick. But one may ask, Do we not offer without blood? Yea indeed, but then we remember the death of Christ, and we have but one oblation, and not many, seeing He is offered but once; for we offer him continually; or rather, we remember his oblation, even as if at this time He were sacrificed; wherefore it is certain that we have but one sacrifice, and the Law had many; although (as it is said before) it was offered the oftner, that it might be the more profitable unto many, which nevertheless is far otherwise: But our sacrifice (as I have said) is but one and once offered, and continueth whole both in this life and that to come, and it is more perfect; for it is but one blood, and once poured forth; and one body, although it was offered for many; and it is not many, as it is but one sacrifice which is offered; for we do offer that continually as if it were present. *So far from Theophylact.* But here some

Theophylact
is vindicated

in point of
free will;

may object, that Theophylact agreeth not with the Reformed Church in many particulars. It is true, and therefore I say often, we must make separation of the dross from the pure gold; but his difference is supposed to be greater than it is. Porfena in his Epistle unto the Reader before the Gospels, saith; *Theophylact follows Chrysostom concerning free-will and faith, and some other things; and therefore in expounding some places he is somewhat more violent: which I say, that herein you should use discretion, which knowest thy self to be addicted unto the Canonical Scriptures only; and not to fear thee from reading of him, as some are wont when any passage displeaseth, they throw the book away: so say I, in reading of any book written by man, we who are addicted to the holy Scriptures only, must use discretion.* But it seemeth, Porfena speaks not this unto Papists, because they are not addicted to the holy Canonical Scriptures only; and he saith that Theophylact is more violent in expounding some places; where certainly Porfena understands, that he crosseth the Tenets of the Romish Church. But this may be more clear by particulars. 1. Porfena hath often marked the margine with *liberum arbitrium*, as if Theophylact did there assert the Romish error concerning free-will; and I know that others do alledge his testimony against the doctrine of the Reformed Church, howbeit he speak nothing against us, nor for them; as is clear by inspection of particular places. On *Luk. 15. fol. 103.* on the margine is *Liberum arbitrium*; and in the line is, The substance of man is rational, whereupon followeth free-will; for all rational creatures have a free-will, and the Lord hath given them reason that they may use it freely, &c. It is clear, that Theophylact speaks there of the nature of man absolutely, or without any relation to any particular condition of man, before the fall or after the fall; and he speaketh against the Stoicks and Manicheans, which did hold that the actions of men were carried by fate or pressing necessity; and therefore it follows there, If God would have us to be compelled, he had not made us rational, and of a free-will. On *Ioh. 6.* at the words, *Will ye also go away*; he saith, The Lord saith not, Go ye away; for this had been to repel them; but he asketh, will ye go away? whereby he makes it free, whether they will follow him or not; and he sheweth that he will not have them to follow him in fear. On these words also hath Porfena fixed *Liberum arbitrium*. As also on *Mat. 16.* at the words, *If any will follow me*; he saith to the same purpose, The Lord saith, If any will; to shew free-will and not coacted vertue. These and many more places are clearly spoken against the necessity of fate or coaction; which now is not controverted. But if you ask, By what power is an unregenerated man converted? he hath said it already on *2 Cor. 4.* and *Eph. 1* and *2*. Or if you ask, By what power doth a regenerate man continue in the faith and practise of godliness? Theophylact teacheth that on *Phil. 2.* at the words, *For it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do*: Whereas he had said, *with fear and trembling*; now he saith, that they need not fear; for I have not spoken so, that ye should despair, but be the more wary; for if ye take heed and be diligent God will make all perfect; for it is he which makes you prompt to such a good will, that we will good things, and also bringeth such promptitudes of our mind unto an end; for God worketh in us both the will, that is, he inableth you that ye desire good things, and he will augment this good will, and kindle it that it may be the more fervent the Apostle takes not away free-will, but willeth that we should alwaies give thanks unto God, and committed all unto him: Mark (saith Theophylact) but this manner of speaking; he saith, *in you who work your salvation with fear and trembling*; for in such men which are willingly led unto good, God worketh all things. According to good will, that is, that it may be fulfilled in you, what is acceptable un-

to God for God will enable us to live rightly, although it were no other cause but only this, because so he willeth. 2. It is objected, that Theophylact saith, that election was made upon the fore-sight of faith and good works; as on *Eph. 1.* it is, When he saith, *He hath chosen*, he pointeth forth both the mercy of God, and their vertue, to wit, whom God had separated, as who were to be good. I answer, In these words Theophylact toucheth not the moving cause of election; but only teacheth, that God had chosen none but such as were to be good and godly; and this he insists oft upon; against them which held, that faith, or profession of faith, is sufficient to salvation, although men do not good works, as is clear by the words following; for when the Text saith, *That we may be holy and without blame before him*; he addeth, Lest it come into ones mind, that God hath chosen whom he willeth to be saved, and thereupon one be slack and think it is not any more needfull to study unto vertue, that one may attain life, seeing they are already chosen according to the pleasure of God, and there is no more hope unto others; unto this he saith, *God hath chosen us that we should be holy and without blame*; that is, that we should live in that holiness which God hath given unto us who have been washed in baptism; therefore let us continue and keep a godly life. Whence it is clear, that he judgeth the moving cause to be the only will of God; and thereupon follows that scruple which he removeth; and this may be cleared from his words on *v. 2. ch. 2. 10.* 3. Porsena marketh in the margin at the words of institution in *Matth. 26*, *Panis qui sanctificatur in altario corpus & caro Domini est, non figura*; and the words in the line are, When he saith, *This is my body*; he sheweth, that the bread which is sanctified on the Altar, is the same body of Christ, and not an answering figure; for he said not, This is a figure, but *This is my body*; for by unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem unto us to be bread; because we are infirm, and do abhor to eat raw flesh, especially the flesh of man; and therefore it appears bread, and is flesh. And on *Mar. 14.* When he had blessed, that is, had given thanks, he broke the bread; which also we do, adjoining prayer. This is my body; this I say, which ye take; for the bread is not a figure only, and some exemplar of the Lord's body, but the body of Christ is converted into it: For the Lord said, The bread that I will give you, is my flesh; he said not, it is the figure of my flesh, but it is my flesh. And again, Unless ye eat the flesh of the son of man. But you will say, How is not the flesh seen? O man, that is because of our infirmity; for because bread and wine are of such things wherewith we are accustomed, we abhor them not; but if we saw blood and flesh set before us, we could not indure them, but would abhor them; therefore the mercifull God condescending unto our weakness, keeps still the forms of bread and wine, but transubstantiateth them into the vertue of flesh and blood. These be his words, without any fault, in the translation. Now behold the vanity of man's mind, when it is fond on a thing. *Ixion* (as the fable is) would so faine have had *Iuno*, that he thought he had her in his imbracement, when he had but the wind or cloud. So the Romanists think, they have here their transubstantiation, when they have but words far different from what they do fancy. In these testimonies they lay hold on two passages: First, *The bread which is sanctified, is the same body of Christ, and not an answering figure.* I would they could conjoin the words on *Mark*, *It is not a figure only, and some exemplar of the Lord's body.* Where the Authour denieth not simply or absolutely, that the bread is a figure and exemplar of Christ's body; but saith he, *It is not a figure only*; or, it is not only a figure and some exemplar; therefore according to his mind, It is a figure and some exemplar, but more then a bare figure, and a special kind of exemplar. Against whom is this said? I

have read it imputed unto some that the bread is a meer sign of Christ's body; but I never read any who hath so affirmed, except Socinians or Anabaptists. So then in these words Theophylact speaks according to the mind of the Reformed Church. But he saith, *It is the same body of Christ*. And so saith Christ himself, *This is my body*; and so say we: Therefore the question is, in what sense the bread is his body? Next they say, It is by transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ. Here first mark, that the former passage proveth it not. 2. Where saith Theophylact so? they say, in these words, *By unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to be bread*. I answer, In so great a matter the words ought to be considered attentively. What is transformation? it is two-fold, if we speak properly, external and internal. External is when the outward form of a thing is changed into another; but this is not in the Sacrament, which keeps still the forms of bread and wine; as it is said expressly in the words on *Mark*. Internal transformation is when not only the outward form is changed, but the inward nature and essence of a thing is changed into another which was before; as when Lot's wife was turned into a Pillar of salt, or Moses's rod into a Serpent. But Theophylact saith, *It appears bread, and is flesh*. Wherefore he meaneth not a proper transformation, but an improper kind; and so saith the Reformed Churches. The Romanists say, he saith, The bread is transformed into the body of Christ. Where saith he so? not on *Matthew*, for his words are, *But the body of Christ is turned or converted into it*. It is one thing the bread is transformed into the body of Christ; and another thing, Christ's body is converted into the bread; and therefore he saith, *God transelementeth the bread into the vertue of flesh*. So neither on *Matthew* nor *Mark*, either first or last, doth Theophylact assert a transformation or transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ; but in the first place, he speaks of a converting of Christ's body into the bread; and in the other, he speaks of a transelementation of the bread into the vertue of flesh; and the Papists do hold neither one nor the other. As yet I speak not of the truth of the matter, nor of the meaning of the Authour, but shew how the Papists delude themselves with his words. As for his meaning in this matter, unless his words be contrary one to another, the first words must be expounded by the latter; that is, when he saith, *The body of Christ is converted into the bread*; he meaneth, *God keeps still the forms of the bread and wine, both outward and inward; but transelementates them into the vertue of Christ's flesh and blood*; that is, from bare and earthly things, he translates them into another rank (for this is the proper signification of *μετασχηῖν*, to set in another file or rank) of things, even of spiritual things; even of sealing and conveying unto us the vertue of Christ's body and blood. *Μετασχηῖν* properly, is to remove a souldier from one file into another, and then the souldier changeth not his nature, but his place and use; and so it is with the elements of the Sacrament. And we may be the more assured, that this is the mind of Theophylact, because for confirmation he adds, *The Lord said, The bread that I will give you is my flesh*; and on these words in *Ioh. 6*. he saith, *Note well, that the bread which is eaten by us in the Sacrament, is not only some figuration of the Lord's flesh, but the same flesh of the Lord*; for he said not, *The bread that I will give, is a figure of my flesh, but it is my flesh*; for by mysterious words it is transformed, by mystical blessing and accession of the Holy Ghost, into the Lord's flesh: And at the words, *Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man*; he addeth, *When we hear, unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, ye shall not have life; we must in taking the Divine mysteries [or Sacrament] hold undoubted faith, and not ask what way; for the natural man, that is, who follows human and natural thoughts, is not capable of spiritual things which are above nature; and so be under-*

derstandeth not the spiritual eating of the Lord's flesh; of which they who are not partakers, are not partakers of eternal life, because they have not received Iesus, who is eternal life; for it is not the flesh of a meer man, but of God; and is able to Deifie us, to wit, being united unto the God-head. That flesh is also verily food, because it indureth not for a little time, nor can be corrupted, as corruptible food, but it is a help unto eternal life. In these his words, we see that he speaks not absolutely, as he did seem to speak on *Matthew*; but as he spoke on *Mark*, The bread is not only some figuration; and then he saith, It is transformed by mystical blessing and acceßion of the Holy Ghost. And then he saith, In taking the Divine mysteries we must hold undoubted faith; then they who have not faith undoubted, cannot eat that mysterious Sacrament. And we must not ask what way; to wit, as they do now, whether the substance of the bread be turned into the substance of Christ's body; or whether the substance of the bread is turned to nothing, and Christ's body comes into the form of the bread; or &c. Theophylact is far from asserting any of these waies. And when he saith, That flesh is verily food, because it indureth not for a little time, nor can be corrupted; he speaks not of the visible bread, which experience teacheth to be corruptible; but he speaks of the Lord's flesh, which we receive by faith. In a word then, Theophylact speaks nothing of transubstantiation, but rather against it; and the Papists delude themselves, and abuse his words. A fourth thing they object out of Theophylact, that he asserts the Primacy of Peter, when he saith on *Joh. 21*, He who durst not ask concerning the Traitor, but did commit the question unto another, now the government of all is concredited unto him: And on the margine Porſena addeth, *Praefectura omnium Petro tributa*; and it follows as if Christ were saying unto Peter, Now I bring thee forth that thou mayest govern the world, and follow me; and on the margine, *Praest Petrus orbi*. But to expound these words, as if Peter were the only governour of the World; and the government of the World were wholly concredited unto Peter alone, is far contrary unto the words and mind of Theophylact; as we have heard from him on *Gal. 2*, where he asserteth that Paul was equal unto him; and on *Matth. 16*, where he asserteth that all the Apostles were of equal authority. Peter therefore was a governour of the world, but not the only governour; for all the Apostles were as much governours as he, in respect of power, since the power was given unto them all, with one and the same words, as Theophylact asserts; and whatsoever power they had, yet they had no civil power; because (as we have heard from Theophylact on *Rom. 13*.) all souls, even Apostles, must be subject unto the Civil Magistrate. Neither do the words of Porſena insinuate so much as they would have, for *Praefectura* and *ægrotia* is but a subordinate power, and a little jurisdiction; yea, and for the most part a conjunct power; as *Praefectus urbis*, which at Rome were two conjunct, and subordinate unto the power of the former. So this is all the power which they can bring unto Peter, from the words of Theophylact; and we may see how, in many particulars, he differeth from the Tenets of the Romish Church, and favoureth them not in the main things, wherein they pretend to have his consent.

4. Radulph a Benedictine of Flaviak, in this Century writ 20 books on Leviticus, and 14 books on the Epistles of Paul, as witnesseth *Gesner*. In the Preface on Levit. he saith; Although it should move us not a little to beleve that the world was contrary unto the faith; and now is subject unto the faith; and that the faith was declared by so many miracles, and testified by the blood of so many Martyrs; yet the singular ground of faith is in the Scriptures, when it is clearly seen to be fulfilled in our daies, which we know was prefigured and foretold so many years by the Sacraments of the Fathers, and Oracles of

the Prophets. Here by the way note, that not only Radulph, but many others of the more ancient Fathers, do use the word *Sacrament* for the rites of religion, yea and for mysteries, and very largely or homonymously. *Lib. 1. cap. 1.* Our Lord Jesus Christ is our Altar, because we lay our oblation on him; for if we do any good thing, we hope that by him it shall be accepted of the Father; and therefore the Apostle Peter saith, Offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable unto God through Jesus Christ. . . . The authority of the Holy Scripture doth furnish unto us matter of holy thoughts. *Ibid.* Scarcely can any good work be perfected without admission of some sin; it is therefore to be feared, lest when the reward of perfect devotion is expected, the punishment of our guiltiness be required of us. *Lib. 2. cap. 2.* That Angel is none other, but our greatest High-Priest, of whom we speak; to wit, he was sent by the Father unto men, and sent again from men unto the Father, to plead the causes of men before the Father; he being the Mediatour of God and men. *Ibid. cap. 4.* Whatsoever man can do for himself, were no way sufficient to obtain forgiveness, unless the immaculate sacrifice of that Just one did commend the repentance of sinners. *Lib. 5. cap. 3.* When ye do any good thing, ascribe not the very affection of godliness unto you, as if ye could do it of your self; for it is God which worketh in us, at his good pleasure, both to will and to perfect. . . . he who ascribeth grace unto himself, must necessarily lose grace for which he was not thankfull. *Lib. 6. cap. 3.* He dieth, who discovereth his head, because while he expects salvation another way then by the grace of Christ, he doth estrange from himself Christ, who is life and salvation. *Lib. 12. cap. 1.* The interposition of lots, is the manifest commendation of God's grace; for as when a lot discerns, deliberation of men is idle, and neither of the parties looks unto himself, but awaits the trial of lot; so in us all who are the children of wrath. . . . it is not considered who would come forth, but whom the mercy of God would deliver. . . Nor in saying so do we destroy man's free-will; for man hath liberty, if he be helped from heaven; otherwise it is nothing, if it be destitute of grace; for the Lord saith, Without me ye can do nothing. . . . Man hath nothing, that he hath not received; for in all things the mercy of God preventeth us; for we knew him not when he was working our salvation in the midst of the earth. *Lib. 17. cap. 5.* The suffering of Christ is preached, unto the end of the World, by the Teachers of the people, that salvation may be unto the Nations by remembring it; and as the woman which had the flux of blood, was healed by touching the hem of his garment; so the Church by remembring his Passion, which is let down from the corporal presence of Christ unto us, obtains eternal salvation. *Ibid.* The Holy Scripture is unto us a well furnished Table, and spiritual cordial, given unto us to comfort our heart-qualms against our enemies. *Lib. 20. cap. 1.* Who is he which can do all that the Lord commandeth? we have not that blessedness, nor are of that worth that we can obey him in all; for none on earth is free of sin, nor can any living be justified in his sight. *Ibid.* No man is worthy to ascend into heaven, unless he be purged from his sins; sin looketh for hell rather than for heaven, and deserves death, not life; torments, not glory: the Paschal Lamb could not take away these; but he could take it away, of whom it is said, Behold the Lamb of God which takes. . . *Catal. test. ver. lib. 11.*

*A complaint
against the
Bishops.*

5. Gerard Bishop of Laureacen. or Laurilheimen, did accuse the Bishops of Bavier, before Pope Leo the VII, for several crimes; wherewith they had not only stained their lives, but undone the Churches of Christ. The Pope writ unto Elilulph Juvavien, Eisingrin Regmoburgen, Lambert Fruxinen, Visund Sabonen. and other Bishops of Bavaria. First he laith to their charge their slackness, as he had heard it of Gerard; then he rebuketh them that they do

do flatter Princes and Magistrates, they did wink at the faults of the wealthy, they corrupt godliness, defile religion; they do prophane holy Philosophy and disturb Christian peace; that by authority of Bishops (which were dumb dogs not able to bark, and blind watch-men) Christians do deceive one another, and the weakest were oppressed.... by magnificent buildings out of measure, and luxurious feasting, they did not carry themselves as becomes the Shepherds of Christ's flock. The disease must be most dangerous which is spread from the head, &c. Here is a complaint against Bishops, and a warning of them; but no mention of reformation. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 11. ex Aventin.*

6. Otho the Great was more active; for (as it is written above) he called the Pope to an account; and when he heard of the multitude and dissoluteness of Monks, he did judge it more expedient, that they be few and good, than many and idle or hurtfull. *Alb. Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 3. cap. 22.* saith that he had much to do with them; and that this began at the Bishops, being discontent that Abbots were in so great favour with the Emperour. Nevertheless this example sheweth what was the condition of those times, and what should be done. But after that time multitudes of new orders came up, as followeth; but few Otho's for many ages; he caused many to lay off their hoods, and to live a secular life; but the Popes were more desirous, that many idle men were depending on them, then that any should say unto them, What doest thou? and Emperours and Kings had more power at that time, which their posterity did suffer to be possessed by Bishops and Popes.

A reformation necessary and intended, but upon strong grounds

7. Smaragdus Abbot of the Benedictines of Saint Michael in Britany of France, about the year 980. writ Commentaries on the New-Testament. On *Ioh. 3.* How is the Son of Man said to have descended from Heaven, or to be in Heaven, even when he was speaking on earth? the flesh of Christ came not down from Heaven, nor was in Heaven, before the time of his ascending; but because the person of Christ is one consisting in two natures, and therefore the Son of Man is rightly said, both to have descended from Heaven, and also before his Passion to have been in Heaven; because what he could not in his human nature, that he did in the Son of God, by whom it was assumed. But this also may be asked, how is it said, None ascends into Heaven, but he who came from Heaven, seeing all the Elect do truly confide that they shall ascend into Heaven; as the Lord hath promised, Where I am, there shall my servant be also? Clear reason untie this knot, because the Mediatour of God and Man; the Man Christ Jesus is the head of all the Elect, and all the Elect are the members of the same head; as the Apostle saith, *He gave him to be the head over the whole Church*.... therefore none ascends into Heaven but Christ in his body, which is his Church.... Whosoever desireth to ascend into Heaven; must conjoin himself by true unity of faith and love, unto him which came down from Heaven, and is in Heaven; giving to understand, that we can ascend into Heaven no other way, but only by him which came down from Heaven; as he saith elsewhere, No man comes unto the Father, but by me. On *Cap. 11.* If saith be in us, Christ is in us; therefore if thy faith be on Christ, Christ is in thy heart. On *Cap. 10.* He is an hireling, who hath the place of a Shepherd, but seeks not the gain of souls; who hunteth after earthly wealth, rejoiceth in the honour of preferment, and delighteth in reverence given him by men. On *Act. Cap. 10.* He rose from the death, and went up on high, and he alone makes request in Heaven for us; he doth with the Father, what he sought of the Father, because he is Mediatour and Creatour; Mediatour, to pray; and Creatour, to give. On *Rom. cap. 1.* The same is the predestination of the Saints, as it was most apparent in the Saint of Saints, which none can deny if he understand the Oracles of truth; for we see, that the Lord of

glory, as he was man, was predestinate . . . and therefore as he only was predestinate to be our head, so many are predestinate to be his members; and God calleth them which are predestinate his children, that he may make them members of his predestinate only Son. On *Cap. 12.* Our mind is renewed by the exercises of godliness and meditation of God's word, and understanding of his law; and how much one makes progress from reading the Scriptures, and how much his understanding doth highly ascend, in so much he is a new man, and daily becomes more and more new. On *Gal. 3.* It must needs be that believers are saved by only faith on Christ. On *Phil. 3.* Because ye are perfect in faith, ye are perfect in conversation, placing your hope in the only faith of Christ, and walking in a heavenly conversation. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 11.*

*Conversion of
Some Nations.*

8. The Danes had received the Christian faith about the year 750, by the preaching of Heridag, but liberty of religion continued among them; some were Christians, and some were Heathens; all did acknowledge that Christ is God, but the Heathens said that other Gods were more ancient, and of more power. *Alb. Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 3. cap. 25.* sheweth, that they rebelled against the Emperour Otho the I. and in the end he and they did agree, that the Danes should accept Bishops thorow all their Country; and they were the more easily induced hereunto, because their King Harald (being the son of a Christian, Tira a daughter of the King of England) was baptized; and at this time the Queen Gunhilda, and her son Zueno, with a great many of the Nobility, received the faith and were baptized. Otho was present at the baptism of the Prince, and called him Zuenotto. Harald continued faithfull unto death; but Zuenotto did forsake the faith in his fathers life time, yet afterward he embraced it again. When Otho had so agreed with the Danes, he turned against their neighbours the Wandals. At that time Wagrii, Winuli, Obotriti and Polabi were dwelling along the Coast of the German sea, all under one name and language, called Wandali. His father had subdued them; but when they rebelled, Otho forced them unto obedience, to pay tribute, and to accept the Christian religion; then innumerable people were baptized, and Churches were built thorow Wandalia; but they abode not constant untill the daies of Otho the III. and he made Magdeburgh or Virginopolis the first Bishop-seat of the Wandals. Likewise Otho the I. sent Aldebert to preach the faith unto the Pruteni, and other barbarous people Northwards; where the holy man was Crowned with Martyrdom, faith *Theod. à Nem.* About the year 965 the Polonians received the Christian faith; their King Miecislus was baptized, and at his command the idols were broken down; and he erected two Arch-Bishopricks, and nine Bishopricks. *Io. Pappus in histor. convers. gent.* About the year 966. Pilgrin Bishop of Patavium, and Wolfgang Bishop of Ratisbona, went into Hungary to establish religion under King Diezo, the father of Stephen, of whom it follows to speak in the next Century. About the year 988. Vladomir Duke of Russia married Anna sister of the Eastern Emperour Basilus, and was baptized at Constantinople; and returning home he established the Christian religion, according to the discipline and rites of the Greeks, thorow his Dominions. *Io. Pappus ibid. Fascic. temp.* hereupon hath this observation; So, so while one Nation falleth, another riseth, that no Nation may glory before the Father of lights.

CHAPTER IV.

OF BRITAIN.

1. **A**Bout the year 901. Edward the elder, King of England, expelled the Danes out of Essex, Mercia and Northumberland. At that time the authority of investing Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Benefices, as also of prescribing Laws unto Church men as well as to the Laity, was in the power of the King, and not of the Pope; as is evident both by the Laws of Alfred King of England, and Guthurn the Danish King of Northumberland; and by the election of seven Bishops, and the division of five Dioceses into ten, in one Synod by authority of this Edward; as is at length in Sir Hen. Spelman Concil. but the Pope would be meddling in such matters by way of confirmation. Nevertheless the Pope's authority did not derogate from Kings or Princes, their power of ruling all matters both Ecclesiastical and Civil within their own Dominions. The like is seen in the Laws of his son Ethelstan; as is written *loc. cit.* and by *M. Fox in Act. & monime* thus; I Ethelstan King, by advice of Wifelm my Arch-Bishop, and of other Bishops, command all the Prelates of my Kingdom, in the name of our Lord and of all the Saints, that first of all they, out of my own things, pay the Tithes unto God, as well of the living Beasts, as of the Corns of the ground; and the Bishops do the like in their property and the Elder-men.... This I will that Bishops, and other head-men declare the same unto such as be under their subjection; and that it be accomplished before the term of Saint John Baptist. Let us remember what Jacob said unto the Lord..... Seeing by this Law I have bountifully bestowed on you, all things belonging unto you, take ye heed unto your selves, and to them whom ye ought to admonish, that none of you transgress against God nor me.... Every Bishop should promote all righteousness both of God and the word, &c. He ordained that, in every Burrough, all measures and weights should be confirmed by the Bishop's advice and testimony. *Spelman in Concil. pag. 55.* In *pag. 411.* Hoel King of Wales, made a Law that no Church-man should be a Judge in Civil affairs.

2. In the year 913. Constantine the III. King of Scots, gave unto Malcolm the son of Donald the V. the Lands of Cumberland and Westmerland, as unto the appearing successor of the Crown; hereby making a preparative, that these Lands were given by the King, unto him which should be next King; as afterwards the successor of the Empire, was installed King of the Romans, prejudging the liberty of suffrages. Here by the way it is to be marked, that from the first King Fergusius, untill Kenneth the III. the King of Scots was, by election, from among only them of the Blood Royal. In the daies of King Constantine, Ethelstan King of England made invasion upon these lands, and did so great harm unto the Scots, that the King renounced the Crown, and would live a Monkish life at Saint Andrews amongst the Culdees. Edmund King of England, being pestered by the Danes, made a League with Malcolm *An. 945.* and restored the above-named Lands; upon condition, that the Heir of the Crown should acknowledge the King of England, to be Supreme Lord of Cumberland and Westmerland; even as afterwards the King of England did unto the French King for Normandy, &c. This designation of a successor was occasion of great troubles; for Kenneth the III. made Malcolm, the son of King Duffus, Governour of those Lands; and afterwards he would have preferred his own son unto the Crown; but the designation of the other Malcolm, and his good fame, did cross his desire: wherefore the King caused him to be poisoned, nor could the Authour of the deed be known,

The power of Law-making belongs to the King, and not to the Pope.

A circumstance is changed in the succession of the Scottish Kings.

all men had so good an opinion of the King. Then Kenneth propounded unto his Nobility, a new designation of his Successour; and also propounded the example of other Nations, where the eldest son of the King, or the nearest in blood, doth succeed; and if the heir be not of ripe age, the worthiest of the Nobility governs the Realm, under the name of Tutours, and not Kings; and by this custom, said he, seditions, bloody wars, and murders are prevented, which have been frequent in this Country through the ambition of the Nobility. There first he asks the opinion of two, which were of highest estimation, and who might seem most to oppose this novation. They, partly for fear, and partly to decline ambition, did allow the King's purpose; and so it passed current, that the King's son was declared Governour of Cumberland. Now as Kenneth goeth about in this way to establish his posterity, he troubleth his conscience; and partly with inward gripings for the aforesaid murder, and partly with dreams, he was so vexed, that in a morning he goeth unto the Bishops and Monks, and confessed his sin. Since King Gregory, about the year 855. made some Laws for immunity of the Clergy, the Priests had straid from the learning and devotion of the ancients: So they brought comfort unto the King, not from the mercies of God through Christ; but injoin him (for their own advantage) to visit holy places, and graves of Saints, to kiss reliques, to redeem his sin by hearing of Masses and alms-deeds; and to account more of Monks and Priests than he had done before. *Euchan. hist. li. 6.* But Bishop Spotewood in his History *lib. 2.* saith, They were not yet become so grossly ignorant, as to beleve that by such external works the justice of God is satisfied; although some idle toies, such as the visiting the graves of the Saints, kissing of reliques, hearing of Masses, and others of that kind which avarice and superstition had invented, were then crept into the Church; yet people were still taught, that Christ is the only propitiation for sin, and by his blood the guilt thereof is only washed away. Herein his judgment is charitable; but how true it is, I see not his warrant. The King resolves to obey the direction, and as he was going to visit the grave of Palladius, he lodged with Fenestella Lady of Fettercairne, and was treacherously murdered by her, in the year 994. Then Constantine, son of King Culen, at all occasions begun to regret the iniquity of the former novation, that thereby the Country would be indamaged, and all they of the Royal Blood defrauded: For, said he, what is more foolish than to permit unto Fortune the chief matter of the State? What if the King's children, through infirmity of body or mind, be unapt for government? What if babes had been Kings when the Romans, Peichts and Danes did oppress the land? What is more against reason, then to establish that by Law, which God, in his word, hath threatened as a curse? Neither is the pretended danger of sedition and murder prevented thereby, since there is no less fear of Tutours than of Competitours; because those also must be the nearest in blood: Wherefore the present occasion is not to be omitted, but presently to abolish that Law, if it deserve the name of a Law, which was enacted by tyranny and fear; and the former customs, whereby the Kingdom hath flourished from small beginnings, is in time to be restored; lest it cannot be remedied, when a preparative is once past. A Parliament was held at Scone within 12. daies after the death of Kenneth, and Constantine was proclaimed King. The Governour of Cumbria, being as yet but young, had little assistance; but his base brother Kenneth levied an Army for himself, and Camped at the water Alound, near unto the King; and perceiving his number to be lesser than the Kings, he sought the advantage of Sun and wind; the King relied upon his number, and both Captains were slain. Then Grim, the son or brother-son of King Duffus, was proclaimed King by that party. The fore-
named

named Malcolm raised an army against him; by mediation of Bishop Forthad they agree that Grim shall remain King of the Land by the North-wall of Severus; and Malcolm, during his life time, shall possess the South-part, and succeed to the Crown. Nevertheless King Grim considering that his seed would certainly be debarred of the Crown, began to oppress both parts; so that the North-part sought aid from Malcolm, and Grim was forsaken by his Army, and slain in the year 1016. This tumult for succession is not yet ended, as followeth.

3. There is extant a Book, called *Altercatio Ecclesie & Synagoga*, without the name of the Authour; by authority of *Chronic. Hursang.* it is given to Gislebert an English Monk, who is said to have lived in the beginning of this Century. It saith in *Ca. 4.* The Holy Spirit first makes the will good, and then worketh by it; truly whatsoever good can be done, whether to think, or to will, or to perfect, is to be ascribed unto God, and not to man's free-will; therefore if God worketh these three things in us, to wit, to think, to will, and to perfect; surely He worketh the first without us, the second with us, and the third by us; seeing by giving the good will he preveneth us; by changing the evil will with consent, he joineth us to himself; and by furnishing unto our consent ability and facility, the inward worker is made manifest externally by our outward work. *Ca. 8.* The righteousness of God is manifested; here righteousness is meant, not wherewith he is just, but wherewith he cloatheth man, when he justifieth the ungodly freely: Unto this righteousness the Law and the Prophets give witness; the Law, because by commanding, threatening and justifying no man, it sheweth clearly that man is justified, by the quickning Spirit, thorow the gift of God; the Prophets, because what they fore-told, Christ hath fulfilled at his coming We cry unto the most secret ears of God by desires, more then by words; for unto him who knows all things, our wilhes are voices; if thou desirest good, thou hast cried; Moses was silent in voice, and cried by faith, as the woman touching the hem of Christ; but others do cry in fear, and fail in faith. *Catal. test. verit. lib. 11.*

4. Fredward a Knight, about the year 940. writ a book concerning the Presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament, following the doctrine of John Scot, and of Augustine. Paschasius an Abbot writ against him. *Ibid.* About the year 950. it was reported as a strange thing, that Odo a Dane, then Bishop of Canterbury, turned the bread on the Altar, into the flesh of Christ, and from flesh into bread again. He confirmed the strange doctrine, with strange arguments; to wit, by lying miracles. *Ibid.*

5. At that time was great contention in England, between the Monks and the Clergy, whereas before all Cloisterers and Priests were called Clergy or Clerks; but then they which did profess a single and more strict life, were called Monks and Regulars, and others were called Seculars. This was so hot, that where a Monkish Bishop had place, Secular Priests were thrust out; and likewise the Secular Bishops did with the Regulars. During this difference, Dunstan Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, obtained from the Pope a Palle, and a Bull to cast all the Priests, who had wives, out of some Monasteries, which by consent of some other Bishops, they had lately taken from the Monks. Many did dispute and Preach against him. *Antonin. hist. tit. 19. par. 3. cap. 6.* remembreth a Scot which did especially resist Dunstan; and Alfred Prince of Mercia, took part with the Priests. *Pol. Virgilius in histor. Angl.* writes, that in a Synod it was debated and concluded, that Priests should be restored; and immediately a voice was heard from the wall, whereon was the Image of Christ, saying; They think amiss, who favour the Priests. That was received as a Divine Oracle, and the Priests were secluded from their Benefices and Mo-

Contention
between
Priests and
Monks,

nasteries. They say, None heard the words but the King; and the Bishop, and the Priests and their adherents became dumb and spoke no more. But Sir *Hen. Spelman in Concil. pag. 491.* shews that no mention is of this miracle in *Florent. Wigorn.* who about that time writ the life of King Edgar; and saith, The Synod was dissolved because of a variance in the election of a new King; and *Hoveden* writing next after *Florent.* hath nothing of it. All do agree that in this Synod the one part did maintain their liberty by testimonies of Scripture, ancient Canons, practise of the Church in all ages. On the other side Dunstan advanceth the late Canons, and the Papal Bull; and when he saw that his Gorgon had no force, and the Synod would determine of the Priests, *Ramulph hist. lib. 2. cap. 11.* saith, that he raised the Devil to speak out of the Image these former words. The adverse party protests to the contrary, and would not consent; because they knew that God would not work miracles, for confirming errors contrary to his own word. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 11.* Because at that time all did not agree, the King sent into Scotland, craving some learned men to be sent unto a Synod, that was called for that cause. *Io. Bale Cent. 14.* saith, Fathard, or as some call him, Etheldrad (possibly they were two) singular for learning, eloquence and authority, went; and in *Synodo Calmenfi* did confirm the marriage of Priests by Scriptures, and strong arguments, to be lawfull; that the Monks, being blinded with the light shining so brightly, had nothing to say against him. Dunstan said he was old, and could not attend such disputes; and although ye seem to prevail, it will not be for long space, nor shall ye have your will; and so by his art he caused the beams or joists of the house to fall; some were killed, many were wounded; only Dunstan was safe with his chair, that was fixed on a Pillar. So the controversy was ended with Devilish cruelty. *Catal. test. ver.*

6. In the end of this Century Elfrick, Abbot of Malmsbury, became Archbishop of Canterbury; by him a Sermon was appointed to be read publicly on Easter-day, before they received the Communion. It was Printed at London, *An. 1623*; and afterwards at Aberdeen, together with Bertram's treatise: In it is written thus, Men have often searched, and yet do search [*So this was questioned before Berengarius*] how bread that is gathered of corn can be turned into Christ's body; and wine that is pressed out of many grapes, is turned, through one blessing, into the Lord's blood? *The answer is made thus*; Some things be spoken by signification, and some by things certain; a true and certain thing it is, that Christ was born of a Maid; he is said to be bread by signification, and a Lamb, and a Lion; he is called bread, because he is our life; he is said to be a Lamb, for his innocency; but yet Christ is not so by true nature, neither bread, nor a Lamb. Why then is the holy Housel [or *Sacrament*] called Christ's body or his blood, if it be not truly what it is called? without they be seen bread and wine both in figure and taste; and they be truly, after their hallowing, Christ's body and blood, through ghostly mystery.... Much is between the body of Christ wherein he suffered, and the body which is hallowed to Housel; truly the body wherein Christ suffered, was born of the flesh of Mary with blood and bone, with skin and sinews, in human limbs, with a reasonable soul, living; but this ghostly body, which we call the Housel, is gathered of many corns, without blood or bone, without lim, without soul; and therefore nothing is to be understood there bodily, but all ghostly. [*Mark this distinction between the two bodies, or the sign and the thing signified.*] Whatsoever in that Housel gives substance of life, that is of the ghostly might; therefore is that Housel called a mystery, because one thing is seen in it, and another thing is understood; that which is seen there hath bodily shape; and that which we do understand, hath ghostly might: Cer-

The change
of the ele-
ments in the
Lord's Sup-
per.

Certainly Christ's body which suffered death, and rose again from the dead, is eternal and impassible; that Houfel is temporal, not eternal, it is corruptible, and dealed into several parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent down into the belly; howsoever after ghostly might, it is all in every part; many receive that holy body, and yet it is so all in every part after a ghostly mystery; though some chew less, yet there is no more might in the greater part then in the lesser, because it is whole in all after the invisable might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure, Christ's body is the truth it self; we keep this pledge mystically, untill we come to the truth it self, and then is this pledge ended: Truly it is (as we have said) Christ's body and blood, not bodily, but ghostly; and ye ought not to search how it is done, but to hold in your beleeif that it is so done. *So there.* It is true in that homily are some suspicious words, as it speaks that the Mass is profitable unto the quick and dead, and a report of two miracles; but are judged to be an addition, because they stand in that place unfitly; and the matter without them, both before and after, doth agree most orderly; and these purposes are different from the scope of the Authour. The same Author hath two other Treatises, one directed to Wulfsin Bishop of Shirburn, and another to Wulfstan Bishop of York; in both which he hath the same doctrine of the Sacrament, saying; That lively bread is not bodily so, nor the self-same body wherein he suffered; neither is that holy wine the Saviour's blood, which was for us in bodily things, but in ghostly understanding; both be truly, the bread his body, and the wine his blood; as was the heavenly bread, which we call *Manna*.

CHAPTER V.

OF COUNCELS.

1. **I**N this Century were no Synods assembled for doctrine or discipline (as in other times) all Nations were so pestered with wars, as is touched now; only for some personal causes, were some Synods; among them all, one is remarkable at Rhemes, in the year 991. where Arnulph Bishop of the place was deposed, for some trespass against the King and Gerebert. (Afterwards Pope Sylvester the II. was placed in that See. And here by the way we may see, what power Kings had then in deposing and investing Bishops.) Some of the Bishops would have had Arnulph's cause referred unto Pope John; and others did alledge a Canon of the Synod at Carthage of 227 Bishops, and Augustine was one of them; Causes should be determined where they are begun, that there is no need of Appeals unto Bishops beyond Sea; that is, as they understand it, unto the See of Rome. Then stood up Arnulph Bishop of Orleance, and made a long Oration, whereof a part is; Let it be far from this holy assembly to defend or accuse any man against Divine or Human Laws.... We deserve to be drawn before the Thrones of Kings, if we seem to contradict Divine Laws in any thing.... Most reverend Fathers, we do reverence the Church of Rome for the memory of Saint Peter, nor indeavour we to resist the Decrees of the Roman High-Priests; yet following the authority of the Council of Nice, which the Church of Rome hath also revered continually. But there are two things that we must alwaies look unto; that is, whether the silence, or new constitutions of the Roman Pope, seem to prejudge the received Laws and Decrees of former Councils? If his silence shall prejudge, then all Laws shall be silent, when he is silent; and if new Constitutions do prejudge, to what end do all Laws serve,

A Synod at Rhemes opposeth the power of the Pope,

M m m which

which are made when all things are governed at the pleasure of one? Ye see, that these two things being once admitted, the estate of the Churches of God is in danger; and when we seek Laws by Laws, we have no Laws. But ô lamentable Rome, who broughtest forth so many lights of Fathers, unto our Grand-fathers; and pourest forth, in our time, most monstrous darkness, and infamous to the following ages! Of old we hear of worthy Leo's and great Gregory's; what shall I speak of Gelasius and Innocentius? There is a long role of them which have filled the World with their doctrine. The Universal Church might have been committed [*and was not committed unto them*] who for their good life and doctrine excelled all the World; howbeit in their happiness this thy privilege [*or intended usurpation*] was opposed by the Bishops of Affrick, fearing as we think these miseries, rather than the stamp of thy Dominion. For what have we not seen in these our daies? We have John (surnamed Octavian) walking in the puddle of uncleanness, conspiring against Otho the Emperour, whom he had Crowned Augustus.---- Malefacius an horrible monster succeeds, going beyond all the World in wickedness, and defiled with the blood of former Popes; and he also was condemned in the great Synod, and chased away. Shall it be Decreed, that unto such Monsters void of all knowledge of Divine things, [*where was then the head of Omnis-science, in his breast?*] innumerable Priests should be subject, who are famous throughout the World for knowledge and godly conversation? What is this, Reverend Fathers, and in whose default shall it be thought to be? it is our, it is our fault, our ungodliness, which seek our own things, and not the things that concern Jesus Christ; for if in any man who is elected unto a Bishoprick, gravity of manners be required, and good conversation, and knowledge of divine and human things; what is not to be required of him who seeks to be the Master of all Bishops? What think ye, Reverend Fathers, of him who sits in a high Throne, and glorieth in his gold and purple cloaths? [*He is more like to Nero, than to Peter or Paul; nay, that is not enough*] to wit, if he be destitute of charity, and puffed up with [*a conceit of*] knowledge, he is Antichrist sitting in the Temple of God, and shewing himself as if he were God. But if he be destitute of knowledge, nor hath charity, he is an Idol in the Church of God; from whom to seek responses, is to advise with an Idol. [*Let any Jesuit answer unto this dilemma; for both the parts are sharply pointed, and they cannot truly find a third.*] Whither then shall we go? the Gospel shews us, that a certain man sought fruit thrice on a Fig-tree, and because he found none, he would cut it down; but after intercession he delayed: Let us therefore await our Primats; and in the mean time, let us search where we may find the green Pastures of God's Word. [*Here is a right way of seeking resolution.*] Some witnesses present in this sacred assembly shew, that there may be found some worthy Priests of God in Germany and Belgia, who are our neighbours. Wherefore if the anger of Princes do not hinder, the judgment of Bishops might be sought thence, rather than from that City, which weigheth judgment by the purse. [*Then he alledgeth and refuteth the Canons, that were wont to be cited on the contrary; and reports the like practices of the Church of France: And then he saith*] If passage to Rome were stopped with Armies of besieging Barbarians; or if Rome were serving a barbarous Prince at his pleasure, or were advanced into some Kingdom, shall there be no Councils in the mean time? or shall the Bishops of the World to the damage of their own Countries await for Councils, and Councils of ordering their affairs from their enemies? And truly the Canon of Nice, which by the testimony of the Romish Church, goeth beyond all Councils, and all Decrees, commandeth that Councils be held twice every year, and prescribes nothing therein

therein concerning the authority of the Bishop of Rome. But to speak more plainly, and to confess openly, after the fall of the Empire, this City hath lost the Church of Alexandria and Antiochia, and omitting mention of Asia and Affrick, now Europe goeth away; for the Church of Constantinople hath withdrawn her self; the inward parts of Spain know not her judgments; therefore there is a departing, as the Apostle speaks, not only of the Nations, but of the Churches also; that Antichrist seemeth to be before the dores, whose Ministers have occupied all France, and do oppress us with all their might: And as the same Apostle saith, now the mystery of iniquity is a working, only who with-holds shall with-hold, untill he be taken away, that the son of perdition may be revealed, the man of sin. . . . Which now is manifest, that the power of Rome being shaken, religion being banished, the name of God is contemned with frequent perjuries, and the worship of Divine religion is despised, even by the High-Priests; yea Rome it self, being almost alone, departeth from her self; for she provides neither for her self, nor for others. In the end he exhorts the Bishops, there present, to go forward in the deposition of the other Arnulph, according to the Ecclesiastical Canons; as they did, and he himself did consent unto the sentence of his depolition. *Ph. Morna. in Myster. inq. & Magdebur. Histor. cent. 10. ex Actis Synodi*, in an ancient manuscript. When Pope John heard that his See was contemned, by the Synod at Rhemes, he threatneth his curse against King Hugh, and his son Robert. The King returned answer, that he had done nothing in contempt, but was willing to justify all what he or his Bishops had done, if it pleased the Pope to meet him at Gratianopolis on the Frontiers of Italy and France; or if rather he would come into France, he promised to receive him with the highest honour. The Pope sent his Legates into France, and in the mean time Cerebert sent an Epistle unto Seguin, Arch-Bishop of Senon (who was said to favour the deposed Arnulph) the tenor whereof is; It became your worthiness to eschue the craftiness of deceitfull men; and to hear the voice of the Lord, saying; Here is Christ, or he is there; follow not, One is said to be in Rome, who justifieth those things which ye condemn, and condemneth those things which ye think just. . . . God saith, If thy brother offend against thee, go and rebuke him. . . . how then say some, that in the deposition of Arnulph, we should have awaited the deposition of the Romish Bishop? Can they say that the judgment of the Romish Bishop, is greater then the judgment of God? But the first Bishop of Rome, or the Prince of the Apostles saith, We must obey God rather then man. Also Paul, the Teacher of the Nations, crieth; If any man preach unto you otherwise then what ye have received, although he were an Angel from Heaven, let him be accursed. Because Pope Marcellin offered incense unto Idols, should therefore all Bishops offer incense? I say boldly, that if the Bishop of Rome himself sin against a brother, and being often admonished, will not hear the Church; even the Roman Bishop, according to the command of Christ, should be esteemed as a Publican and Heathen; for the higher up, hath the lower fall. And if he think us unworthy of him, because none of us assenteth unto him, when he judgeth contrary to the Gospel, he cannot therefore separate us from the communion of Christ; seeing even a Presbyter, unless he confess or be convicted, should not be removed from his Office: And the rather because the Apostle saith, *who can separate us from the love of Christ?* and, I am perswaded that neither death nor life. . . . The priviledges of Saint Peter, saith Leo the Great, is not, where judgment is not exercised according to righteousness. Wherefore occasion should not be given unto these our enviers, that the Priesthood, which is one every where, as the Catholick Church is one, should be subject unto one man; that if he be corrupt with money, fa-

your, fear or ignorance, none can be a Priest, except whom these vertues recommend unto him. Let the Law of the Catholick Church be common Farewell, and suspend not your selves from the sacred mysteries. Pope John had intelligence of this Letter, and summoned the Bishops of France unto a Synod, first at Rome, then at Aken. The Bishops answered, They were not obliged to go out of their own Country. At last he named Munson, on the borders of France. Where only Gerebert appeared, and boldly maintained the cause of the French Church; so that the Legate Leo could do nothing, without new instructions from the Pope; save only that he appointed another Synod at Rhemes; and in the mean time he suspends Gerebert. The Bishop said unto the Legate, It is not in the power of any Bishop or Patriarch, to remove any of the faithfull from the Communion, unless he confess or be convicted; and none of these could be laied unto his charge, and no other Bishop of France was there. Afterwards Gerebert, fearing the inconstancy of the new King, went into Germany, and not long after he was advanced unto the See of Ravenna. As he did fear, it came to pass, and Arnulph was restored. Nevertheless Gerebert cannot contain himself, but he writes the Apology of the French Church; as his Epistle unto Wilderodon, Bishop of Argentine, testifieth. *Ph. Morne. in Myster.*

Observations,

2. Out of these four Centuries it is clear; First, That many both of the Civil and of the Ecclesiastical Estates, did oppose the ambition and usurpations of the Bishops of Rome. 2. That the Canons that were enacted at the Synod of Trent, were not known in former ages; although Papists dare say, that they have authorized nothing but what was held by the ancient Church. 3. Although the Ancients gave way to unnecessary rites, and fond superstitions; yet in matter of doctrine and faith, they held the same which the Reformed Churches do teach now; and they begun to see that the Bishop of Rome is the Antichrist. 4. We see the truth of what *Pol. Virgil.* writes *de invent. rer. lib. 5. cap. 1.* Many rites were borrowed from the Jews, and ancient Romans, and other Heathens; which (saith he, *lib. 6. cap. 8.*) we know not whether it was well done, since experience teacheth, that whatsoever reason might be for bringing them into the Church; yet the manners of Christians now, require to abolish them.

3. Because after this time ordinary Synods were not held, I shall omit this Chapter till we come unto the XV. Century: And when, upon particular causes, either Emperour or Pope, or others, did call a Synod, I shall speak of them in those places.

F O U R T H A G E

Of the

C H U R C H,

O R

The History of the Church Lurking, and of Anti-
Christ Reigning, containing the space of 300. years, from the
Year of our Lord 1000. untill the year 1300.

C E N T U R Y X I.

CHAP. I.

Of EMPEROURS.



Of this Age it is to be premitted generally, that (as
Car. Baron. ad An. 1001. §. 1 & 4. saith) at that
time the revelation of Antichrist was proclai-
med in France, preached in Paris, published
thorow the world, and beleevd by many. He
confirmed this by the testimony of *Abbo Flo-
riacen*, who in *Apologet. ad Hugo & Robert. saith*,
When I was a young man I heard a Sermon, in
a Church at Paris, concerning the end of the
world, that so soon as the thousand years are ex-
pired, Antichrist shall come; and not long af-
ter the general judgement shall follow. Wherefore *Vsser de statu & success.*

*The sum of
this fourth
Age.*

Eccles. cap. 3. adviseth his Reader, that now he shall see the Popes exalted
by pretext of religion, and government of the Church; now they will wring
all Civil government from Emperours and Princes, and they will sit as Mo-
narchs; now they give Laws concerning Civil things; they do raise seditions,
and depose Princes; now they lead Armies, and impose Taxes; now they
have no care of religion, unless some witness of the Truth dare open his mouth
against the waxing errors; or unless some ceremonies serve for advancing
the Papal grandure, or seem expedient to draw money unto their Sec; as will
be manifest especially after the year 1070.

2. HENRY the II. Duke of Bavier, and Nephew of Otho the I. was cho-
sen Emperour by the Princes Electours, according to their new authority, *An.*
1002. This was the first time that Bishops had a voice in the election of the
Emperour; and hence it came that they sit in the Imperial Diet; and in some
other Nations Bishops are Parliamentary Lords. Henry was so distracted with
wars against Robert King of France; and then against Bodislaus King of Bo-
hemia, for the space of 10. years, that he could not go to Rome. After his
Coronation there, he conquered Calabria and Pulia unto the Empire, from
the Calisti; that is, the Deputies of the Greek Empire. Shortly thereafter the

*Bishops are
States-men.*

Normans entred into Pulia, and were partners with the Greeks against the Germans, and thereafter became Lords of both Sicilies. Henry gave his sister in marriage unto Stephen King of Hungary, on condition that he would be a Christian. He held a Synod at Frankford; of which *Dithmar. lib. 6.* and after him *Ph. Mornay in Myfter.* say, A general Synod is assembled at Frankford, and visited by all the Bishops on this side of the Alps; Willegifus was Moderator, and no word of the Pope. In the year 1024. Henry fell sick, and intreated the Electours, that they would chuse Conrade Duke of Suevia or Franconia to be his Successour. The two brothers Basilus and Constantine, had now reigned 50. years together; but Basilus was the worthier, and had the greatest sway, and died three years before Constantine, who then did reign vitiously; and before his death, he ordained his son-in-law Romanus Argyropolus to be his Successour.

3. CONRADE the II. was pronepnoy of Conrade the I. He was called Emperour, and was not chosen for two years thereafter, because of discord among the Electours, and then were sundry Competitours; as Conon Uncle of the late Henry. And many did claim liberty upon occasion of the inter-reign. He calmed all these troubles by his prudence, and without blood-shed. He went into Italy with a great Army, and subdued Millain; and at Rome was Crowned by Pope John the XXI. with great applause of the people. When he returned into Germany, he was necessitated to go back into Italy, because several Cities did revolt; he inflicted severe punishments on the offenders; and arriving at Rome, he releevd Pope Benedict, as followeth. Then he did visit all the Lands of Italy, belonging unto the Empire or Church, without resistance, and returned with Triumph into Germany; where he thought to live in Peace, but within few daies he died, *An. 1040.* Romanus proved a most valiant Prince at first, but following the waies of covetousness he was hated; in the sixth year of his Reign his wife Zoë procured his death, that she might marry Michael Calaphatus; he ruled the Empire 7. years, and defended it valiantly against the Sarazens in Asia, in Syria, and on the frontiers of Phœnicia. After him Zoë married a fourth husband, Constantine Monomachus; he was a vitious man, and the Sarazens prevailed in Asia the less. After him, and the death of Zoë, her sister Theodora reigned two years so happily, that great lamentation was for her death. After her, within three years were three Emperours; to wit, Theodora had named an old man Michael Stratiotes; Isaac Comnenus rebelled against him, and the people receive him; but he was taken away by death, and when he was sick he named Constantine Duca.

4. HENRY the III. (called *The Black*) was chosen Successour to his father, not without difficulty; for the Pope and some Electors did alledge, it is dangerous if the son did succeed unto his father, but they yeeld for his valour. He purchased great honour in subduing the King of Bohemia. the Duke of Lorain; and in restoring Peter King of Hungary, against an usurper Andrew. In his time were many Popes of no authority, and their lands were taken by others, without resistance. Henry had wars with Henry King of France, to him the Emperour presented to decide the controversie hand to hand, that no more innocent blood might be spilt; at a parley they do agree. In the end of his Reign God sent on the earth, for the sins of men, famine, sword and pestilence. The Emperour through heaviness contracts sickness, and caused the Electours to swear unto his son (not yet baptized) as King of the Romans; and he died *An. 1057.* In Greece Constantine was so hated for covetousness, that the Subjects would not make resistance against the Infidels, conquering many Towns in Asia, he died in his 7. year. His sons were young, and the Empress

Empress Eudocia took upon her the government. Because the Infidels prevailed, the Princes caused her to take Romanus Diogenes for her husband; he proclaimed himself Emperor, and went against the Sarazens, and after divers chances was taken, *An. 1072.* Axan the Sultan laid him at the foot of his Throne, and stepped up and down upon his body; and thereafter sent him home with promises of mutual alliance between their children. The Greeks judge him unworthy of the Empire, and Crowned Michael son of Duca. He picked out the eyes of Diogenes, and made him a Monk. The Turks still do prevail in the Eastern parts of the Empire; therefore Michael was deposed in the 7. year, and Nicephorus (an old man) was chosen. Alexius Comnenus, Michael's brother, thrust him forth, and reigned 27. years.

5. HENRY the IV. was chosen successor to his father; because he was so young, and there was peace in the Empire, the government was committed unto his mother Agnes by consent. But the Princes began to be weary of a woman's government, and would have him to take the power into his own hand, while he was but young, and then all was done as the Princes would; but when he came to riper years, he reversed many of their deeds. *Vita Henr. in fascic. rer.* On the other side they were offended, and began rebellious attempts, so that he was forced to take up Arms, and especially against the Saxons. He was neither unlearned nor peevish; yet had so bad luck, that who-soever took up Arms against him, was thought to do religiously, *Guil. Malmsh. de gest. Angl. lib. 3.* He was given to vengence; but otherwise was wise, religious, eloquent, liberal to the poor, and would not willingly be subject unto any power. He had continual jars and wars with the Popes, through the wicked pride of Hildebrand. By the way Princes may learn how to deal with the Popes; he that stands in awe of their curse, shall be a slave to their Miter; but if you despise them, ye may at last have them as ye list: for the Papal curse may be compared to Domitian's thunder; the crack seemed terrible, but the cause and effects of it are but a toy. Hildebrand setting his heart to exalt himself above all power, began first to prosecute the Acts of his Predecessour, concerning the collation of Benefices, or (as they spoke) simony, and he required the Emperour to cast out all such Bishops. The Emperour thinking the Pope's words to be the commandments of God, did obey without delay; and without any other order denieth the Bishops their Revenues, and thought he was doing God good service, so long as he understood not the craft of Hildebrand. Whom he cast off, Hildebrand did promote, and having divided them from the Emperour, he tied them to himself by oaths and other favours, *Benno Cardin.* At that time the Normans having conquered Pulia, Calabria and Magna Græcia, were in fear of the Emperour; and Mathildis, the richest Duchess of Italy, was easily inticed. Hildebrand drew them two on his side, and the Saxons (who were not well pleased that the Empire was gone from their house) and many others. He being so strengthened, chargeth the Emperour to appear, upon the second day of the second week in Lent, *An. 1076.* in his Council at Lateran, for his simony; with certification, if he appeared not that day, he would excommunicate him. In the mean time the young Emperour, being troubled with wars against the Sarazens, thought it not so necessary to attend the Synod. Without any more accusation, citation or conviction, the Pope excommunicated the Emperour, and his Counsellor Herman Bishop of Bambergh, and some others (unheard) for simony; that is, because the Emperour had given, and they had accepted Benefices without the advice of the Pope. It is said by Card. Benno, that none of the Cardinals would subscribe the Sentence. The Emperour was not a little offended at this new or unknown presumption of the Prelate, and convened a Council at Worms;

How to deal with the Popes.

The Pope excommunicateth the Emperour.

The Pope is opposed.

where all the Bishops of Germany (except the Saxons) and many out of France and Italy were assembled. There the Pope was accused of ambition, perjury, wresting the Scriptures to serve his turn, usurping the Offices of King and Priest, as Decius and other Heathens had done in old time; and of many infamous things done through avarice and pride. They conclude, Hildebrand is worthy of deposition; and the Bishops of Italy, in a Synod at Ticino, subscribe the same sentence. *Catalo. test. verit. lib. 13. Alb. Crantzius in Saxon. lib. 5. cap. 5.* saith, The Sheep do judge, despise, and forsake the Shepheard. Whether formality could be had at that time, or what equity was on either side, the Reader may judge; but clear it is, the Pope was opposed and condemned by the two Synods. *Crantzius* saith, they writ a Letter unto him, which they conclude thus; Because thy installing was with so many enormities, and the Church of God is in danger of so grievous a storm, by the abuse of thy novations; and we find that thy life is blotted with so manifold infamies, and so grievous a scandal is approaching, as we never promised obedience unto thee, so from hence we renounce any obedience; and because thou doest not account any of us a Bishop (as thou hast publicly proclaimed) none of us will account thee Apostolical any more. The power that was granted unto Henry the III. of creating High-Priests, made them so bold, saith *Crantz.* Roland a Priest of Parma, was sent to Rome with this Letter; and to summon Hildebrand, in the name of this Council, to yeeld up his Seat, and to summon the Cardinals to repair unto the Emperour for a new election. Pope Gregory assembled the Cardinals in the Lateran: First, He killed the Messenger in the Church. 2. He condemned the Sentence of the Council. 3. He deposed Sigefrid Bishop of Mentz, with all others who had been in that Council. 4. He deprived the Emperour of his Title, and released all his Subjects from their Oath of obedience. On the other side, the Emperour sent through all Nations, far and near, his Letters, declaring how presumptuously and unjustly the Pope had dealt with him. The Princes of Germany, some being perswaded by the Saxons, some fearing that thunder, and some rejoicing in a new occasion of usurpation, do assemble at Oppenheim, October the 1. and they conclude to fall from Henry, unless he will submit unto the Pope, and confess his errors; and they prescribe the manner, as followeth. Such was the peevishness and inconstancy of the Germans. The young Emperour seeing that his Princes were ready to forsake him, promised upon Oath, that if the Pope will come into Germany, he would ask forgiveness; and they ingage themselves to accompany him thereafter to his Coronation at Rome. When the Pope was come to France, intending for Ausburgh (as it was appointed) to meet the Emperour, Venericus Bishop of Verceles, made him believe that the Emperour was coming with an Army against him, and advised him to retire for his safety unto Camisio, a City of the Dutches Mathildis. Henry hearing of this vain fear, and that his Nobles had forsaken him, followed the Pope; he laied aside all his royalty, and came with his Empress, in the midst of winter, unto Canusio; he was staied at the Gates, and standing with bare feet, the space of three daies, did humbly call for audience. On the third day answer was brought, His Holiness was not at leisure. The Emperour continued intreating that he might be heard. Fourteen Cardinals, and the Arch-Deacon, and the Primicerius, with many other Clerks of Lateran (unto the judgment of whose seat now all the World is obedient, saith *Pet. Mexia*) considering this intollerable arrogancy, went away and refused to communicate with the Pope; and the above-named Venericus thereafter writ a book, *De discordia regni & sacerdotii*, against the Pope. At last by intreaty of the Dutches, and of Azo Marques of Areste, and of the Abbot of Clumak, the Servant of

The Emperour is constrained to yeeld,

and abused basely.

Servant of Servants was pleased on the fourth day to accept the Emperour on these conditions: First, On the Pope's part he shall freely exerce all Pastoral charge thorow all the parts of the Empire. 2. On the other side, Henry shall do penance as the Pope shall injoin him. 3. He shall appear at any time that the Pope shall appoint. 4. He shall be content that the Pope be judge of his cause. 5. He shall answer to all accusations to be laied against him in the Council, and shall never seek any revenge. 6. Whether he be cleared or not cleared in the Council, he shall stand to the Pope's pleasure, either to have the Kingdom restored, or not restored. 7. Before the trial of his cause, he shall not use his Royal Ornaments, Scepter or Crown, nor usurp authority to govern, nor crave any Oath of obedience from the Subjects. The Emperour accepteth all these, and upon oath promised obedience, and was loosed from excommunication only; and so was let go in peace, (as saith the Authour *Apolog. de unitat. Eccles.* such as Judas feigned.) He took his journey to Papia, intending (as some write) to Rome, where he was ordered to do penance. The Pope triumphed not a little that he had so vexed the Emperour, and sent Legates to compound with, and absolve such as were excommunicated for cleaving unto the Emperour. But all the Bishops, Princes, and people of Italy were in an uproar, and deriding the Legates, said; They account not of Hildebrand's excommunication, whom all the Bishops of Italy (long time before that) had excommunicated for simony, blood, adultery, &c. and that the King had done otherwise then became him, and had utterly stained his glory, by submitting his Majesty unto an Heretick. And after more ripening of the sedition, they were of one mind to cast off the father, and to chuse his son (though very young) to be their King; and to elect another Pope by whom he should be Crowned. *Lomb. Schafnaburgen.* writes so (though a follower of this Pope) not of them who had followed Henry, but were ready to forsake him; and so doth *Nausler*, who addeth, that they would have the Acts of the Apostate Pope annulled. The Emperour writ unto them, that he had done so of necessity, and for conserving publick peace. Nevertheless the Cities shut their gates against him. Hildebrand mistrusting what might befall, if God would give unto the Emperour a more quiet Kingdom, consulted to displace him, and to derive the Empire unto Rodulph a Duke of Saxony (who had married the Emperour's sister, and to whom the Emperour had given the Dukedoms of Suevia and Burgundy, *Catal. test. ver.*) upon these conditions, that he should not meddle with Church assemblies; that he would quit all presentations of Bishopricks; and not declare his sons to be his Successours, as if it were by inheritance. *Platin.* For to effect this, Letters were sent thorow Germany, to perswade men that Henry was justly excommunicated; and that they would consent unto the Pope in chusing Rodulph to be Emperour. After these Letters, he sent unto Rodulph a Crown, with this inscription, *Petra dedit Petro; Petrus Diadema Rodulpho.* The Reader may consider the truth of both parts of that verse, since Peter did neither receive a Diadem from Christ, nor can we read, that he gave a Crown unto any man; and although Hildebrand took upon him to give it, it followeth not that Peter gave it; unless we may reason in this manner, Hildebrand would not submit unto every Ordinance of God, nor unto the King as Supream, therefore Peter would not submit, &c. We read, that he whom they call Hell's King, did proffer to give the Kingdoms of the earth; but no other creature, before this Helbrand, attempted to do the like. Now the proud Prelate gave command, to the Bishops of Mentz and Colein, to cause the election and anointment of Rodulph, and to defend him against all opposition. And he writ unto the Princes of Germany, saying; Go on, ye holy Princes of the Apostles, and what I have

said, do ye confirm by interposing your authority exerce this judgment against Henry speedily; and let all the children of iniquity know, that he is not put from the Kingdom by chance, but by your doing. *Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 36.* At this time the Emperour was at Rome, and knew not what they were doing in Germany, till the Bishop of Strawsburg went with all hast and told him. He said he would crave the Pope's leave to return. The Bishop answered, that is to no purpose, for I assure you the Pope hath contrived all these things against you. *Crantz. Saxon. lib. 5. cap. 7.* So he goeth away privately; he gathereth an Army, and marcheth to defend his right; and in the mean time he sent unto Gregory, putting him in mind of his League, and intreating him to stay Rodulph from usurping the Empire, or else to proceed against him. Gregory being otherwise minded, replieth, A man cannot be condemned till he be heard. Whereupon followed a bloody battel with uncertain victory; then they both, trusting unto the Pope's favour, send to know, unto whom he would adjudge the Empire. Ere the Messengers were returned, both Armies were refreshed, and had fought again. Then the Pope began to consider, that this manner of dealing might not only turn to the great damage of Germany, but of other Nations also; and thinking to help Rodulph another way, he sent Commissions unto the Bishop of Trevers, to hold a Council in Germany, and there to determine to which of the two the Empire did appertain, by just and publick consideration; promising, that what they did determine, he, by the authority of God Omnipotent, and of Saint Peter and Paul, would ratifie. The Emperour would not let them assemble in Council, unless Rodulph do renounce the Title of Emperour. The Legates considering that this was contrary to the mind of the Pope, return and shew what was required. Then Hildebrand accursed the Emperour again, and sent his excommunicatory Letters unto all the Nations; and deposed Gerebert Bishop of Ravenna, for siding with the Emperour, and sent another into his See. At this time Henry and Rodulph had the third conflict at Elystrum, where several Princes were killed on both sides, and Rodulph's hand was stricken off, and he being deadly wounded was carried unto Mersburg, *Crantz. lib. 5. cap. 7.* there he called before him the Bishops and other friends, and holding up his right hand with groans said, There is the hand by which I did swear fealty unto my Lord Henry, and by your perswasion I have fought so oft against him unfortunately; go ye now and perform your first Oath unto your King, for I go the way of my fathers. So he died *An. 1080. Crantz. loc. cit.* *Naucler.* hath more lamentable words. The Saxons stand up for another Emperour, and again for another. Henry was victorious against them both. Then the Saxons make recourse unto Hildebrand, and accuse the Emperour of the most hainous crimes that malice could devise; for they trusted in a well-affected Judge. The Emperour hearing of the calumnies, seeks peace of the Pope, but had no audience. Wherefore, in the same year, he assembleth a Council at Brixia, of many Bishops (saith *Platin.* and *Crantz.*) from Lombardy, Italy and Germany, and accuseth the Pope of Necromancy, Perjury and Usurpation; and complained of the Church of Rome, that the Clergy had preferred their Bishop before him; whereas his father had, without their election, advanced several Popes; but now this Pope, contrary unto his Oath and promise, had thrust-in himself, without the knowledge of him who was their Magistrate and King. These objections were heard again, and with one voice they condemned Hildebrand, as one not elected of God, but one who had intruded himself by fraud and money, a subverter of all order in the Church, a disturber of the Christian Empire, a sower of discord where peace was, a most wicked man, calling into question the Catholick faith,

A Council
against the
Pope.

a Necromancer, infected with a Pythonical spirit, &c. For which crimes they declare him unworthy of the Roman See, and unless he willingly leave the place, they threaten him with an everlasting curse; and they chose Gerebert (or Wusbert) Bishop of Ravenna to govern the Church, him they call Clemens the III. *Otho Frising.* and *Pet. Mexia*. But think you that the Pope would obey? No way. Wherefore the Emperour made all speed with an Army towards Rome. Mathildis hearing of his marching, and fearing his power, gave the Provinces of Liguria and Tuscya unto the Church of Rome. *Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 9.* In the way the Emperour subdued her Lands, and the Lands of the Marquess Esten, and thereafter he came to Rome; where *An.* 1083. thirty Bishops assembled in Council, and conclude against Gregory, as they had done at Brixia, and did subscribe the Decree. The Romans stood up so long as the Pope abode with them; but when he had brought them into the extreamest jeopardy, he fled into Adrian's Tower; and then the Gates of the City were set open, but the Emperour would not enter, untill a way was made for his Army thorow the Walls, and Pope Clement was received into Saint Peters. Gregory sent for Robert Guiscard the Norman, Duke of Naples for aid, and unto Mathildis, but all in vain. So he was glad to escape into Salerno, where he died in exile; and (as may be read in *Fascic. rer. expetend.* and in *Matth. Paris.* and sundry others) when he was sick, before his Cardinals, he bewailed his fault in his Pastoral charge; and that by instinct of the Diuel he had stirred up sedition and wars among men. *Benno* testifieth, that he sent this his Confession unto the Emperour, and unto all the Church, intreating that they would pray for pardon of his sins. After his death, and the death of them whom the Emperour had left Governours of the City, the Romans set up Pope Urban the II. who insisting in the trace of his Predecessour, did perswade the Emperour's eldest son Conrade (the Father had left him Governour of Italy) to take up Arms against his father; and gave him in marriage Mathildis, then the relict of the Duke of Naples. He put Clemens from his Seat; but when his father came against him, Conrade was out-lawed with consent of all the Princes, and the younger brother was declared heir of the Empire; but first with an Oath given, that during his fathers life, he should not meddle with the Kingly power, without his fathers consent. *Fascic. rer.* Now many feared intestine Wars between the two brothers; but Conrade died soon thereafter, and Urban was made out of the way, and the fore-named faction set up Paschalis the II. He would be inferiour unto the others in nothing, and excommunicated the Emperour, and dealt with his son (though by nature and solemn Oath bound to the contrary) to take the Scepter in his hand, and bear himself as King, rather then both his father and himself be dispossessed, and suffer hazard by another. The young man was inticed, and the Pope caused the Princes to elect Henry the V. Armies were levied by both parties, and some skirmishes follow, but the Father had the better; yet seeing there could be no end of the Wars without ruining the Empire, he consented unto a parley with his son, who was advised to deceive his father by this means; he came to him with feigned repentance, the Father welcomed him as the Prodigal in the Gospel, and dismissed the greatest part of his Army; whereas his enemies gather at Mentz, and appoint Binga for him to keep Christmas. So soon as he was entred the City, himself being the fourth person, the gates were shut, and all others were held out. Then the son spoke fairly unto his father, and promised all duty if the father would reconcile himself unto the Church. The Father referred the whole matter unto the Diet of the Princes, and they went together unto Mentz. There at first the son said unto his Father, Seeing the Bishops would admit no communion with him.

*Another
Synod against
the Pope.*

*The Son cir-
cumvents the
Father.*

he would do well, for peace sake, to retire unto such a house near unto the place of the Diet; and if he had refused, he was able to force him. But the Father doth it willingly, and then the son kept him as in close prison, permitting none to speak with him, but his accustomed servants; and he freely exercised the Imperial power untill the year 1106. In that Diet the Bishops of Alba and Constance, the Pope's Legates, spoke much against Henry the IV. for his simony, and contumacy against the sentences of so many Popes; and exhorted them all, as obedient children, to provide for the safety of their mother the Church, by breaking the pride of one, a contumacious person. They all do consent to the deposition of the Emperour, and they sent the Bishops of Mentz, Colein and Worms, to take the Imperial Ornaments from him against his will. They declared unto him the sentence of the Diet. Henry asked, For what cause had the Princes pronounced so severe Sentence against him, before he was heard? They answer, For simony, in bestowing Bishopricks and Abbocies. He saith unto them one by one, you Bishop of Mentz, and you Bishop of Colein, What have I got from you? They answer, Nothing. Then, saith the Emperour, I thank God, that in so far ye are honest men; truly your Bishopricks might have brought much treasure into my Exchequer, if I had sought it; and my Lord of Worms knows, neither is any of you ignorant, whether I did advance you for gain, or of meer favour; wherefore I say unto you, Fathers, continue in loyalty, I am now an old man, and turn not Our glory into shame: I appeal unto the general Court, and if I must yeeld, I will give the Crown unto my son with my own hands. They refuse, and speak menacingly. Then he went aside, and arrayed himself with the Imperial Robes; and returning saith, These are the badges of my honour; these hath the goodness of the eternal King, and the election of the Princes bestowed on me; and God is able to continue me in them, and to restrain your hands from what you intend; and We did not fear such violence, nor have provided against it; but if duty move you not, stand in awe of God; and if ye do not regard duty, nor fear of God, here We are and unable to resist violence. The Bishops were astonished, yet after a little pause they exhort one another; they take the Crown off his head, then draw him from his seat, and pull off all his Royal Robes. *This was a Pastoral work.* The Emperour with deep groans saith, The God of revenge look to it, and avenge this iniquity of yours; the like ignominy was never heard before: I confess God is just, and I suffer for the sins of my youth, but ye are not guiltless; and because ye do contrary unto your Oath, ye shall not escape the hand of the just avenger, and your portion shall be with him who betrayed his Master. They stopped their ears, and departed with the Royal Ornaments. *Alb. Crantz. in Saxonia lib. 5. cap. 20.* saith, Some report these circumstances another way. Thereafter they sent him as Prisoner to Ingelheim, where he was advertised that they were talking of cutting off his head; wherefore he made an escape, and went to Leodium, (as appears in *Epist. Henrici Regi Celtar. in Fascic. rer. exper.* There he was entertained honourably by the Bishop; and therefore the Bishop Otbert, with all his Church, was excommunicated by Pope Paschalis; who writ also unto Robert Earl of Flanders, to pursue Henry with all his followers; assuring him, that he could not offer better sacrifice unto God. *Epist. Paschalis tom. 2. Concil. Edit. Colon. An. 1551.* Otbert was not silent, and in the name of the Church of Leodium published an Apology; wherein he saith, It were Apostolical to follow the Apostle, as it were Prophetical to follow a Prophet; but as our sins deserve, the Apostolical (who should pray for the King, howbeit a sinner, that we may live a quiet and Apostolical life under him) is so contentious, that he will not suffer us to live in peace: Seeing the

words both of the Apostle and Prophet do so sound, I the daughter, do humbly ask my mother, the holy Church of Rome, Whence comes this authority unto him who is called Apostolical, that besides the sword of the spirit, he useth another sword of blood against her Subjects? Then he shews how far this Pope hath departed from the steps of Gregory the I. both in life and doctrine. This Apology is *loc. cit.* Also the Emperour writ unto his son, unto the Bishops, Dukes, and other Potentates of the Empire, that they would cease from pursuing him and his friends against all equity and piety; and at several times he appealed unto the Pope, as is evident by his Letters in *Fascic. rer. expetend.* But Apologies, Supplications, and Appeals had no place; so that in the end the old Emperour was brought to the necessity of begging a prebendary, from the Bishop of Spira; although he had preferred the Bishop unto that See, and had erected a glorious Monastery of the blessed Virgin there, he could not obtain so much. So he returned privately unto Leodium and died; his body lay unburied in an old deserted Chappel five years, and then was buried at Spira. He had fought 62 battels, and was never toiled; he died *An. 1107.* *Alb. Crantz.* writes much to excuse the Son and the Popes, and bitterly against the Father; yet he hath no particular fault against him, but (as he speaks) simony and contumacy. Of the Eastern Emperours it follows in Henry the V.

C H A P. II.

OF P O P E S.

1. SYLVESTER the II. (before called *Gerebert*) had been a Monk in *Orleance*, and made a contract with the Divil to advance him unto the Papacy. Thence he went to *Hispala* in Spain, where becoming a Doctor, he had amongst his hearers *Otho the III.* Robert King of France, *Lotharius* a man of noble birth, afterwards Bishop of Senon, and others. Robert gave him the Bishoprick of Rhemes; the Emperour advanced him to Ravenna; lastly, by great ambition, and aid of the Divil, he attained the Papacy, saith *Platina* and others. The Emperour, for favour of his Master, gave unto Saint Peter eight Counties; *Pisa, Senogallia, Favum, Aucona, Fossabrum, &c.* *Vsser. de stat. Eccles. cap. 3. ex Gerber. Epi. 158.* Benno Cardinal of Ostia saith, When the 1000. years were expired, Gerebert coming out of the bottomless pit of God's perdition sate 4. years; and as by the responses of Satan he had deceived many, so by the same responses he was deceived, and in the just judgment of God he was taken away by suddain death. What he saith briefly, *Platina* declares more fully, thus; Once Sylvester asked the Divil, how long time he might enjoy the Papacy? The answer was ambiguous, If thou go not to Jerusalem, thou shalt never die. After four years and one month, he was saying Mass in Lent, in a corner of the Rood-Church that was called *Ierusalem*, within Rome; and he asked how that Chappel was called? They said, *Ierusalem*. Then he knew the time was come when he must die; wherefore he became sad, and confessed his sin before the people, and exhorted them to beware of ambition and craft of the Divil, and to live holily. Then he commanded them to cut his body into pieces, and lay it on a cart, and to bury it wheresoever the horses of their own accord would draw it. The report is (saith *Platin.*) that by the Providence of God (wher. by sinners may learn the hope of forgiveness, if they repent in their life) the horse stood at Lateran, and there he was buried; whereas yet (saith he) by the ratling of

A Pope co-
venanteth
with the Di-
vel.

his bones, and moistness of his tomb, is portended the death of the Pope. It were a shame to relate these things, if they were not the words of their own Writers. *Platina* saith he had it from *Mar. Polon. Vincentius Belluacensis, Laurent. Schrader. in Monimen. Italia lib. 2. and Galfrid.* And the same is written by *Pol. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 5. cap. 8.* but he speaks not of the Presage. *Naucler.* had all in generat. 34. *Onuphrius* would purge him of this blot; and alledgeth that the knowledge of the Mathematicks, in these rude daies, was taken for Magick. But the words of the now-named Authours are more clear; it is certain (say they) that he attained to the most secret things of all Sciences, and especially of the Mathematicks; but as quick wits can scarcely hold themselves within bounds, he entred into Necromancy; and it is so thought by many Authours, not without great infamy; by which Necromancy he made way unto the Papacy. He was the first Pope who caused to beat the drum unto the Wars in the holy land, (as they spoke) and published an Epistle with this inscription, Wasted Jerusalem unto the Universal Church commanding the Scepters of Kings; *Gerebert Epist. 18.* but the expedition was not so soon begun. Of all the Popes from *Sylvester the II. unto Gregory the VII. inclusive, Bennotestifieth* that they did exceed *Jannes and Jambres* in jugleries; although the height of Antichristian pride be referred unto *Gregory the VII.* and others after him. *To, Naucler. in volum. 2. generat. 31.* saith, The Popes of that time had departed from the foot-steps of Peter and it is horreur to hear what vile things were done by almost 28. Popes immediately succeeding. After the death of *Sylvester* (saith *Benno*) was strife among his Necromancing Disciples, each contending to usurp the Papacy.

The election
of the Pope is
changed.

The Feast of
all Souls.

2. JOHN the XIX. (*alias XVII.*) by the help of the Diuel (who then gave the Papal Chair) followed the Sorcerer *Sylvester*, saith *Bale & Blond.* He first did exclude the people of Rome from the election of the Pope, and so did restrain it unto the Clergy only: He was wont to say, The people must follow, and not precede. By him (as saith *Fascic. tempor.*) the Feast of all Souls, next after the Feast of all Saints, was brought into the Church, *An. 1004.* by the advice of *Odilo Abbot of Cluniak*, who thought that Purgatory was under the Mount *Ætna*; and being in Sicily, dreamed that by his Masses he had delivered many souls from thence; and said also, that he heard the voices of Devils lamenting for the loss of the souls, which were taken from them by Masses and Dirges. *M. Fox in Acts & mon. citeth Bakenhorp in Prolog. 4. li. senten. qu. 10.* John fate 5. months, and was poisoned by his Clergy.

3. JOHN the XX. (*alias XVIII.*) by prodigious Arts attained the See of the Satanical Papacy. *Benno.* He considered into what difficulties his predecessors had intangled themselves, and willingly took ease to himself; he died, not without suspicion of poison, in the 4. year; *Benno* saith, within one year. The years of many of them are reckoned variously.

4. SERGIUS the IV. was a man of most holy life, before he was Pope, saith *Naucler.* and fate 2. years: But *Benno* reckoneth him in the same category with the others, and saith he fate 3. years; he died *An. 1012.* when Italy was wasted with famine and pestilence.

5. BENEDICT the VIII. was a Hawk of the same nest; the Cardinals conspired against him, and set up another; he prevailed by the weight of his purse, and had a good friend of the Emperour *Henry the II.* he fate 11. years. After his death, he appeared unto *Odilo* riding on a black horse. *Odilo* had been familiar with him, but then he was afraid; and asked, Art thou Pope Benedict which is dead? He answered, I am that unhappy Benedict. O Father (saith the Abbot) how go all things with thee? He said, I am tormented, but I may be helped; go therefore to my brother *John*, who now is in my place, and

Reasons for
Purgatory,
and prayer
for the dead.

and bid him give unto the poor the Treasure which lieth hid in such a place, and he named it. Then he appeared unto Pope John, saying; I have hope to be delivered; but oh! that Odilo of Cluniak would intercede for me! *Platin.* But *Fascic. temp.* hath more of their discourses. Behold with what delusions Satan did then deceive the World, that he might establish his Kingdom; and this is a sure ground (forsooth) for the doctrine of Purgatory, and praier for the dead.

6. J O H N XXI. (*aliàs XIX.*) was the son of Gregory Bishop of Portuen. and succeeded (as it were) heritably unto his brother; for he was not entred into Church Orders, saith *Platin.* *Baronius* saith, That unworthy man entred unworthily, and came into that Seat tyrannically and by evil means; for all things were then done at Rome by Enchanters and Necromancers, *Theophylact*, *Io. Gratian*, *Laurence*, *Brazut*, &c. Nevertheless (saith he) his life was wondrously approved by the Romans, but he shewed not his virtues; possibly he understands the yearly alms, which he enjoined to Princes, and some Masses unto Priests, and fasting on Saturday unto people; and the Canonizing of Saint Romwald, and Saint Martial; and the Feasts of John Baptist, and Saint Laurence, all these had their beginning from him. Nevertheless *Baronius* saith, That unworthy man is in the lowest Purgatory; he sate 8. years, and died in the 25. year after his Master Gerbert, saith *Benno*.

7. B E N E D I C T the IX. was made Pope, *An.* 1033. although he was not above 12. years of age; for Albericus Marquess of Tuscias, would not suffer that Chair to be taken from his house; therefore by bribery he thrust in his son, a Tyrant, a Monster and Opprobry of the Church. *Baron.* *ad An.* 1033. §. 6. *Car. Benno* saith, He was given to Necromancy and doctrine of Divels; and he named his Masters. In the woods and mountains he caused women to run after him, whom by Magical Arts he forced unto his wicked lusts. His own books (saith the Cardinal) that were found in his house, after his death, bear witness of his Arts, and it is notoriously known by every boy. *Platina* saith, He was thought unworthy of his place, and therefore he was deposed. But *Benno* and others say, that he with Laurence and other his companions, had plotted to deprive Henry the III. and gave unto Peter King of Hungary the Title, as he sent unto him a Crown with this verse, *Petra dedit Romani Petro, tibi Papa Coronam*. Whereupon followed an open battel between Godefrid Duke of Lorain, General unto Henry the III. and the same Peter. In the first fight Peter was taken, and Henry made hast towards Rome. The Pope was afraid, and sold his Chair unto the above-named *Io. Gratian* (afterwards Gregory the VI.) for 1500. pounds of gold. As for his death, *Platina* saith, he was condemned by the judgment of God: *Benno* saith, he was strangled by the Divels in the woods. *Platina* addeth, It is certain his Image appeared very monstrously, he was like to a Boar in body, to an As in head and tail; and the man who did see him was an Eremite, and did ask, how he had been so metamorphosed? He answered, Because in my life I lived like a Beast without law and reason, and without God, and now I must wander in this shape, at the will of God and of Saint Peter, whose See I have defiled. *Fascic. temp.* This is a sure proof to reverence Saint Peter's Chair. This Pope sate 10. years; or 12. years, as *Onuphrius*; or 13. years, as *Fascic. temp.*

8. G R E G O R Y the VI. attained the See by money, (as it is said) and not by election; nevertheless Gregory the VII. acknowledged him for Pope, because he did confirm his Acts, and called himself the seventh of that name, and his successors to the number now of fifteen. In his time were three Popes together, for Benedict seeing that the Clergy would not consent unto his bar-

*Three wicked
Popes together.*

gain, and so it was not like to take effect, did claim his former right; Gregory would not renounce his possession. The Authour of *Fascic. tempor.* saith, Because Benedict was ignorant, he caused the consecration of another Pope to say Mass for him, which did not please many; therefore a third was chosen, who alone might discharge the duties of the two. This was Sylvester the III. who had his Manour at Saint *Maria Major*, Benedict in the Lateran Palace, and Gregory at Saint Peters. *Baronius* saith plainly, Rome was at that time a beast with three heads, which came out of Hell. And therefore (saith *Platin.*) by the prayers of the best sort, the Romans sent for Henry the III. An. 1047. and an Eremite writ these lines,

*Imperator Henrice,
Omnipotentis vice,
Unica Sunamitis*

*Nupsit tribus maritis:
Dissolve connubium*

Et triforme dubium. Vsser. de success.

Eccles. cap. 4. ex Gregor. Heimburg. in Consulat. Primatus Papa, par. 3. The Emperour came into Italy, and (as *Platin.* saith) compelled these three most ugly Monsters to renounce their Papacies; and then was chosen Swidiger Bishop of Bamberg, or Clemens the II. Benedict escaped by flight; Gregory and Hildebrand were sent Prisoners into Germany (where the Pope died, and Hildebrand obtained liberty to return) and because Sylvester was made Pope without ambition, he was permitted to return into his Bishoprick. *Ph. Morn. in Myster. iniqu. ex Leo Ostien. c.* writeth so, that for these things done so happily and so Canonically, the Romans gave unto this Henry the honour of *Patriciatu*s, as of old unto Charls the Great, and with the Diadem of the Empire they ordained such a Chain of Gold. *Platina* saith, this Gregory was killed in the Church of Saint Peter by the fall of a stone, and was buried there not without opinion of holiness. But how doth this agree with what he and others have said before. *Onuphrius in Annotat. in Platin.* expressly contradicts him, and saith, he died at Cluniak, whither he was sent by the Emperour. Neither do they agree in the space of his sitting.

9. CLEMENS the II. being confirmed, a Synod was held; and an Act was made, that the Bishop of Rome should not be chosen without the knowledge and confirmation of the Emperour. This constitution was conform to ancient practice, and it was then judged necessary for tranquility in time coming; seeing (as *Platina* saith) every factious or potent man, yea even some of base degree, by corrupt suffrages attained to so high dignity. Nevertheless the Cardinals would not suffer it to stand, but presently did despise it by subtle and open practice. Likewise the Romans did swear, in the same Synod, that they should not intermeddle with the election of the Bishop, but as the assent of the Emperour should concur. Nevertheless the Emperour was no sooner gone, but contrary to their Oath and Act made thereupon, even within nine months, they poisoned the Pope, which some impute unto his next successor, *Platin*; and some unto *Bruzate*, who is said to have poisoned six Popes within 31. years. *Car. Benno.*

10. DAMASUS the II. starteth up neither by consent of the people nor Clergy; for every ambitious man then could climb into Saint Peter's Chair, saith *Platin.* But others say, when Clemens was poisoned, they did set up Benedict again; and the Emperour caused this Damasus to be set up, who was Bishop of Brixia; hereunto *Onuphrius* seemed to agree, for in *Annotat. in Platin.* at *Clemens II.* he saith expressly, that the four next Popes were chosen by the authority of the Emperour, and proved it by instances. So *Fascic. tempor.* saith, Henry the III. deposed five Popes, and set up the sixth. Damasus escaped not *Brazutus* cup 35. daies. Now we come (saith *Onuphr. loc. cit.*) out of most obscure darkness, and all things shall be more clear. Then was great con-

contention at Rome for the Papal Seat; wherefore the Romans, by advice of the Cardinals, sent unto the Emperour, desiring to give them a Bishop, who was *Benno* Count of Etisheim, and Bishop of Tullenis, or *Leo* the IX. being verily an *Ass*, since among the Bishops of Germany none other would come amongst the enchanters of Rome. *Crantz. in Saxon.* When he was coming in his Pontificals toward Rome, the Abbot of Cluniak met him; and he, with *Hildebrand* (which then had leave to return with the Pope) began to chide him for taking his authority from the Emperour, and not from the Clergy, as others had done before. The simple man was perswaded to change his habit, whereby he conquered the consent of others, and was elected.

11. *LEO* the IX. by perswasion of *Hildebrand* and *Theophylact* took up Arms, and went in person against the Normans prevailing in Sicily; and by these two, remaining alwaies with him, was betrayed and delivered into the hands of Duke *Gisulph*, who said unto him, *Peter put up thy sword*; and so sent him away well accompanied unto Rome. There he could not live peaceably, and so he went into Germany. Whilest he was with the Emperour in Worms on Christmas day, *Lambert* the sub-Deacon read the Epistle, after their own manner; the Pope sent unto him, and commanded him to read in the Roman manner; *Lambert* would not change. Wherefore the Pope, with a loud voice, deposed him from his Office, and commanded him to depart. *Luithpold* Arch-Bishop of Mentz, went from the Altar, and would not proceed untill the sub-Deacon were restored; because Worms was within his jurisdiction, and the man should not be deposed in his presence without his consent. The Pope restored him again, and so they went on. *Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 4. cap. 45.* commendeth the Pope for equanimity; and the Bishop for maintaining his own jurisdiction. In a Synod at Mentz, was the Pope, the Emperour, and 130. Bishops: It was ordained there, That no Clark should follow Dogs or Hawks in hunting, nor deal in civil business: None should be admitted a Monk till he came to perfect age, and by his free-will. *Nauceler. generat. 36.* And *Crantz. li cit. cap. 43.* saith more, The Pope was President; *Sibico* Bishop of Spira was accused of adultery, and was purged by examination of the Sacrifice: And there also the heresie of simony, and of Priests marriage was condemned. He returned unto Rome, and on a day (as *Nauceler. writes*) he saw a Leper at his gate, he commanded to take him in, and to lay him in his own bed; the next day when he sent to visit him, no man was there. Whereby they understood, that Christ was come to visit the Holy Father. With such lying miracles were they wont to deceive the World often; but for the most part I omit such. When he had sate 5. years, he was poisoned by *Brazut. An. 1054.* Then the Romans, partly reverencing the authority of the Emperour, and partly judging none at Rome worthy of that honour, sent *Hildebrand* in the name of the Clergy and People unto the Emperour, to give them a Bishop. *Ph. Mornay in Myster. ex Sigon. de regn. Ital. lib. 8.* but *Platina* saith only, They did so, lest they might seem to attempt against their Oath. *Car. Benno* saith, *Hildebrand* did oft run from Rome unto the Emperour, and back again, without the advice of the Church; and if any other was named Pope with speed, *Brazut* gave him a cup of poison.

The Pope is resisted by a Bishop.

A lying miracle.

12. *VICTOR* the II. was sent. In a Synod at Florence he deprived many Priests, for that which they called simony and Nicolaitanism. He sate 2. years, and was poisoned.

13. *STEPHEN* the IX. was elected by the Clergy and People, not awaiting the Emperour's nomination, for he was young. Now this Pope accused the defunct Emperour *Henry* the III. of Heresie, that he had diminished the authority of the Church, or (if ye will have it more plainly) had re-

strained the pride of the Popes. But when he begun to speak of seeking confirmation from the Emperour, the cup of Brazut was prepared for him. Then Hildebrand assembled the Cardinals, and caused them to swear, that they would chuse no Pope without common consent. So he took journey to the Bishops of Florence to bring and install him; and the Clergy swore, that they would not proceed in election before his returning. Nevertheless the Count of Tuscany, by gifts and threatnings, did cause the people to chuse his brother.

14. **BENEDICT** the X. a man altogether ignorant of Letters. Peter Damian Bishop of Ostia protested against the election, but they made no account of that. When Hildebrand returned with Gerard Bishop of Florence, he caused the Clergy, according to their Oath, to proceed in a new election, seeing that Benedict was not Canonically called. The Clergy saw the friends of Benedict to have power at Rome, went to Sena, and there do chuse Gerard or Nicolaus the II. Benedict considering that the most part of the Clergy were his adversaries, retired to Velitra, and lived privately.

15. **NICOLAUS** the II. held a Synod at Sutrio, by the aid of Duke Godefrid and Italium Bishops, and annulled the election of Pope Benedict. Then he went to Rome and held another Synod at Lateran, where a Decree was made; That if any by money or favour of men, whether of people or souldiers, without Canonical election of Cardinals, shall enter into the Throne of Saint Peter, he shall not be called Apostolical, but Apostatical; and it shall be lawfull for the Cardinals, Clergy and People, calling upon God, to accurse him as a robber, and to thrust him from his seat by any help of man. *Gratian. dist. 32. cap. Vnde Nicolaus.* Here the election of the Pope is limited, and ascribed unto the Cardinals; but (as *Pol. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 4. cap. 10.* hath observed) it was to be approved by other Priests, and by the people of Rome; and another might have been chosen who was not of that Colledge. But within a short time both these were abolished; for now (saith he) the Cardinals, without consent of People or Priests, do chuse only a Cardinal to be Pope, although there be no law for that. Some write, that Nicolaus gave the Dukedom of Pulia and Calabria unto Robert Guiscard: But *Platina* saith, Robert defrauded his brothers son, and the Pope was offended for Godefrid's sake; yet suffered him to enjoy it, because he gave a part of the Dukedom unto the Pope, and himself became Tributary unto the Church of Rome. After three years Nicolaus was poisoned. The Lombards had been oppressed by him, and now were desirous to have a Bishop of their Country; therefore they sent unto the Imperial Court for favour in the election; for the nomination of the Pope (saith they) appertained unto the Emperour. Then Agnes did send one, who was thought most fit: And so in a Synod at Basil

16. **HONORIUS** the II. was elected. Hildebrand and the Cardinals at Rome, set up **ALEXANDER** the II. They gathered Armies, and fought a bloody battel near Rome. Honorius was said to have the worle, and recruits his forces. The Emperour sent an Embassadour Otho, or (as *Platina* calls him) Anno Bishop of Colein, who sharply expostulated with Alexander in a Synod at Rome, for taking so much upon him without the knowledge of the Emperour; and contrary to his Royal privilege, as it had been acknowledged, for the most part, by his Predecessours. Hildebrand made the Apology for Alexander briefly. Otho taking more part with the Roman Clergy, did procure the cause to be referred to another Synod, to be held at Mantua, where Alexander had friends. He appeared; but Honorius sent word, that the Master should not be judged by his Disciples; and would not come, unless

Two Popes in Arms, and both are deprived.

less he might be Moderator of the Council. By the way observe this contest, Who should be Moderatour in a Synod? Before this, if the Emperour had named a President, there was no opposition; or when the Emperour winked, or was contemned, any Patriarch might moderate within his own Diocly. Otho answered in the name of the Synod, He being but one, should submit himself unto the Holy Oracle and Sentence of so many Fathers. Then Alexander, having no present competitour, was heard; and when he had sworn that he had used no unlawfull means for obtaining the Papacy, he was confirmed. *Car. Benno* writes of him thus, When he understood the intention of Hildebrand, and others the Emperour's enemies, that they had set him up for a private respect of their own, he told them publickly he would sit no longer in that place, (he was at Mafs) unless he had consent from the Emperour. Wherefore Hildebrand was in such rage, that he could scarcely hold his hands off him, till the Mafs was ended. Then, by force of Souldiers, he threw the Pope into a chamber, knocked him with his fists, and railteth at him that he would seek favour of the Emperour. Then was he thrust into Prison, and stinted to five shillings a day of the money of Luca, where he had been Bishop; and Hildebrand turned all the rest of Saint Peter's revenues to his own use. At this time Sueno, King of Denmark, made his Land Tributary unto the See of Rome; following the example of Casimire, King of Pole, in the daies of Benedict the IX. and paid yearly Peter-pence. Alexander died in prison after 12. years.

The Pope subjected to a Synod.

Denmark and Poland Tributary to Rome.

17. GREGORY the VII. (*alias* Hildebrand) caused himself to be elected, the same day that the other died; contrary to a Decree, which ordained that the election should not be before the third day; to the end, that the Clergy and Cardinals may be the more frequently assembled. After ten weeks he was confirmed by the Emperour, saith *Platina*; but not till the Emperour sent a Count to challenge the Romans: And then Gregory said, He was chosen indeed, but he had delayed his consecration, untill he knew the King's pleasure. And *Car. Benno* testifieth, that many of the Cardinals would not subscribe unto his election. Because he had been a Disciple of Gregory the VI. in honour of his Master, he took his name, *peſſimo Magistro pejor Discipulus*, saith *Benno*. *Aventin. Annal. lib. 5.* reports, that an ancient and famous Writer, living at that time, when he comes to speak of Hildebrand saith, We are come to factions, fraud and wickedness; it is dangerous to write truly, and it is a sin to write falsely. *Car. Benno* relateth his enchantments and juggleries at large; and saith generally, When Satan could not persecute Christ openly by Pagans, he plotted to turn religion topsie-torvy, by a false Monk, under shew of religion; but although Divine Providence suffereth such things, yet the time of retribution is at hand. *Bellarmin. de Pontif. Rom. lib. 4. cap. 13.* would purge him of these blots, saying; We have no Authour of that time, who accuseth Gregory the VII. but one *Benno*; and he did not write so bitterly against him in truth, but only under the name of Pope Gregory, he would describe a wicked Pope; or *Benno* is not the Authour of that book, but some Lutheran; and he alledgeth ten Authours of that time commending Hildebrand. The whole History confuteth the first excuse, and the other is convinced by the copies of *Benno*, more ancient then Luther; and by many Authours before Luther, who do cite *Benno*. Namely, *Orthwin Gratius* (who was not a Lutheran) in *Epist. ad Lector.* prefixed to the same book, saith; More credit is to be given unto *Benno*, then unto *Platina* or others who favour the Popes too much. And though his own faction commend him, it is no wonder; and they testifie of more then ten times ten others, writing against his impieties. It is enough for the Truth, that she wanted not witnesses, and Tyranny had con-

tradition at the rising; yea and of the same ten, although one excuse of one crime, yet he accuseth him of another. Were they all Lutherans, whom *Onuphrius in Annotat. in Platin. ad Grego. VII.* reports to have called this Gregory a Necromancer, a simoniack, blood-thirsty, &c.? He was the first kinder of those toilsom wars, *Bellum Pontificium*, between the Emperours and Popes, as followeth. Before that time there was some order in the Church, and Bishops were subject unto Emperours, as Miltiades and Sylvester unto Constantine; Gregory unto Maurice; Leo unto Charls the Great. *Chrysostom on Rom. 13.* saith, The Apostle shewing that these things [*subjection, &c.*] are commanded unto all, both Priests and Monks, and not to Seculars only, saith in the beginning, Let every soul be subject unto superiour powers, although he be an Apostle or Evangelist or Prophet, or whoever he be; for this subjection overthrows not piety; and he saith not simply, be obedient, but be subject. *Cumin Ventura*, a late Popish Writer, in *Theſaur. Politic.* printed at Frankford, *An. 1610. pag. 386.* saith, The ancient Emperours received not their beginnings from the Popes: And in the next page, The Popes in time of the old Empire, were subject unto the Emperours, untill Lewis the Godly renounced his right, which renunciation was revoked by the Emperour, and renounced by a Synod in the daies of Pope Leo the VIII. And *Onuphrius in vita Gregor. VII.* saith, Although the Bishops of old Rome were revered as the Vicars of Christ and Successours of Peter, yet their authority reached not further then the teaching and maintaining of the faith; they were subject unto the Emperours, and were created by them, and in all things were at the beck of the Emperours, and a Pope durst not judge nor discern any thing belonging unto them. *Bellarmin. de Lascis lib. 3. cap. 8.* propounds and proves, that Kingdoms are given immediately by God unto wicked men, as *Dan. 2.* and that these Infidel Kings should be obeyed, unless one will set himself against the Ordinance of God, in *1 Pet. 2.* To this purpose he cites the testimony of *Augustin. de Civ. Dei lib. 5. cap. 21. & 15.* he saith expressly, All Kings and the State of Venice, and such others, have none above them in *temporalibus*; otherwise they could not be called Heads of their Commonwealths, but members only. But then Gregory the VII. the first of all Romish Bishops, swelling with pride, and trusting in the strength of the Normans, and to the riches of Mathildis; and seeing dissension amongst the Germans, durst not only excommunicate Caesar, but deprived him of his Kingdom also. A thing not heard in former ages, saith *Otho Frising. de gest. Frideri. lib. 1. cap. 1.* So speaks *Onuphrius loc. cit.* and addeth, For I account not the fables concerning Arcadius, Anastasius and Leo Iconomachus. And *Gosfrid. Viterb. in Chron. par. 17.* saith, We read not that any Emperour, before this, was excommunicated by a Pope of Rome, or deprived of his Empire; unless that be called excommunication, when Philip the first Christian Emperour, was for a short space set amongst the Penitents; or that Theodosius, &c. *Aventin. in Annal. lib. 7.* writeth, that Everhard Bishop of Salsburg said, Hildebrand under pretext of religion (170. years since) had laied the first foundation of Antichrist; and he first began those wicked wars, which untill this time have been continued by his Successours. So Gregory the VII. did glory of himself, that he could bind and loose in Heaven; and he could give and take away Kingdoms, Empires, and whatsoever men possess on earth. He could abide no equal, far less any Superiour, derogating from others their due right and honour, and arrogating all unto himself. After him the Emperours could have no interest in the election of the Pope, saith *Ventura loc. cit.* Likewise he kept Bishops and all Prelates in aw, suspending some, and chopping off the hands of others at his pleasure; he released Oaths of Allegiance; yea whatsoever

Popes are subject unto Emperours.

The first Pope excommunicating an Emperour.

ever he did, the Pope must be feared, as one who could do no wrong. In a Synod at Rome, he decreed it to be simony to accept any Bishoprick, Abbotcy, or Church-living from a Lay-man, were he King or Cæsar who gave it, and the receiver as well as the giver should be excommunicated, *Platm.* By this means he severed Church-men from Princes, and tied them unto the Popes for ever; and the former custom of the Church, in all ages, was then condemned; and the Decree of Pope Leo the VIII. was condemned; yea himself might by this Decree be deposed. Henceforth whatsoever ambition any Pope once practiseth, his Successour will make it a rule. But one thing is above all wonders (saith *Corn. Agrippa de vanit. scient. cap. 56.* They think that they may go up to Heaven by this means, for which Lucifer was cast down. He did forbid the Benedictine Monks to eat any flesh at all; and permitted unto others, as weaker or more imperfect, to eat flesh on some daies. In the year 1076. he published some Aphorisms, with the Title *Dictatus Papæ*; these are extracted by *Spalaten. de Rep. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 9.* and are the Picture of his mind; The Roman Church was founded by the Lord alone; the Roman Bishop is the only Universal Bishop; [*Gregory the I. behold thy Antichrist*] he only can set up and depose other Bishops; he may depose and excommunicate absents. [*This was a warrant for his practise against the Emperour.*] If any be excommunicated by the Pope, none may abide in one house with that person: He alone can make new Laws, erect new Congregations, unite or divide Benefices: All the Princes of the earth ought to kiss his feet: His only name should be heard in Churches: No Synod should be without his commandment: No book is Canonical without his authority: All weighty causes, in whatsoever Church, should be brought unto him: He may absolve Subjects from their Allegiance: He may judge all men, but can be judged by no man: And all these, because the Roman Church cannot erre; and the Pope, being Canonically elected, is by the merits of Saint Peter undoubtedly sanctified; and there is but one name on earth, to wit, the Pope, &c. *Mornay in Myster.* hath more of this kind. What more could Hildebrand say, to prove really in his person the fulfilling of these words, *2 Theff. 2. 4.*? Only he omits this conclusion, Therefore I Gregory the VII. am the Antichrist. But others did not fail; for many said then (as *Aventin. lib. 5. testifieth*) Hildebrand is the Antichrist; under the name of Christ, he doth the work of Antichrist; he sits in Babylon, in the Temple of God, and exalts himself as if he were a God; he vaunteth that he cannot erre; he destroyed both peace and godliness, &c. He commanded a Fast to be kept, with prayers that God would reveal whose opinion was truer, whether of the Church of Rome, or of Berengarius, in the controversie of the Sacrament; he sought a sign to establish his faith, but none was given. It is a wonder, that neither the Pope could with all his infallibility determine the doubt, nor in that lying age some cogging miracle not devised. Then he sent two Cardinals, Alto and Cuno, unto Suppo Abbot of Saint Anastasia, to keep a Fast of three daies with his Monks, and on every day they should sing the whole Psalter, and the Masses for the same end; but so neither could they find any sign. *Gar. Benno.* On the second holy day of Easter-week, he, in a Sermon, said, Never accept me for Pope, but pluck me from the Altar, if that false King [all understood that he spoke of the Emperour Henry] shall not die before the Feast of Saint Peter; or else shall be so dejected from his Kingdom, that he shall not be able to command six souldiers. This he spoke before the battel between Henry and Rodolph. But God preserved the Emperour, and the time being expired, (saith *Benno*) he feared to be contemned according to his own words; and said, that he meant not of his body, but of his soul. Some said, The Kings soul could not lose

all his souldiers to fix. But *Mattheus Parisie*; and *Onuphrius in vita Gregor. VII.* say, He prophesied truly of the false King, but he failed in the application; it was to be understood of Rodolph. *Paul Bernutenf.* writ the life of this Pope in two books, and there saith of him thus: The Romans usurp Divine honour; they will not render account of their doings, neither can they willingly hear it said unto them, Why doest thou so? They hold that saying, *Sic volo, sic jubeo*, my will is sufficient reason, *Io. Lampad. in Mellis.* But his own words decipher him no worse, (as they are rehearsed by *Platina.*) In the first deposition of the Emperour he said, Peter chief of the Apostles, I pray incline thy ears, and hear me thy servant, whom thou hast brought up from my infancy, and untill this day thou hast delivered from the hands of the wicked, which hate me for my faith in thee, and they have persecuted me; thou art a sufficient witness unto me, and the godly mother of Jesus Christ, and thy pious brother Paul, who was pertaker of Martyrdom with thee, that I took not the Papacy of my own accord, but against my will; not that I thought it unlawfull or rapine to ascend lawfully into thy Chair; but I would rather have passed my life in Pilgrimage, then to have come into thy Throne, which is so high for fame and glory: I confess therefore, that by thy grace, and not by my merits, hath the charge of the people been committed unto me; as also the power of binding and loosing: And so I trusting in this assurance, for the dignity of thy holy Church, in the name of the Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I cast Henry, the son of the deceased Henry the Emperour, from all Imperial and Princely administration, because he hath too boldly and rashly laied hands on thy Church; and I absolve all Christians, subject unto the Empire, from their Oath, whereby they are wont to give their fidelity unto their true Sovereigns; for it is just that he should want all honour, who attempteth to diminish the Majesty of the Church; yea and he hath contemned all my or rather thy commandments belonging unto his salvation, and the salvation of the people; and he hath severed himself from the Church, which he indeavoureth to lay waist with seditions: Therefore I bind him with a curse, the chain of a curse; I, certainly knowing that thou art Peter; and on thy Rock, as a sure foundation, Christ our King hath built his Church. Here many particulars may be observed in these words; and they give just occasion to demand, Whose servant thought this Gregory himself to be? He saith to Peter, *Me thy servant, thy seat, thy grace, thy commands?* Why did he not derive his authority from Christ, if he was the Vicar of Christ? We read this Title in his words related by *Platina*; but he began not as yet to conciliate authority unto himself by this Title, neither did any Bishop of Rome use it before him. The Jesuit *Azonius Instit. Moral. par. 2. lib. 5. cap. ult.* writeth, that this Gregory in a Synod did ordain, that only the Bishops of Rome should be called *Papa*; although in former times it was common unto other Bishops, as is certain (saith he) out of *Cyprian* and *Ruffin*; and we may adjoin the Epistles of *Augustine* and others. But *Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 3.* saith, Christ praied in *Luk. 22.* for him, to whom he said, *Confirm thy brethren*; but the Church hath no brethren whom she may or should confirm: Who I pray (saith he) can be feigned to be the brethren of the Church Universal? Are not Beleevers the children of the Church? After the same manner may we argue: Since none can be called the Brother of the Church, far less can they be called the Father or Spouse of the Church. Gregory sate 12. years, and died in exile, as is above related.

18. VICTOR the III. came next, without consent of the Emperour, and shewed himself bold enough, untill he was poisoned with the wine of the Mass

Mas in the 16. month of his Papacy. *Platin*. Others say he died of a dissentery. Both may be true, the one being the cause of the other. His short life, and the miserable success of his Predecessour, did not teach his Successours wisdom; but as the Kings of Israel followed the steps of Jeroboam, rather than of David; so the most part of the Popes contemn the Imperial authority, and follow the pride of Hildebrand, rather than the good example of Christ or Peter.

19. URBAN the II. was set up by the same faction, Clemens the III. yet living, who was chosen with consent of the Emperour. They did excommunicate and accurse one another. Urban would release none whom Gregory had accursed; therefore fearing insurrection, or (as *Platin*. saith) fearing the inconstancy of the Romans, he crept out of the City, and dwelt at Amelphis; where he held a Synod, and another at Troy in Pulia, and the third in Placentia; in them all confirming the Decrees of his Master Gregory against the Emperour, and against married Priests, and strengthening the Laws for the Papal authority. At last he was constrained to fly unto Claremont, where he assembled a Council under pretence of consulting for recovery of the Holy Land from the Turks, *An. 1094.* of which it follows. There he made many constitutions; as, The Church is pure in faith, and free from all Secular power: No Bishop, Abbot or Clark shall accept any Ecclesiastical dignity from the hand of a Prince or any Laick: Whosoever shall lay hands violently on, or apprehend, men of holy Orders, or their servants, shall be accursed: Whosoever shall marry within the seventh degree of kindred, shall be accursed, &c. *Matth. Paris. in Wilhel. 2.* There also he renewed the excommunication against the Emperour, and against Pope Clement. So one Pope at Rome, and another Pope at Claremont had contrary Synods, cursing one another, burning one anothers Acts, and abjuring their Consecrations, Baptisms and Masses. Nations and Cities were divided, and some people, espying the pride and vices of both the Popes, did continue neutral; and learned, by lamentable experience, that a Church can be ruled without a Pope. When Popes and Bishops were taken up with bloody wars, and tyrannical usurpations of Secular power, what could the Sheep learn from such Pastours? Urban did ordain, that these words should be propounded unto all Intrants at their admission, Wittingly and willingly I shall not communicate with them who are excommunicated by the Church of Rome: likewise I shall not be present at the consecrations of them who accept Bishopricks or Abbeyes from Laicks; so may God help, and these holy Evangelists, as I shall never change from this sentence, *Platin*. He did confirm the hours and Matins of Saint Mary, saith *Hec. Boet. lib. 12. cap. 12.* And the *Officium* to be solemnly read on the Sabbath-day, saith *Fascic. tempor. Pol. Vergil. de invent. rer. lib. 6. cap. 2.* saith, As Pelagius the II. ordained the Priests to keep the seven Canonical hours, as a present remedy of mens weakness, who fall seven times a day; so Urban the II. ordained, that so many hours should be kept to the honour of the Virgin. The Arch-Bishop of Toledo covenanted with this Urban, that he should make him Primat of Spain; and therefore the other should endeavour to make all Spain Tributary unto Rome. Before that time the Church of Spain was not subject unto Rome, neither do we read of any Spanish Cardinals at Rome. The Order of Cistercian and Carthusian Monks were about that time devised in Burgundy, and confirmed by Urban. After the Council at Claremont he returned into Rome; but with such authority, that he was glad to lurk in the house of a Citizen Peter Leo, the space of 2. years, and died there in the 13. year of his Papacy, and the year of our Lord 1099. To move the more men unto the expedition against the Turks and Sarazens, he devised the first pro-

clamation of indulgences, or the full remission of all sins, unto all that would go thither, to deliver that holy Land, (as he said) and the Sepulchre of Christ our Saviour, from the power of the Mahumetans. His Successours following this his example (as it is easie to add unto things that are once devised) did enlarge these indulgences; to the benefit not only of them who went thither, but unto every one, which though they went not, yet would contribute for the maintaining of Souldiers in that expedition. Upon this account great sums of money were brought unto the Pope. Thereafter these Indulgences were proclaimed unto all which would contribute unto the Wars, against those which were called enemies of the Roman Church, though they were Christians. Under these colours vast sums were gathered from time to time, although many times the money was imploied another way, as followeth; and God (who brings light out of darknes) made the same indulgences to be the occasion of Reformation.

C H A P. III.

Of Divers Countries.

1. **I**N the beginning of this Century were many prodigies, as tokens of evils following, (*Platin.*) signs in the Heavens above, Earth-quakes below, in the Sun darknes, on earth Snakes were seen fighting against other, Fountains were turned into blood, the air was corrupt. *Ia. Vsser.* hath them at great length, *de success. Eccles. cap. 3. & 4.* Whereby some were moved to say, Antichrist is come into the world. *Tho. Cooper ad An. 1099.* In an assembly at Aken, in the year 1016. were convened many both Princes and Bishops: The Emperour Henry spoke of God's wrath hanging over their heads, and advised them to think upon a way how these judgments might be turned off. A Decree was made, that all men should study to escape those judgments by fasting, actions of piety and alms; for (say they) the true doctrine of inward and saving repentance, or of turning unto God, as the consideration of sins that are committed against the ten commands, of faith in Christ, and the true and serious amendment of life, hath been altogether obscured, yea and buried by outward worship and human traditions; therefore, by publick authority of this Synod, it is compounded, that Priests attend more upon their Service, all people give themselves unto fasting, and Princes be more liberal in their Alms. *Sigebert. & Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

2. The Fathers of the Primitive Church, guessed that after a 1000. years from Christ's birth or passion, or from the destruction of Jerusalem, Antichrist should come; and shortly after his appearing, the world should have an end; as *Germanus*, Patriarch of Constantinople, sheweth in *Rer. Ecclesiast. Theoria*, out of *Theophilus*, *Cyrl*, *Chrysostom*, &c. And about the thousand years from Christ's nativity, many men looked that it should come so to pass. But when the thousand years were expired after the destruction of Jerusalem, and they saw no such Antichrist as they had imagined, neither did such things come to pass as they had conceived, concerning the end of the World; then, as if they had been delivered from the danger thereof (faith *Baronius Annal. tom. 11.*) they made fair buildings and Churches throughout the World, especially in Italy and France. Whereunto *Ia. Vsser.* doth apply that saying of Henry, *Beware of Antichrist*; it is evil, that the love of Churches hath overtaken you; it is not well, that ye reverence the buildings and walls of Churches; ye conceive amiss of these: is it any doubt that Antichrist shall sit in these?

The

The Mountains, and Lakes, and Woods, are more safe unto me. Likewise some made defection from the Faith, and returned to Paganism, as in the North parts, *Luitici Obotriti, Vari, &c.* So did *Vilgard*, a Gramarian, in *Ravenna*, trusting to the apparitions of soul spirits, in the likeness (as they professed) of *Virgil, Horace, and Iuvenal*; when he began to vaunt foolishly of his knowledge of humanities, they appeared unto him, and gave him thanks for his love to their Books, and promised to make him partner of their glory: Thereafter he began to profess, that the Divinity of the Poets was true; at last he was challenged, and condemned by the Patriarch *Peter*: But many in *Italy, Sardinia, and in Spain*, followed the same impiety, and were punished, some with the sword, and some with fire, *Rodolp. Hysto. l. 2. c. 12.*

3. *Berno*, excellent in all learning, was set over the *Augianes*, anno 1008. he wrote many Books; in *Marc. Evang. sect. 3.* he saith, In the holy Scriptures do hang the armor of our salvation, *Serm. de concor. offic. c. 5.* Our weakness can do nothing without God; as *Lazarus* could not rise by himself, *Serm. de ascend. Dom.* Christ is the head of the whole Church, and all the elect are his members; At that time lived *Oecumenius*, and *Olympiodorus*; two famous Greek writers. *Guthet*, Bishop of *Prague*, was famous for learning, and holiness, and was put to death by the enemies of the faith, *Platm. in Benedict. 8.* and in *Benedict. 9.* he saith, *Gerard*, a *Venetian*, and Bishop of *Hungary*, a good and learned man, suffered martyrdom; the Infidels tied him to the wheel of a Cart, and let it run from the top of an high mountain, so that he was all crushed; yet he suffered it with joy.

4. *Fulbert*, Bishop of *Charties*, or *Carnatum*, was a learned man; sundry Sermons, and Treatises, that are among the works of St. *Augustine*, are said to be his. He wrote an Epistle to *Adeodatus*, wherein he first reproveth a gross opinion of some men, who held, that Baptism, and the Eucharist, were naked signs; Then he proveth, that these should not be considered as mere and outward signs; but by faith, according to the invisible vertue of mysteries: The mystery of faith it is called, saith he, because it should be esteemed by faith, and not by sight; to be looked on as the spirit and minde, and not as sight of body; seeing onely by faith, beholdeth the secret of this powerful mystery; for what seemeth outwardly bread, and wine, now inwardly it is the body, and blood of Christ; we being encouraged by the authority of our true Master, when we communicate of his body, and blood, we confess boldly, that we are transfused into his body, and that he abideth in us. Taste and see how savoury that meat is; unless I be mistaken, it tasteth like Angels food; not that thou canst discern it with thy mouth, but mayst taste it with thy inward affection; open the mouth of faith, enlarge the hope, and the bowels of love, and receive the bread of life, even the food of the inward man: from faith of the inward man, proceedeth the tasting of the inward food, while certainly, by the infusion, or preception of the gracious Eucharist, Christ floweth into the bowels of the communicating soul; when a godly soul receiveth into her chaste corners, in that form wherewith she beholdeth him present with her, under remembrance of the mystery, and as the Spirit revealeth, to wit, as an infant lying in his mothers bosome, or offered upon the altar of the crosse, or lying in the grave, or verily having trampled death under foot, and rising again, or carried high in glory above the heavens; according to which forms Christ entreth into the acceptable habitation of the communicant; and refresheth his soul with so many (to speak so) several blisses, as are the ways that the eye of holy meditation can behold him: neither let it seem a vain thing unto thee, that we say, that

according to the beholding of a desirous soul, Christ is found within the bowels of the communicant, seeing thou art not ignorant that our fathers sojourned through the wilderness, and were refreshed with Angels food, to whom a fertile rain brought meat of one colour, but of divers tastes; and according to the appetite of every one, it gave sundry delights of taste, that whatsoever their appetit did covet, the secret dispensation of the Giver did furnish the same; to whom their gust gave what their eye could not see, because it was one thing which was seen, and another which was taken; therefore wonder thou no more: What Manna under the law did signifie by shadow, the revealed verity of Christ's body layeth open, in which body the divine Majesty condescendeth mercifully unto our weakness, that with what sort of punishment mans body is punished, he should taste the same in his body sensibly; but God performeth this in the breast: as he saith himself, He who cometh of me, shall live by me: Now therefore the scruple, or doubt, is to be removed, seeing he who is the Giver, is a witness of the truth. Then he illustrateth the same, by comparison of a baptised man; who albeit outwardly he be the same he was before, yet inwardly he is another, being made greater then himself, by increase of invisible quantity, that is, of saving grace, &c. here is no word of substantial change of the elements; the bread is still bread: but we finde two other changes, to wit, the faithful are transfused into the body of Christ, and Christ is infused into the habitation of a faithful soul; yet so, that Christ's body remaineth in the heavens; and, by the revelation of the Spirit, faith beholdeth Christ present, or lying in his mothers bosome, and dying, and rising, and ascending, and he entreth into the gracious habitation of a faithful communicant, and refresheth him so many ways, as is said: Here also we see, that the substance of bread remaineth, as the substance of him who is baptised remaineth, albeit inwardly he be another, *Biblioth. part. de le Bigne tom. 3.*

5. *Berengarius*, Deacon of St. Maurice in Angiers, was his disciple, who hearing *Math. Parisiensis* calleth him *Archiepisc. Turonen.* a contrary error unto the former, was broached in his days; to wit, that the bread of the Eucharist, was the very body of Christ; and the wine his blood substantially, or properly: *Berengarius*, I say, hearing this, taught, that the body of Christ is onely in the heavens; and these elements, are the Sacraments of his body and blood, as followeth. The occasion of this controversie at that time, is written by *Gustmund*, in his second book against *Berengarius*, to wit, when *Lanfrank*, Abbot of Bec-heloin in Normandy, was a boy, in Italy, it hapned, that a priest, (as he saith) saying Mass, found very flesh upon the altar, and very blood upon the chalice, he burned to take them, and immediately declared the matter unto the Bishop, who, assembling with moe Bishops, ordained, that that flesh, and that chalice, with the blood, should be kept in that altar for ever, as a most worshipful Relique. From this deceiving Impostor many were moved to believe, that the body and blood of Christ was present in the elements, not onely sacramentally, as the Fathers spake, but substantially. *Berengarius* wrote and preached against this Capernaitis error; and therefore *Adelman*, Bishop of Brixia, wrote unto him; In the beginning he saluteth him, his holy and beloved Brother, and condisciple under *Fulbert*, Bishop of Carnatum: Then he sheweth, he heard it reported that *Berengarius* did teach, that the body and blood of Christ, which are offered upon the altar throughout the earth, are not the very body and blood of Christ, but onely a figure, or certain similitude; howbeit indeed *Berengarius* had said nothing so: To the intent *Adelman* may bring his Brother from this opinion, he intreateth him brotherly not to depart from the doctrine

doctrine of their master Fulbert, and of the Catholike Church. Then he appealeth to the testimony of Augustin, Ambrose, and Jerome [who never taught any transubstantiation, or impanation] He writeth also, that the very flesh and blood of Christ, was given unto the Apostles at the first institution, and are still given unto faithful communicants; for he who said in the beginning, Let there be light, and the light was made of nothing; why, saying of the bread, *This is my body*, may he not cause it to be the same? Afterwards he sheweth how Christ worketh this by the mystery of man; for when he was made immortal, and going up to heaven, he said, *Behold, I am with you unto the end of the world*; because he was comperfonate of two natures, one circumscribed, another uncircumscribed: by his circumscribed nature, he went from place to place; by his uncircumscribed nature, he is whole every where illocally, and abode with them; yet he did not separate the Son of Man from the Son of God; and when the Son of Man ascended up to heaven, he was there as the Son of God; as he witnesseth himself, *No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he who came down from heaven, the Son of Man who is in heaven*: If therefore he was there by the unity of person, whether he had not ascended by property of nature; for in the same unity he abode still on earth with men, after he had ascended up to heaven. Therefore, that faith may be exercised in believing, because that vital Sacrament appeareth not under a bodily shape, it is hid profitably, as the soul in the body. Last of all, The water in Baptism, seemeth to be common water; and a baptised man, What seemeth he, but what he was before? he declareth this at great length, that neither sense, nor reason, can reach to comprehend this mystery; where sense judgeth that water to be an humide liquor, cold in substance, and which may be turned into air, or earth: but how by the water, and the Spirit, a soul is regenerate, and forgiveness of sin is given, unto this unsearchable mystery, neither sense nor reason can attain; and nevertheless, we must surely believe, That the unbodily soul, is created by bodily water, &c. *Mark here*, as Christ's body was not in heaven, when he said, *Behold, I am with you*; and yet, even then he was in heaven wholly, in respect of his person; so now his body is in heaven, and not on earth, where notwithstanding he is personally. *Again mark*, We have here an union of the water and the Spirit, to the regeneration of the soul: but who ever thought, that that water is the Spirit? or that the thing signified is corporally, or locally in the water? or who can imagine, that the body is turned into the soul, when the body and soul are united? And yet Adelman writeth, that the union of bread and wine, with the body and blood of Christ, is like to these two unions; to wit, by these comparisons he would shew, that though the elements remain still the same, and Christ's body be always in the heavens, till he come again to judge; yet there is a real, and sacramental union twixt the sign and the thing signified; and that the faithful certainly communicate of both together. What answer Berengarius did return to his con-disciple, we cannot finde; But he wrote an Epistle to the forenamed Lanfrank, declaring the abuses of the Sacrament, and commending the book of John Scotus on that question: And he wrote expressly, that the body of Christ is not in the Sacrament, but as in a sign, or figure, or mystery. He spake also, in his preachings, against the Romish Church, in the doctrine of Marraiage, and necessity of Baptism. *Io. Oecolampad. epist. lib. 3. fol. 154. print. at Basil anno 1536.* And Bellarm. in *praf. before his Books de Pon. Rom.* witnesseth, that Berengarius called the Church of Rome, the Malignant Church, the Council of Vanity, and the Seat of Satan; and he called the Pope, not *Pontificem*, vel *Episcopum*, sed *Pompificem*, & *Pulpificem*. It happened that Lanfrank was

not at home, and the Convent opened the Letter of Berengarius, and sent it with a Clerk of Rhemes unto Pope Leo IX. The Pope summoned a Synod at Verceles; Berengarius was advised not to go himself, but send some Clerks in his name, to answer for him; The two Clerks were clapt in prison; Scotus was condemned 200. years after his death; and the doctrine of Berengarius was condemned; yet nothing done against his person at that time, because many favored him. Lanfrank was now a pleader for him; but he was commanded by the Pope, to answer him under no less pain, then to be as great an Heretique as he. Lanfrank following the sway of the world (for afterwards he was made Bishop of Canterbury) performed the charge. In that Book he sheweth, that Berengarius, in the words of Institution, *This is my body*, did appoint them *this*; that is, this bread: and the bread remaineth (saith he) bread, so that it becometh what it was not; to wit, the body of Christ sacramentally. Even as Ambrose said, The Sacrament consisteth of two things, one visible, another invisible; the thing signified, and the sign: which thing signified, if it were before our eyes on earth, it were visible; but since it is lift up to the heavens, and sitting at the right hand of the Father, it cannot be brought, until the time that all things be restored. Again, Lanfrank saith, Thou believest the bread and wine of the Lord's Table, to remain unchangeable, in respect of the substance; that is, to have been bread and wine before the consecration, and to be bread and wine after the consecration; that they are called the flesh and blood of Christ, because they are celebrated in the Church in remembrance of his flesh, which was crucified; and of his blood, which was poured out of his side; to the end we, being admonished thereby, may call to minde the Lord's passion; and when we call it to minde, we should incessantly crucifie our own flesh, and the vices and infections thereof. What absurdity could be in these words, worthy of so many curses? and what was against the Scriptures? But Lanfrank, hoping to catch some advantage by these last words, as if Berengarius had said, These signs are naked signs; he did beat the air, and nothing impugned the true doctrine of Berengarius; for this is the special argument of Lanfrank against him, The doctrine of the Apostles ordained to be preached, that the flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ is eaten with the mouth of the body, and with the mouth of the soul; that is, both bodily and spiritually; seeing with the mouth of the body we eat and drink corporally, as oft as we receive the Lords body from the altar, by the hands of the priest; but it is eaten and drunken spiritually, with the spiritual mouth of the soul; when sweetly and profitably, as Augustine saith, it is called to memory. That the onely begotten Son of God, for the salvation of the world, took upon him our flesh, hang on the crosse, rose again, appeared, ascended, and will return again to judge. Of the spiritual eating, the Lord said to his disciples, *Take, eat*. Augustine endeavored to demonstrate the spiritual eating, *Traet. 26. in Iohan.* when he said, Eat the heavenly bread spiritually, bring innocence unto the altar: This then is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that whosoever eateth of it shall not die; but, which belongeth to the vertue of this Sacrament, and not to the visible Sacrament, who eateth inwardly, not outwardly; who eateth with heart, and not who cheweth with teeth. Here if Lanfrank by his bodily eating, or eating with the mouth of the body, will have both the signs, and the signified thing to be taken bodily; his argument against Berengarius is silly: or if he meant it onely of the signs, Berengarius saith the same. But Guitmund, Bishop of Aversa, turned further aside, and wrote more bitterly, and less truly against Berengarius, Who can hold laughter, saith he, when he heareth Berengarius expounding

expounding the words of our Lord concerning the Sacrament, *This is my body, i. e.* this bread is my body. O most impudent foolishness! why may not the teeth touch that which the hand toucheth? If the body of the Lord was touched by the hands of Thomas, after his resurrection, and by the holy women, why may it not to day be touched more easily, and surely touched? that is, chewed by the teeth of the faithful; He therefore who gave himself to be handled after the resurrection, he will not flee from our teeth for uncleanness, &c. Nevertheless Berengarius abode constant, and was in high estimation, both with Nobility and People; and therefore Pope Victor the II. gave direction to the Bishops of France, to take order with him. They assembled at Towres anno 1056. there was Hildebrand, and the Priests legate; Berengarius eluded the Council, rather then open his minde; for he professed generally, That he followed the sentence of the Catholique Church; that is (said he) as the Scriptures, Fathers, and Primitive Church have taught. And more particularly he said, that the bread and wine became the flesh and blood of Christ; not as in a shadow, but truly. Pope Nicolaus II. hearing that Berengarius was honored of many, summoned him again to a Synod at Rome, anno 1059. and there (as *Baron. ad ann. 1059.* saith) without any disputation, he condemned his own error. But *Vfser. de succes. Eccles. c. 8.* hath marked, that (*Sigon. de reg. Ital. lib. 9.*) when Berengarius, with many arguments, defended, that the Sacrament (to speak properly) was the figure of Christ's body; and Cardinal Albericus (who was nominated to dispute against him) could not by voice resist him; and neither of the two would yield to the other. Albericus sought the space of seven days to answer in writing; as also it is remembered by *Leo Ostien. in Chron. Cassin. lib. 3.* And at last, when disputation could not prevail against him, it was given him in option, Whether he would recant, or burn? The old man, for fear of death (as *Pa. Masson. Annal. Franco. lib. 3.* speaketh) made that beastly recantation (a perpetual argument of his dastardly courage, and of the brutish ignorance of that Council) which was penned by Cardinal Humbert, and is registred by *Gratian. de consecr. dist. 2. Ego Berengarius.* Nevertheless, the words of the recantation are as far from Romish transubstantiation, as white from black. These are the words, (so far as they concern our present purpose) faithfully translated; I Berengarius, do consent unto the Apostolique and Roman See; and with my mouth and heart confess, that the bread and wine, which are laid on the altar, after the consecration, are not onely the Sacrament, but also the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus; and sensibly, not onely in Sacrament, but in truth, are handled with the hands of the priest; broken, and chewed with the hands and teeth of the faithful, &c. John Semeca, the Glossator of the Decrees, expressly condemneth the words of this recantation, and saith, If thou understand not the words of Berengarius soundly, thou shalt fall into a greater heresie then he did; for we break not Christ's body into pieces, *nisi in speciebus.* *Lombard li. 4. Dist. 12. E. 1.* saith, Not in the substance of his body; but in a Sacrament; that is, *in specie.* And *Bellarmin. de Concil. lib. 2. c. 1.* saith, *In signo, & non in se.* When they say, *understand soundly*, they understand *clean against the Text*; for if by *species*, and sign, they understand not bread and wine (as the ancient Fathers did certainly mean, and speak) they deceive the world, seeing whiteness, and such other qualities, can never be broken without some substance: neither are these qualities, the sign of Christ's body; wherefore the substance of bread remains after the blessing. And when they condemn the confession of Berengarius, and call it his words, they consider not that they condemn their Pope Nicolaus, and their Council of one hundred and

fourteen Bishops prescribing it, and ordaining Berengarius to subscribe it, and which sent that confession unto the Bishops of Italy, Germany, and France, as Catholique. It is certain, that Berengarius, returning home, returned also to his former doctrine, and wrote in defence of it; so that (as Blondus saith) he was summoned again by Pope Gregory the VII. anno 1079. and then subscribed another recantation; and an Act was made, That thenceforth none may dispute, nor teach another, concerning the body and blood of our Lord, except for bringing unto the faith them that are gone astray. It seems, that as yet, Gregory was not resolved of his doubt. Bercold, a Priest of Constance, ad ann. 1083. saith, Albeit Berengarius abjured that heresie in face of Synods, yet he ceased not to return unto his vomit. Some have written, that Berengarius denied the baptism of Infants; but, saith Ja. Usser, In so many Synods held against him, We never finde any such thing laid to his charge. And unto the said Usser it appears, that, who in those days were charged to deny the baptism of children, did hold no more but this, *Baptism conferreth not grace ex opere operato*. So Berengarius died, holding his first doctrine, at Towres, in the Isle of St. Cosina, and was buried in S. Martins, where his Tomb was reared; and Hildebert, Bishop of Cænoman, and then of Towres, made his Epitaph; which is in *Gual. Malmesbu. de Gest. Anglo. lib. 3*. And this is a part of it;

*Quem modò miratur, semper mirabitur Orbis,
Ille Berengarius non obiturus obis.*

*Quem sacra fidei vestigia summa tenentem,
Huic jam quinta dies abstulit, ausa nefas.*

Illa dies damnosa dies, & perfida mundo,

*Quà dolor & rerum summa ruina fuit,
Quà status ecclesia, quà spes, quà gloria cleri.*

Quà cultor juris, jure ruente, ruit.

Post obitum secum vivam, procor, ac requiescam,

Nec fiat melior fors mea sorte sua.

Platina, in *Ioban.* 15. calleth Berengarius, famous for learning and holiness: He is reported to have been an hearty friend to learning, and did breed many Students of Divinity at his proper charge; and by means of them his doctrine was sowed through all France, and the Countries adjacent; this was matter unto his adversaries, to envy him the more. Albeit he did waver, as Peter did; and albeit his doctrine was so oft condemned by the Popes, yet it could not be rooted out of men; for *Math. Paris. in Hist. ad ann. 1087.* writeth, that all France was affected with this doctrine. And *Math. Westmonast.* at the same time, saith, That the doctrine of Berengarius had corrupted all the French, Italian, and English Nations: so that the Berengarians, that is, the Preachers of the true faith (which the Romanists call Heresie) against the rising errors, did not lurk in a corner. And *Sigebert Gemblac. in Chron.* saith, Much was disputed by many, both for him, and against him, by word, and by writing. *Ex edit. Antwerp. anno 1608.* where it is to be marked (saith *Vsser de eccles. succes. c. 8.*) that in the Edition at Paris, anno 1589. the words, *For him*, are omitted. Also *Thuan*, in the *Epistle Dedicatory of the History of his time*, hath marked, That in Germany were many of the same doctrine; and that Bruno, Bishop of Treveres, banisht them all out of his Diocess, but sparing their blood. And *Io. Tossington*, a Franciscan, in his confession, set forth anno 1380. saith thus, The heretical sentence, which is raised of the dreams of Berengarius, affirmeth openly, that all the Fathers of the Church,

and

and doctors of the second thousand years (as they speak) that is, who have been within 380. years, have been after the loosing of Satan; and the doctrine which we (saith he) commonly hold to be the faith of the Church, concerning the blessed Eucharist, they say, It is not right, but an error, and heresie, and the tares of Satan, being let loose. *Vsser. c. 3.*

6. To defend the words of the former recantation, which was given in the Synod at Lateran unto Berengarius, these flatterers of the Romish Idol have devised a new distinction of orall eating, to wit, orall eating is either visible or invisible; And they called the opinion of eating Christ's flesh visibly, the error of the Capernaïtes; and they said, the eating of Christ's flesh with the mouth invisibly, was the explication of Christ; so writeth *Ivo Bishop of Carnotum, anno 1092. Catalo. test. ver. lib. 12.* But the Fathers of higher antiquity condemned all orall eating as Capernaïtism; neither were the Capernaïtes so subtil to make such distinctions: Yea, surely Christ would have made his correction according to their error. Behold what *Augustine* saith *Tract. 27. in Iohan.* Who abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without all doubt he neither spiritually eateth Christ's flesh, nor drinketh his blood; albeit carnally, and visibly, he with his teeth do press the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. And *Tract. 28.* What is it? they are spirit, and life; they are spiritually to be understood: understandest thou them spiritually? they are spirit, and life; understandest thou them carnally? so also they are spirit and life, but not to thee. They, understanding spiritual things carnally, were scandalised. Here *Augustine* opposeth carnal eating, whether visible, or invisible, unto spiritual eating and understanding: and he saith, that carnally men eat not the flesh of Christ, but the Sacrament of his flesh.

Twofold eating with the mouth was devised then, and is refused.

7. *Bellarmin* writeth in his second Book *de Pon. Rom. c. 21.* that the great Schism twixt the Greeks and the Latines, began *anno 1054.* because in that year Michael, the Patriarch of Constantinople, did excommunicate the Pope, and all the Romanists, for adding *Filioque* unto the Decree of the Ephesin Council, concerning the procession of the holy Spirit. Here we may see who made the Schism; the Greeks kept the Decree, as it was first enacted; but the Latins added *Filioque*. And when, in the same place, *Bellarmin* saith, It is uncertain when the Latins added it; but certainly, saith he, not before the 600. year: and the Greeks espied the addition in the days of Pope Nicolaus I. At this time Pope Leo IX. wrote against the Greeks; and Michael the Patriarch, and Nicolas a Monk, wrote against the Latins. Of this difference I will speak (God willing) when I come to the Council at Florence, where they disputed this question. Why was there so great a Schism then? *Bellarmin. de Cleri. li. 1. c. 19.* saith, The differences were not confined within that one, but there were many others; of which these are rehearsed by *Fox, in Act. & Mon.* out of an old Register of Hereford. 1. The Church of Constantinople is not subject, but equal unto Rome. 2. The Bishop of Rome hath no greater power than the four Patriarchs; and whatsoever he doeth without their knowledge and concurrence, is of no strength against them. 3. Whatsoever hath been concluded, or done, since the seven general Councils, is not of full authority; because, from that time, they convince the Latins to be in an error, and to be excluded from the holy Church. 4. The Eucharist is not the very body of Christ; also whereas the Romish Church doth use unleavened wafers, they have great loaves of leavened bread. 5. They say, that the Romish Church erreth in the words of Baptism; for the Romanists say, I baptise thee, &c. but the Greeks say, Let this creature of God be baptised in the name, &c. 6. They hold, that

The causes of the schism twixt the Latins and Greeks.

the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and not from the Son [of this in another place.] 7. They hold no Purgatory; nor that the prayers of the Church do help the dead, either to lessen the pain of them in hell, or to increase the glory of them who are ordained for salvation. 8. They hold, the souls of the dead (whether elect, or reprobate) have not their full pain, nor glory; but are reserved to a certain neutral place, till the day of judgement. 9. They condemn the Church of Rome, because Women, as well as Priests, anoint children (when they baptise them) on both shoulders. 10. They call our bread *Panagria*. 11. They condemn our Church for celebrating Mass on other days then Sundays, and certain Feasts. 12. They have neither cream, nor oyl, nor Sacrament of Confirmation. 13. Neither do they use extream unction; expounding the place of St. James of spiritual infirmity, and not of corporal. 14. They injoyn no satisfaction for Pennance; onely they shew themselves to the Priests, who anoint them with oyl, in token of the remission of their sins. 15. Onely on Maundy Thursday they do consecrate for the sick, and keep it the whole year after; and think it more holy that day, then any other: neither do they fast on any Saturday, save onely on Easter-even. 16. They have but five Orders; as Clerks, Deacons, Sub-Deacons, Priests, and Bishops: whereas the Romish Church hath nine Orders, according to the nine Orders of Angels. 17. In their Orders they make no vow of single life; alledging the Canon, J. N. Priest, or Deacon, shall not put away my wife, as it were for honesties sake. 18. Every year, on certain days, they excommunicate the Church of Rome, and all the Latins, as Heretiques. 19. They excommunicate him, who striketh a Priest. 20. Their Emperor doth name Patriarchs, Bishops, and others of the Clergy, and deposeth them at his pleasure; also he giveth Benefices to whom he listeth, and retaineth the Fruits of the same Benefices as it pleaseth him. 21. They blame the Latins, because they eat not flesh, eggs, nor cheese on Friday. 22. They hold against the Latins, for celebrating without consecrated Churches, and fasting on the Sabbath days; and for permitting menstruous women to enter into Churches before their purifying; also for suffering dogs, or other beasts, to enter into Churches. 23. They use not to kneel at their devotion; yea, not to the body of Christ, but one day in the year; affirming, that the Latins, like goats, or beasts, prostrate themselves on the ground in their prayers. 24. They permit not the Latins to celebrate on their Altars; and if it chance a Latin Priest celebrate on their Altar, by and by they wash it, in token of abomination, and false sacrifice. 25. They condemn the worship of Images as idolatry. These are the Articles contained in the said Register: But there are many more in the Book of *Catholic Traditions*, published in the French tongue by *Th. A. I. C.* and translated into English, and printed at London *ann.* 1610. out of which I have drawn these Articles. 1. All the Apostles were equally universal Pastors, and no primacy given to Peter, who was never at Rome, but when he was martyred. 2. To say, that the Church is grounded on the stone of Rome, is hard and grievous, and not far from the Jewish baseness, to include the Church within a Town. 3. St. John, ending his life after Peter, had the first place among all Evangelists and Bishops; and he never taught, that Rome, by divine right, ought to be the Lady of other Churches. 4. But after St. John, the Bishop of Rome obtained the first place among the Bishops, within the Roman Empire: for seeing the Citizens of Rome reigned above other Cities, he had been proud and audacious, who would have preferred himself before their Bishop, especially without Ordinance of a Council. 5. The Churches of Italy, and others their neighbors, by lapse of time, gave to the

the Church of Rome, not onely the first place, but also superintendence over the Bishops near them in particular, to give his advice in matters that happened, until a Synod might be held; yet never any presidency, or power was given to the Church of Rome above other Churches. 6. As all the Apostles were equal in Authority, so they left behinde them every one diverse Successors of equal Authority. 7. He who accuseth the Scriptures, accuseth God the Author thereof; but God is void of blame, and the Scriptures contain the whole matter of faith. 8. Those onely are Canonical Books, which were contained in the Ark, and written in Hebrew before, or in Greek after the coming of the Lord. 9. They hold, they were the first Nations converted unto Christ, and in that regard they are the men who truly, and purely maintain the Traditions of the Primitive Church; as it was taught them by the Apostles. 10. Faith is an assurance of the love of God; and he who doubteth, cannot approach unto God with confidence. 11. The saying of Paul, It is not in him who runneth, nor in him who willeth, prevents two mischiefs; One, that no man exalt himself: for grant that thou runnest, or endeavorest, yet think not what thou doest well, is thine; for if thou be not inspired from above, all is vain: Another, that no man deem that he shall be crowned without service. 12. Faith is imputed to justification; faith sufficeth for all; faith absolveth, justifieth, and maketh partaker of eternal glory: for God requireth no other thing, but compunction and mourning. 13. When we praise good Works, we mean not to exalt our selves by them, or to put our trust in them; but we desire men would give themselves thereunto, as to things necessary unto salvation, and which every one is bound to exercise, according to his power, following the commandment of God. 14. They communicate under both elements; and they have one fashion for the Communicants in the Church, and another for the Sick: the Priests, with little or no reverence, eat the remanent elements, which are not eaten by the faithful; but for the sick, it is kept all the year, being consecrate the week before Easter. 15. They celebrate the Liturgy in their own Language, that the people may understand. 16. The Bishop of Rome cannot by his Indulgences deliver any from these temporal punishments which God inflicteth; neither ought he to dispense with the fulfilling of all these works of repentance, which are possible, &c. The most part of these last differences, are fallen twixt the east and western Churches since the 11. Century; and in them all we finde, that the differences are either calumnies articulated by the Church of Rome, or matters of Discipline, or Ceremony, or then our Reformed Church agreeth with them.

8. The Bishop of Millan had the next place in Italy unto the Bishop of Rome; he had eighteen Suffragan Bishops under him, twenty two Ordinary Cardinals, and divers other Offices of mark: he was always named by the King of Lombardie; neither he nor any of his Clergy trotted at any time to Rome. This was a great moat in the Priests eyes, and therefore the Popes oftentimes sought to bring Millan into subjection unto their See; but the Millanoyes still kept their liberty. At last, ann. 1059. *Ariald Clericus Decumanus* conspired with Landulfus Cotra *præfatus populi* against the Arch-Bishop Wido, and made a pretext, that married Priests ought to be exautorate. Wido assembled all his Bishops and Clergy at *Fontanetum*; with common consent it was denied, that Priests should have liberty of marriage. Then was great strife in the Town; the Nobility defended Wido, and the People were for Landulf; who sent Ariald to Pope Nicolaus II. accusing the Clergy of Millan, and requiring him to send some Judges to try the matter: He was glad of the occasion, and sent Peter Damian, Bishop of

*How Millan
became sub-
ject unto
Rome.*

Ostia, and Anselm, Bishop of Luca. So soon as Damian began to talk of his Commission against the deposing of married Priests, for that their heresie the people cried, with shouting, The Pope hath no Authority over Millan; neither will we lose our liberty which our Fathers have maintained; nor will we go under the yoke of any forain Church; With this the Bells rang, the Trumpets sounded, and all the People were in an uproar; so that at this time nothing could be altered, nor in all the days of Landulf. After his death, his Brother Erlembald, coming into his room, stirred the former coal; he went to Pope Alexander II. unto Luca, *ann.* 1065. and easily obtained a Decree against the Clergy. The Arch-Bishop would have it examined on Easter-day; but Erlembald, and Ariald commoved the People, so that Wido durst not go out at his gate. In the next year Wido, and his followers prepared themselves against their enemies; and Ariald fled for fear: when he was drawn back by force, he was accused as the Author of the tumult, and shamefully put to death: then Erlembald held his peace. But the next year he obtained another Decree, That none should be accounted a lawful Bishop, without the consent of the Pope, notwithstanding the election, and approbation of the People, and Clergy. In the absence of Wido, he compelled the People, and Clergy to subscribe this Decree. The Bishop was astonished when he heard it, and being now old, and desirous of rest, renounced his Bishoprick, and sent the badges of his Office to the Emperor Henry IV. who sent Godifrid Castillionarius into that See, *ann.* 1068. Pope Alexander threatned him with his curse, that he should not be so rash; and Erlembald by force thrust him out of the City. And when Wido died, the Pope sent Atho, a Priest of Millan, into that See, at the request of Erlembald, who also caused him to be received with great murmuration of the People, that such dignity should depend on the Pope. The Emperor did pursue his right, and therefore a new broil began twixt him and the Pope. The Pope accused the Emperor of Simony, and Heresie. By this means the Church of Millan was brought under the yoke of the See of Rome. *Ph. Mornay in Myst. pag.* 237. About that time the Saracens had divided Spain into several Dominions, and those Lords were called Kings; they could not agree among themselves; and the Bishops took usually arms for their several Kings; especially the Bishops of Aufa, Gerumda, and Barcinon, went under the colours of King Zeluma, against Almahad, and were all three killed in battel. *Baron. Annal. ad ann.* 1011. This division among the Saracens, gave some advantage unto Alfonso V. and Ferdinand; yet for some ages they could not subdue, nor expel those Kings of Castile Infidels.

Contention
for marriage
of the Clergy.

9. Before this time Priests were forbidden to marry, but could not be restrained from their liberty, and many had their own wife. In the year 1074. Hildebrand, in a Synod at Rome, condemned all married Priests as Nicolaitans; He directed his Bulls (as they called them) to Bishops, Dukes, and other Powers, declaring them all to be no Priests which had a Wife; forbidding People to salute them, or pay them Tithes, or to acknowledge them in any way. This was a new example, and (as many said) inconsiderate judgement, saith *Matth. Paris. in Williel. Conquest.* and against the sentence of the Fathers; especially it was against *Canon Apostolor.* 6. saying, Let not a Bishop, or Presbyter, put away his Wife under pretext of Religion; or if he put her away, let him be excommunicate. It was against their own decrees, *Dist.* 28. *c. Siquis*, If any shall teach, That a Priest should for Religion forsake his Wife, let him be anathema; And *Dist.* 31. *c. Siquis*, If any do blame Marriage, or shall detest a faithful Woman for lying with her own Husband; or think the Man culpable, as if for that cause he cannot enter into

into the Kingdom of Heaven, let him be anathema. It was contrary to Pope Leo IX. who in *epist. ad Nicet. Abba.* saith, We always confess, It is not lawful unto a Bishop, or Priest, nor Deacon, to forsake his own Wife for Religion; but that he should give her food and raiment, and not lie with her bodily, as we read the holy Apostles did; even as the blessed Apostle saith, Have we not power to lead about a Wife, a Sister? *Pol. Vergil. de inven. rer. li. 5. c. 4.* is large in this purpose, and concludes thus; This I may say, That that forced chastity was so far from being better then married chastity, that no crime did bring, imprint, or burn-mark more shame upon the Order, more evil upon Religion, or more sorrow unto good men, then the blot of Priests lusts; therefore it may be thought useful, both unto the Christian Re-publique, and to the Order, that at last the liberty of marriage might be restored unto Priests, which they may keep holily without infamy, rather then to defile themselves most filthily with that vice. The *Index expurgatorius* of the year 1571. hath ordained all these words, and many more of that Chapter, to be blotted out. And what obedience was given unto this Decree of Hildebrand, is clear in *Naucle. vol. 2. gener. 36.* where he hath this Epistle unto Constance; Gregory, Bishop, the servant of God's servants, unto the Clerks, and Laicks, both greater and lesser, in the Dioc of Constance, salutation and blessing; We have sent unto our brother your Bishop Otho exhortatory letters, by which, according to the necessity of our Office, by Apostolical Authority, we have commanded him to exclude Simoniacal heretic altogether out of his Church, and that he shall earnestly preach the chastity of Priests; But your Bishop, neither reverencing the command of blessed Peter, nor taking heed unto his own duty, as it is reported unto us, hath not done what we did fatherly advise; and not onely disobediently, but rebelliously hath he, as we have understood, publicly permitted unto his Clerks, altogether contrary unto our command, or rather of blessed Peter, that they which have wives, may keep them; and they which have none, may have them by unlawful temerity: which so soon as we heard, taking it ill, we wrote again unto him, shewing how he had provoked our indignation; and also we have summoned him unto our Synod at Rome, to give the reasons, and in the audience of the whole Convent declare the causes of his disobedience, if they be reasonable. These things, most dear children, we make known unto you, that we may provide for your salvation; for if your Bishop will with open hand fight against us, and be contumacious, it is not fit he should rule, &c. Wherefore, as we have said, by Apostolical Authority we command all those, which are obedient unto God, and blessed Peter, if he shall continue hardened, that ye give him no reverence of obedience; nor think that to be any hurt unto your soul; for if he will be contrary unto the Apostolical precepts, we, by the Authority of blessed Peter, do absolve you from all yoke of subjection unto him; so that if any of you were bound unto him by obligation of Sacrament [or Oath] he shall not be subject unto him in giving any fidelity, so long as he continues rebellious against God, and the Apostolical See. *Naucle. saith moreover,* It is worthy the observation what Hersfeldensis reports of the constitutions of Hildebrand: Hildebrand, convening with his Bishops of Italy, had decreed in many Synods, that, according to the Institutions of ancient Canons, Priests may have no Wives; they which have any, should put them away, or be deprived: and that none be entered into the Priesthood, which shall not profess single life for ever. This Decree being proclaimed thorow all Italy, he sent many letters unto the Bishops of France, commanding that they in their Churches, should by an everlasting curse, put away all women

from the houses of Priests; All the faction of Clerks presently do rage against this Decree, and said, The man was plainly heretical, and of a mad minde; which having forgot the Lord's word, saying, *All cannot receive this word; but who may, let him receive it.* And the Apostle saith, *If any cannot contain, let him marry; it is better to marry, then to burn.* Now he by violent compulsion, will compel men to live after the maner of Angels; and while he denieth the accustomed course of nature, he looseth the rains to fornication and uncleanness: But if he will continue to execute this Decree, they will choose to forsake the Priesthood, rather then Marriage; and then let him who dispiseth men, see how he will provide Angels to govern the people in the Church of God. Nevertheless the Pope was instant, and by continual missions did accuse all the Bishops as careless. The Bishop of Mentz perceiving that it was not an easie work to root out an old custom, would walk more moderately; and at first gave them the space of an half year to advise, exhorting his Clergy to do willingly what they must do at last; and to remove both from himself, and the Pope, the necessity of dealing more severely. Then in October he assembleth his Synod at Erdsfurt, and urgeth, that without any more delay, they would now either abjure marriage, or leave their service at the Altar: They brought many reasons to the contrary, to elude the wickedness of his so pressing command. When neither reasons nor supplications could have place against the Authority of the Apostolical See, whereby he did alledge, he was forced against his will; the Priests went forth as to advise, and their counsel was, to return no more into the Synod; But some cry, It were better to return into the Synod, and pull him from his Episcopal Chair, before he pronounce his execrable sentence against them; and if he were punished with death, as he deserves, they might leave a notable monument unto posterity, that none of his Successors dare put such a calumny upon the Priestly Order. This was reported unto the Bishop, and he was advised by his friends, to preveen the tumult in time: Then he sent forth, and intreats them to settle themselves, and return unto the Synod; and he promiseth with the first opportunity to perswade his Apostolical Lord, if by any way he can, to surcease from the severity of his Decree: These things were done *ann. 1074.* The next year the same Bishop held a Synod in October at Mentz, where, with other Bishops, came the Bishop of Curia, the Popes Legate, with letters, and commands unto the Arch-Bishop, with threatnings of his Order, and Place, to compel presently all the Priests within his Dioc, to forsake their wives, or to dimit the service of the Altar for ever. Which when he professed to obey, the Clerks which were sitting round about him arose, and did so confute him with words, and rage against him with their hands, and gestures of their bodies, that he was past hope to escape with his life. So being overcome with such difficulty, he resolves to deal no more in this matter, but refer it unto the Pope, to end it when and in what maner he would by himself. *So far writes Naucler.* The Author of *Catalo. test. ver. li. 13.* calleth this Bishop of Mentz *Sigefrid.* Then such a Schism was in the Church, that the people would not send their Priests unto the Bishops, but did elect them among themselves; and put them in Office without the knowledge of the Bishop, whereby the people would prevent the peril of Intrants; seeing the Bishop would admit none, unless they did swear to live a single life. *Naucler expresses it thus,* Upon this disception followed an horrible pest in the Western Church, so that Laicks, in time of this disention of the Priests, did administer holy things, baptise, anoint with filth, instead of the true and holy Oyl. He writes thus, as if he thought, that none can be lawful Presbyters, unless

unless they be ordained by the Bishop, or at his command; And nevertheless neither the Priests, nor the People did think so: But of this point more followeth in the next Chapter. And hence it appears, that both Priests and People did oppose the Popes Decree, and that not only in Germany, but in France also. Yea Gebuiler, a late Papist, testifieth, that in those times Twenty four Bishops in France, and Germany, with their Clergy, did constantly maintain the liberty of marriage. More of this followeth in *Clemens 3.* The same Pope Gregory commanded all men to abstain from flesh in time of Lent: his Successors have pressed it more and more, as meritorious of eternal life, and satisfactory for sin, and under pain of deadly sin. In former times had been a Lent, or sort of fasting, but with liberty, and much variety. Socrates *Hist. li. 5. c. 22.* saith, The manner of fasting usually observed before Easter, as all the world knows, hath been diversly observed: The inhabitants of the princely City of Rome, do fast three weeks together before Easter, excepting Saturday, and Sunday. Illyricum, all Greece, and Alexandria, begin their fasting five weeks before Easter, and that space they call forty days fast. Others begin seven weeks before Easter, and in all that while they use abstinence but for fifteen days, pausing before every of them; and these few days they call Lent. So that I cannot but marvel, that howbeit they differ in the number of days, yet all do call their observations, forty days fast. Neither is this difference in the number of days, but there is a greater diversity in the kinds of meat; for some abstain from every living creature; some feed upon fish; others with fish eat fowls of the air, affirming (as Moses writes) that their original is of the waters; others eat neither nuts, nor apples, nor any kinde of fruit, nor eggs; some feed onely upon dry bread; and some receive not that; some, when they have fasted until nine of the clock, refresh nature with divers sorts of meats: Other nations have other Customs; the manner and cause are infinite, seeing none is able to shew a president, or record of it in writing; it is plain, that the Apostles left liberty unto every man, at his own discretion, without fear, compulsion, or constraint, to addict himself unto what seemed good and commendable. We know for certain, that this diversity of fasting is rise throughout the world: so far Socrates. Before him Theodoret on Rom. 14. at the words, Let every one abound in his own sense, saith, He speaks not generally, but of meat onely he gives liberty unto every one: for this Custom continues unto this day in the Churches, that one abstains, and another eats any meat without scruple; neither doth the one condemn the other, but this law of concord makes them the more famous and laudable. And Eusebius *Hist. li. 5. c. 26.* repeats the Epistle of Irenæus unto Victor Bishop of Rome, saying, Neither is this difference of the day onely, but of the manner of fasting; some think they should fast one day, some two, some more, some forty, and telling the hours of the night, and day: neither began this variety in our time, but long before; yet for all this variety they held unity one with another, and as yet we retain it; for this variety of fasting commends the unity of faith. They who before were Bishops of that See, I mean Acircetus, Pius, Higin, Iclesphorus, and Xiflus, did not observe it themselves, nor did they publish any such president unto posterity: and though they kept not that Custom, they held unity with others who came unto them from other Churches, &c. Indeed Caranza in *Summ. Concil.* hath a Decree as of Iclesphorus; to wit, We Decree, that seven full weeks before Easter, all Clerks, that is, who are called into the Lot of the Lord, should fast from flesh; because, as the life of Clerks should be different from the conversation of Lay men, so there should be a difference in their fasting.

Observe, the time is here appointed seven full weeks, and it is enjoined unto Clerks only; nor is any thing forbidden but flesh. But how can this Decree stand with the words of Irenæus, or with the practice of Rome in the days of Socrates? In the first Council at Orleance (and that was about the time of the Nicen, and a National) is such an Act concerning Priests; only Augustine in *Epist.* 86. saith, If you ask my opinion in this, I, resolving it in my minde, do see in the writings of the Evangelists, and Apostles, fasting is commanded; but upon what days we should fast, or not fast, I do not see it defined by precept of our Lord, or his Apostles: so he. Bellarmin *De bon. oper. li. 2. c. 15.* saith, It seems a wondrous difference was among the Antients in keeping of Lent; Nevertheless Pope Gregory had a precedent; for Eusebius *Hist. li. 5. c. 16.* saith, Montanus condemned marriage, and eating of flesh; and also he kept three fasts yearly, whereof one was two weeks before Easter: It is also to be marked, that whatsoever necessity belaid on keeping of Lent, yet a man may have a dispensation from his Priest for a small sum of money, as the Papal Chancery directeth.

Some fruits
of Bishops
are noted.

10. Peter Damian, Bishop of Ostia, wrote a Book *De Correctione Episcopi & Papæ*: it is in *Catal. test. ver. lib. 12.* There he sharply rebukes the arrogance of Bishops which will live as they list, without subjection unto censure; albeit the Prophet David did not spurn at the admonition of the Prophet Nathan; and Samuel (though suffering wrong) did not refuse the censure of the people of Israel; and albeit Peter was endowed with such graces, yet he was subject to the censure of others, *Act. 1.* and when he was rebuked by Paul, he did not quarrel, but took it in good part, because he well understood, it was not of malice, but in love. But (saith he) now they say, I am a Bishop, I should not be rebuked by my sheep; they must be silent, whatsoever be my carriage, &c. He concludes, Therefore let this pernicious Custom be abolished by Ecclesiastical discipline; away with this deceitful subterfuge, that he who pretends so malepert arrogancy, may not enjoy his sin with immunity. In an Epistle unto Udalrik, Bishop of Firma, he reproves the Popes, that they do contrary unto that which they are commanded to teach; for they should exhort all men unto patience, and toleration of injuries, and forbid vindictive contentions: But now (saith he) what Bishops should exhort others to do, they themselves will not do; Christ commands to forgive thy brother seventy times in a day: the King may use the temporal sword, but a Priest should use only the sword of the Spirit, which is God's Word; If for maintaining the faith, Priests should not carry iron weapons, how then see we armies of them rising against one another for earthly things? But so it is fulfilled what the Apostle writes, When they preach to others, themselves are found to be reprobates.

Opposition
against Gre-
gory VII. and
description
of the
Church at
that time.

11. About the year 1072. at Nantes, in low Brittany, a Letter was presented unto a Clerk, as directed from hell; in it Satan, and all that fry, gave thanks unto all Church-men, because they were not deficient unto his and their pleasures; and by negligence of preaching, they sent so many souls unto hell, as no age preceding had seen so many. *Mat. Paris. ad ann. 1072.* Cardinal Benno testifieth, that none of Hildebrand's Cardinals would (at first) subscribe the excommunication of the Emperor Henry; and he hath a large Catalogue of Cardinals, Bishops, and Deacons, who left the Pope, and would never return unto him; so that (as he saith) the Church was divided, the one party pretending the Authority of the Pope, and the other accusing them and their Pope, that he and they taught, and did contravay unto the Scriptures and primitive Church. He addes, that he and his Successor Turban, had presumed to violate the Decrees of Chalcedon, namely, in baptizing,

baptising, and communicating without the Church: But (saith he) as Eusebius alone defending the unity of the Church against Liberius, proved him to be an Heretique; and by his refusing to communicate with him, did binde him with the keys; so & much more is Hildebrand, persevering in this error, condemned unto hell, by the departing of so many Fathers from the Roman Church; and who accurse his Heresies, and abuses of the power of binding and loosing. Then he hath a large description of Hildebrand, and his disciples; saying, Let the Prophets be astonished at the voice of Peter, and his disciples; they are men in face, and scorpions in tail; wolves lurking in sheep-skins, killing bodies, and deestroying souls: their Religion is nothing but treachery, and covetousness; they haunt widows, and lead women captives who are loaden with sins: by occasion of times they give heed to the spirit of error, and doctrine of divels; which their Master Hildebrand hath received from his Masters Theophylact [or Pope Benedict IV.] Laurence Bishop of Amelphis, John, or Gregory VI.---- Because Satan could not openly persecute Christ by Pagans, he craftily intends to subvert the name of Christ by a false Monk, under thew of Religion: but albeit God permit such things to be done (our sins so deserving) yet the time of recompense is at hand, *Catal. test. ver. li. 13.* Many other Books were written against this Hildebrand: there is named one in the German tongue, written by Waltram Bishop of Niembergh, as is thought; the Author bewails the miseries of the Church, and lewdness of Clerks; then he addes, Hence the Catholique faith is defiled; hence that unrighteousness hath waxed so, that instead of truth, false testimonies; and for common faith, perjuries do abound: since Laws are silent, giving place to wars, that saying of Hoseah is fulfilled, There is no truth, nor knowledge of God, nor mercy in the land; cursing, and lyes, murder, and stealing have overflowed.--- Behold, some Bishops have joyned unto the faction of Hildebrand, accounting more of him, then of all the Catholique Church; so it comes to pass, that while the enemy soweth in the Lord's field the tares of many scandals, that now in Bishopricks are no Sacraments of Christ and his Church (which should be the work of the Bishops of God) but execrations, which are the works of the Servants of Satan; who (as Cyprian writes) seeing Idols forsaken, and his Temples left by the multitude of Believers, hath devised a new craft, under the name of a Christian, he deceives the unwise; and by Heresies and Schisms, he overthrows the faith, &c. In another place he saith, Now it appears Satan is loosed out of the pit, seeing, as it is written, he is come forth to deceive the Nations. *Ia. Vsser. de Eccles. statu. c. 5.* hath the same. The above-named Waltram, in another place lamenteth, That then a new sort of Bishops, swelling in pride because of the gifts of Believers, drew all things unto themselves under cloke of Religion; and they were painted walls, and hypocrites.

12. When Gregory, and Victor, the two heads of that pernicious faction, were gone, the Bishops of Germany and France, considering the calamities of the Church by that unhappy Schism, thought good to meet at Garstung, for debating their strife no more with swords, but with reasonings: so the Bishops of both factions convene in January. There Conrad, Bishop of Utrecht, had a long Oration to this purpose; We are assembled, prudent Fathers, to establish peace, which our Saviour at his departure did leave: the temerity, violence, and pestiferous errors of those, who are not ashamed to dispise that heavenly gift, I wish I could cut in sunder with the two-edged sword, and confute with the testimonies of the two Testaments, according to Christ's command. Who despiseth an Oath, breaks covenant, and keeps not promise, dispiseth him by whom he hath sworn; he offends him, whose

More opposition against that faction.

name the other party hath believed : As I live, saith the Lord, the Oath that he hath dispised, and the Covenant that he hath transgressed, shall I bring upon his pate. Shall he who hath transgressed his Covenant escape? You must consider not so much unto whom, as by whom thou hast sworn; and he is more faithful, who did believe thee, swearing by the name of God, then thou art, who hatchest mischief against thy enemy, or rather now thy friend, and that by reason of divine Majesty. We finde it commanded concerning Tiberius, and Nero, who were not onely most cruel Tyrants, but most vile Monsters, Give to Cæsar, what is Cæsars; and, fear God, and honor the King: and not onely be obedient unto Princes, who bear not the sword in vain, even though they be evil; but supplicate the most high God for them, that under them we may lead a quiet and peaceable life. All power is of God, and he who resists power, resists the providence of God. Therefore those are ambitious, and presumptuous, who dare with whorish faces misinterpret that saying of our Lord and God, What ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven; and what ye binde on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and force it to serve unto their own lust, and indeavor to gull us, as if we were children without all knowledge.---Our heavenly Teacher did open the hearts of his disciples to understand the Scriptures, Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms; and he commanded them to preach in his name unto all the Nations, repentance and forgiveness of sins, and that they should be witneses of those things. Therefore Hildebrand was carried headlong into ambition, when he usurped the power of the eternal God, whose Messenger he should have been; such are the times now, such are the manners, and such are the men. The most high Majesty had provided but slenderly for the affairs of mortals, if he had so intrusted the sword into the hand of any man. Who could restrain the lust of men? who could rule it? truly the wisest is not sufficient for such a burthen. We have not need that any should teach us in what maner Peter, and his Colleagues did use their spiritual power, or (to speak more properly) the dispensation and administration of God's stewardship (for they were but stewards of the divine Oracles.) It is as clear as the light, by the book which the Physitian Luke hath written of the Acts of Christ's Messengers, the weapons of our warfare are spiritual, and not iron, nor robberies, murders; killing of men, nor perjuries; and our helmet, breast-plate, girdle, buckler, and sword, are peace, love, righteousness, hope of salvation, truth, the word of God, and faith. These Divine Gifts our most Christian Emperor did often proffer most willingly unto Hildebrand, but he refused to accept them, &c. The Papal party had chosen Gebhard, Bishop of Salisburgh, to speak in their name; but when he heard this Oration, he would not open his mouth to speak in the contrary. *Avënt. Annal. lib. 5.* It was appointed at that time to assemble again in May at Mentz. The Papal party did preveen the time, and assembled at Quintelburgh (now called Quedlinburgh) in April; there they wrested some words of Wezilo, Bishop of Mentz, and condemned him as an Arch-Hereticque: they called themselves the true Church, and consented unto the election of Clemens III. The Synod at Mentz was very solemn: there was the Emperor, the Electors, and many Dukes; Peter, Bishop of Portua, and Legate of Clemens; and many Bishops of France, and Germany: by common suffrage the faction of Hildebrand was condemned, as contrary unto Christian piety: and a Decree was published to this purpose; All Christians should shun the company of those accursed persons whom we have named, seeing they have made defection from us, and not we from them: they promised to be present at this Synod, but they will not come; they abuse Christian piety, and leaving the

sheep,

sheep, they run unto the enemies of the Republique; they not onely exhort unto fire and sword, but also are ring-leaders, and Captains of the war--- What would they have done if they had lived in the days of Domitian, Decius, &c. *Aventi. lib. cit.* who recordeth many other Synods condemning that faction: As also Sigebert, a Monck of Gemblac, who hath continued the Epitome of Jerom, and hath briefly written the History of the Church from the year 381. untill 1112 there he noteth many errors of the Popes; namely, That they presume to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance unto their Princes. He saith of them, False Prophets, false Apostles, and false Priests have arisen, who deceive the People with a false Religion; and dare advance themselves above all that is worshipped: while they seek to establish their own power, and dominion, they have put away Christian charity and simplicity.

13. When Bishops and Priests became Monarchs, some Monarchs became Pastors; as Olaus King of Norway, and Steuchilus King of Sweden, taught their Subjects the Word of God. Herman Contractus, Count of Vering, infirm in body, was admired in the knowledge of the Greek, Arabick, and Latin tongues; singular in Philosophy, especially Astronomy, Rhetorick, Poesie, and Divinity. Jo. Lampad. in *Melissi.* remembreth also that some Germans were then persecuted for denying Purgatory, the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the worship of Images. Ebert, a Monck, wrote againt them, and contemptuously called them Cathari, or Puritans; the Emperors also, and the Popes, made Constitutions against them. The People *Heneti* were compelled to receive Bishops, and Priests, in the days of Otho I. but after his death they killed the Bishops, they threw down the Churches, and returned to Idolatry. Henry III. restoreth the Christian Religion, and erecteth Bishopricks among them. *10. Pap. in Hist. Convers.* After the death of Steven King of Hungary, were sturrs there for many years; in the year 1045, the Princes of the Kingdom being vexed by the severity of King Peter, sent for Andrew, Bela, and Leventa, which were of the kindred of Steven, and banished into Bohem and Poland. The King understanding this Plot, did cause to be hanged Visca, Bua, and Buchna, three chief men, and punished others cleaving unto them other ways. For this cause, the Nobles convening at Canad, sent for Andrew, and Leventa again, with solemn promises, and oath, to bring the Kingdom into their obedience. So soon as they came, all the People came unto them at Novum Castrum, demanding first to permit the People to live after the ancient way of their Fathers, in Paganism; to kill the Bishops, and Clergy; to forsake Christianity, and worship their Idols; which was granted. The chief of them, Vacha, began in the Castle *Belos*; and his Son gathereth Socoers, and Soothsayers, by whose enchantments he purchaseth the Peoples favor. Then the People threw down the Churches, and killed all the Latin and Dutch Priests cruelly; Likewise Andrew, and Leventa levieth an Army against the Christians. And four Bishops, *Gerard, Bisbrit, Buld, and Beneth*, and *Zehung* Count of Alba, meet together in the Church of God; where Gerard saith, Brethren, fellow Bishops, and other believers here present, we shall to day go with the Crown of Martyrdom unto our Lord Jesus Christ: for this night I saw the Lord Jesus Christ communicating unto us the Sacrament of his body and blood. After Mass they went with the King and his Army, and were killed at Pesh; and the King was taken, and brought to Alba, where he died *ann. 1047*. Then Andrew was crowned; and so soon as he was free from enemies, he enacted a Law, That all Hungarians should renounce Paganism under pain of death: and himself did profess the faith

*Reformation
of some
Countreys.*

in Christ. Nevertheless the Emperor Henry went down the Danube with a great Army, and besiedgeth the Castle *Pesch*: some Hungarians in the night-time boareth all the Emperor's Ships under the water, and drowned them, so that the Army was weakened, *Naucler. Gener. 35*. And in *Gener. 36*. he shews how the Emperor sought peace, and hardly obtained it; for continuing peace, they did agree that Solomon, King Andrew's Son, should marry Sophia, the Emperor's Daughter. But then Bela, the King's Brother, made a new insurrection, and by help of the Polonians invades the Kingdom; and prevails so, that Andrew was killed, and Solomon fled into Germany; and Bela was crowned at Alba: Immediately he calleth a Parliament, for settling and ordering the Kingdom. Many of the common People, especially the Countrey men, say unto the King, Grant unto us to live after the maner of our Fathers, in Paganism, to put away Bishops, and Priests; and to retain our Tithes; and to lay waste the Churches. The King was amased, and craves a delay for three days: On the third day the chief of the multitude come for the answer; At the King's command Soldiers fall upon them, and then invade the multitude; and when some of them were killed, others cry for mercy, and renounce Paganism. By conferring the former part with this, it appears that two things especially did hinder the Reformation of the Heathens at that time; to wit, They had Latin Priests, who did the Service in an unknown language; and they took it ill to be burthened with payment of Tithes: and moreover, Religion was pressed upon them by the sword. In time of the wars twixt the Emperor Henry, and the Saxons, Mistiwoi, a Prince of the Wandals, did so approve himself unto D. Bernard, that he did espouse unto him his Sister: Before the day of marriage, Tiaderik, a Marquess, said unto the Duke, It was a base thing to give such a Lady unto a dog. So soon as this was reported unto Mistiwoi, he said, Are we then dogs? is this the reward of our trouble? if we be dogs; we will let them feel our madness. The Wandals then renounce Christianity, and profess hostility against Christians: at Aldenburgh they made their sport with sixty Priests; they destroy Hamburg, and the Bishop Benno escapes with his life: they expel the Marquess of Brandeburgh out of all his Lands. Duke Bernard levieth an Army against them; and the Emperor sent aid unto him. In this fight Mistiwoi was killed, and the Wandals were brought into payment of their former tribute. But for eighty years they were not sincere in Religion, saith *Al. Crantz. in Saxo. li. 4. c. 34*. In the days of the Emperor Conrad, Mistiwoi Duke of Poland, did renounce the faith; and raising an Army, made great havock in Germany, twixt the Rivers Sala, and Albe; destroyed many Churches, and Monasteries, and killed many thousand men. When he heard that the Emperor was preparing against him, he returns with his spoil. *Loc. cit. c. 36*.

Of the Manichees.

14. About the year 980. Theodor, Bishop of Antioch, besought the Emperor, John Zimisca, to remove the Manichees (who called themselves Cathari, and Pavacimi) into some remote place; because they overspread all, and infected many with their Heresies. The Emperor transports many of them into Philippopolis, in Thracia; where Alexius Comnenus (Emperor in the days of Henry IV.) caused dispute with them; and by information, did prevail with many of them. *Zona*. This heresie spread into Bulgaria, (as afterwards they were called *Bulgari*) Slavonia, Lombardie, and France; nor could it be restrained by Decrees of Popes, nor power of Arms, saith *Sylvius in Europ. c. 16*. The Emperor Henry caused to be hanged a number of them *ann. 1062*. and some of them were burnt in sundry places. Their errors were,
They

They condemned marriage, and eating of flesh; they dispise the Old Testament, and some parts of the New; they held that there were two Creators; one good Creator, of things invisible; and another ill, of visible things: they deny baptism, and the resurrection from death. *Vsser. de Eccl. statu. c. 8. ex Rad. Arden. Homil. 8. post. Trinit.* They were divided into divers Sects, different in some other opinions, and they had their own Bishops.

15. All this time, since the last mention of the Turks, and Saracens, the Turks (as is said) lived under the Saracens, subject unto them and their Religion; and living by pasturage, without any Ruler of their own Nation. In this age they became Princes of Babylon, and Persia, and within a short space they were Lords of all Asia, unto Pontus, and the Euxine Sea, which is called Turcomannia untill this day. When the Saracens were divided among themselves, especially the Sultan of Persia, Hircania, or Sogdiana, and Media, fell at variance with the Calipha of Babylon, he sent for the Turks, by whose hand he prevailed; and when he refused to pay them, they robbed him of his Kingdom; and were advanced more and more in both the Armenios, Cappadocia, Bithymia, &c. In the year 1009. the Turks conquered Jerusalem from the Saracens; not long thereafter the Saracens of Egypt were Masters of it again, and kept it till the coming of Goditrid. About the year 1028. the Calipha of Egypt spoiled the Church of Jerusalem: and after twenty years, the Emperor of Constantinople made a league with Deber Calipha; and by his permission he built the Church again *ann. 1051.* The Turks compel the Calipha of Babylon to create their Prince Tangrolix Zadok, King of Asia. Then they made a league with the Calipha of Egypt, and reigned peaceably forty and six years. At that time Peter, an Eremit (who was wont to say his *Pater Noster* by a roale of Beads, and from whom the Romans have their *Gades. Pol. Vergil. de inven. rer. li. 5. c. 9.*) came into Rome, and reports the miseries of Christians under the Infidels; Whereupon the Popes dealt with the Princes to go unto their aid. And Pope Urban II. perswaded many Princes at Claremont, to recover the Holy Land (as they called it) out of the power of Turks and Saracens. The Princes took the sign of the Cross for their cognisance; and several Nations did vary the colour, or situation, or some circumstance of that badge, to the end the Soldiers might know their own Prince, when they had occasion to go into these wars: and hence are so many sundry sorts of Crosses in Europe. In the first interprise Godisfrid Duke of Bullion, Prince of Lorain, was their General; he sold his Dutchy unto the Bishop of Leodium, that he might amass the more money: with him were his two Brothers, Baldwin, and Eustachius, Bohemund Duke of Apulia, Raymond Earl of Tolouse, Robert Earl of Flanders, Robert Duke of Normandy, and Son to William the Conqueror, Hugh Brother of Philip King of France, &c. Two Armies went before Godisfrid; one under the conduct of Peter the Eremit, and the other was commanded by Gotteschalk a Presbyter; they were both spoiled for their plundering, some in Hungaria, and some in Bulgaria; and some arriving into Bethynia, went abroad without order, and were killed by Solymán *ann. 1096.* The Princes went by Sea from Venice, and when they did meet with the remnants of the former Companies, they were mustered about six hundred thousand of foot, and one hundred thousand horse. They did first assault Nicomedia, and were repulsed by strong fortifications of the City, and for want of victuals: and the Turks and Saracens joyned against the Christians. Alexius, Emperor of the Greeks, sent aid unto the Christians, and then the Turks were forced to yield up Nice *ann. 1097.* After that was an open fight, wherein forty thousand Infidels were slain;

and the Christians with small loss took *Iconium*, the head City of *Lycaonia*; then they gained *Heraclea*, and *Tursus*; appointing the Government of these Cities unto Baldwin; who thereafter subdued *Antiochia*, *Edeffa*, *Cilicia*, and *Comagena*, &c. After all this, *Jerusalem* was taken on the thirty ninth day of the siege; and Robert Duke of Normandy was chosen King of all the Conquest; and Jerusalem was appointed the chief City of the Kingdom: but Robert hearing that his Brother William, King of England, was dead, would not accept it. Then Godifrid was proclaimed first King of Jerusalem *ann.* 1099. This expedition was begun with a good intention, that the Land might be purged from Idolatry, and Christians might be freed from grievous thardom; but it was continued by the craft of Popes, for enlarging their Dominion abroad, and for weakening the Empire, and the hinderers of their usurpation, that themselves might promote their power with the more facility at home; and often that they might gather great sums of money under this plausible pretext; as follows very plainly, and especially after the 1200. year. At the first some did smell the vanity of the Expedition; for Anselm (of whom in the next Chapter) writing unto one William intending thither, said, I admonish, advise, pray, beseech, and command thee, as one whom I love, that thou leave off thy going to Jerusalem, which is not now *The vision of peace*, but of tribulation; and leave these treasures of Constantinople, and Babylon, unto the robbery of bloody hands; and think upon heavenly Jerusalem, and walk in the way unto it, which truly is the vision of peace. *Lib. 2. Epist.* 19. Out of these few words appears what was his judgement, and also what was the intention of many in that voyage.

Legati à latere.

16. By degrees were the *Legati à latere* brought in Authority among the Nations; and they did enlarge the Popes Phylasteries. At first, because Rome was the chief City of the Empire, from thence, as from a seminary, were Preachers sent to sundry Nations, to preach, and plant the Gospel, or to confute Heresies, thereafter to provide vacant Benefices, and to supply the Bishop of Rome his absence in Synods; in all which they did no other thing, but as other Bishops might have done, and also did: But when the Bishops of Rome were made Patriarchs, and became ambitious, these Legates did the same offices at some times; but therewith they began craftily to enjoin unto Arch-Bishops, and Metropolitans, to execute some things, which by the Word of God they were commanded to do; and they would give them power within their own Diocies, as if Bishops were Vicars of the Roman Patriarch, or his Legate. These Primates did gladly embrace this shew of honor, that for reverence of the Roman Church they might be the more respected in their own jurisdiction; and sometimes the more easily advance themselves above their Competitors. Sometimes the Popes sent Legates into other Diocies with such modesty, that they had Authority to attempt nothing without concurrence of the Bishops, or Synod of that Countrey; Albeit these Legations were partly godly, and at the worst were tolerable, yet they were not *potestativa*, or imperious, but *charitativa*, or exhortatory: Nevertheless the Popes brought the Churches, and Bishops, into subjection by such means; for afterwards they were sent onely for ambitious usurpation, covetousness, and worldly affairs. The ordinary Legates at Picen, Romandiola, Bononia, Ferrara, Avenion, and if there be any such others, are Provincial Deputies, *Pratores*, or Vice-Rois; The Nuntio's at the Court of the Emperor, or of any King, or Prince, or State, are Ambassadors, or Spies for secular affairs: The affairs of any Church that are gainful, if they be of less account, are reserved unto the judgement of the Nuntio,

Nuntio; yet not definitively, but to be determined at Rome; and things of more weight are reserved for the Court of Rome wholly; In the mean time the power of Metropolitans, and Bishops is neglected. The ancient Bishops of Rome, did severely enjoin their Legates to acknowledge duly the inferior Bishops within their own jurisdiction; but now they pass by the Metropolitans, and draw all actions unto themselves, and the Court of Rome: Also their ambition and avarice have so provoked some Nations, that they will admit no Legate, as Sicilie, and France hath entrenched their office. These particulars are more fully written by *Spalatenf. de Rep. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 12.*

OF BRITANNY.

1. **A**S I touched in the former Century, England was oppressed by the Danes, so that *Swan*, a Danish King, did bear the Scepter of England; and when he was dying, he left *England* to *Harald*, *Denmark* to *Canut*, and *Norway* to *Swan*, his three Sons. *Harald* lived not long: After him, and the death of the unfortunate English King *Agelred*, great contention was in England for the Crown; some were for *Edmond Ironside*, the Son of *Agelred*, and some for *Canut*; After many bloody fights, both parties agree to try the quarrel twixt them two onely; in sight of both Armies they make the essay, with swords, and sharp strokes; in the end, upon the motion of *Canut*, they agree, and kiss one another, to the joy of both Armies, *ann. 1016.* and they covenant for parting the Land during their lives, and they lived as brethren. Within a few years a Son of *Edrik Duke of Mercia*, killed *Edmond* traitorously; and brought his two Sons unto *Canut*, and said, God save our onely King. Thereafter *Canut* reigned in England twenty years, and all the Counsellors swear unto him; By their advice he sent the two Sons of *Edmond* unto his Brother *Swan*, King of *Denmark*, willing him to put them out of the way; He abhorring such a fact, sent them to *Solomon*, King of *Hungarie*; where *Edwin* was married with the King's Daughter, and left her soon a Widow: and the other Brother, *Edward*, married *Agatha*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Henry III.* It is written that *Canut* established Laws Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil; among which are these: First, All men should holily worship God onely throughout all ages; they should most religiously hold fast the one rule of Christian Religion: they should with due loyalty and obedience honor King *Canut*; We further command, that every one of each Order, shall diligently, and holily keep the Religion of his own Office, and Function, namely the Servants of God, Bishops, Abbots, Monks, Regulars, and Nuns, and square their life according to their prescribed rule; Let them pray oft, and much unto Christ, both night and day, for all Christian People: And all the Ministers of God, especially the Priests, we entreat and command to obey God, and keep dear chastity, that they may escape God's wrath, and hells fire, seeing they know certainly, it is not lawful for them to have fellowship with women for lust; and who shall abstain from them, let him have God's mercy, and on earth the honor due unto a Thane. Let every one pay his Tithes yearly. Each one should prepare thrice a year (at least) to receive the Eucharist, so that he may eat the same to wholefom remedies, and not to damnation. If any woman commit adultery, to the open shame of the world let her nose and ears be cut off, &c. *Spelman in Concil. Canut* died *ann. 1039.* and his Son *Hardiknut* reigned four years, and his Brother two years;

*Danes in
England.*

*The beginning
of King-
hood among
English.*

Z z z

Then

Then the Danes failed, after they had been Kings of England twenty eight years, and vexed it 255. years.

Troubles in
Scotland.

2. After the death of *Grim*, King of Scots, *Malcolm* would not accept the Crown, until the Law which was made in his Father's time, concerning Succession, were confirmed with consent of the Parliament. He was molested by the Danes; and in token of his two victories, two stones were set up in Anguise, in two several places, as yet bearing the name of their Captain *Came*. At that time *Malcolm* divided a great part of the patrimony of the Crown among his chief Captains, so that from that time the Kings Revenues were small; and therefore the Nobility gave unto the King the Wards, and Marriages of their Sons (if yong.) He which was so careful of Succession, had no Sons. *Duncan*, King, the Son of his eldest Daughter, was killed by *Macbeth*, his Cousen-German, and Succesor. In a word, while some strove for the ancient Liberty, and others for the priviledge of Succession, ten Kings were killed by their Successors, until the year 1103.

Alteration
in England.

3. When England was freed from the Danes, they sent to Normandy, inviting *Edward* the Confessor, and Brother to King Edmund, to come. He fearing their inconstancy, did refuse, until they sent pledges to abide in Normandy; and then was Crowned ann. 1045. In his time was that Law made, which concerneth the Kings Oath at Coronation: A King, because he is the Lieutenant of the most High King, was appointed to this end, that he should regard and govern the earthly Kingdom, and People of God; and above all things his holy Church, and defend her from wrongs, and root out Malefactors from her, yea, scatter and destroy them; which unless he do, he cannot be justly called a King. A King should fear God, and above all things love him, and establish his command throughout his Kingdom; He should also keep, nourish, maintain, and govern the holy Church of his Kingdom, with all integrity, and liberty, according to the Constitutions of his Fathers, and Predecessors, and defend it against enemies; so as God may be honored above all, and ever had in minde: He should establish good Laws, and approved Customs, and abolish evil, and remove them all out of his Realm; He should do right Judgement in his Kingdom, and execute Justice by the Counsel of his Nobles. All these things should the King swear in his own Person, before he be Crowned. *Mat. Parisien.* describes the manners of the Countrey, at his coming, thus; The Nobles were given to gluttony, and lechery; they went not to Church in the Christian manner in the morning, but onely had a Priest, which made haste with the Mattens, and Mass, in their Chambers; and they heard a little with their ears. The Clergy were so ignorant, that if any knew the Grammar, he was admired by them. All men were so given to carousing, that both nights and days were spent in that exercise, &c. This King had no Children, and sent for *Edward* the outlaw; he came, and died within a year at London, leaving one Son, *Edgar*, and two Daughters, *Margaret*, and *Christiana*. After *Edward*, *Harold*, Earl of Oxford, was Crowned; then *William*, Duke of Normandy, came into England with an Army, pretending a right by covenant with King Edward, and did so prevail ann. 1067. that *Harold* was slain; and he was called, *William the Conqueror*. Within a few years he made a great alteration in the Kingdom; the most part of his Knights, and Bishops, were Normans; and many English, with *Edgar*, fled into Scotland, where King *Malcolm* had married *Margaret*, *Edgar's* Sister; and they incited *Malcolm* to invade England; and he entered into the North part ann. 1071. At last a peace was concluded, upon condition that a Mark-Stone was set up in *Stannmoor*, as the mark of both Kingdom, with the portraict of both Kings on

on the sides of the Stone. *Ia. Vsser. de Eccles. statu. c. 6.* shews out of sundry Authors, that when the Wars were twixt William and Harold, William sought the Pope's advice, and Harold despised the Pope. So Alexander II. then Pope, sent unto William a Standart, in good luck, or hope of his victory: and when William had obtained the victory, he sent Harold's Standart unto Alexander. Thereafter the Pope writes unto him thus; Thy wisdom knows, that the Kingdom of England, since the Name of Christ was known there, hath been under the power and defence of the Prince of the Apostles, until some, becoming members of that wicked head, and following the pride of their father Satan, have forsaken God's Covenant, and turned away the English People from the way of truth--- for as thou knowest well, while the English were faithful, upon account of their pious devotion, they gave a yearly Pension unto the Apostolical See; of which a part was brought unto the Roman high Priest, and a part unto the Church of S. Mary, which is called, *The School of the English*, for the use of the Brethren, &c. King William confirmeth the gift, and, (as it follows thereafter some pages) until he was established, Hildebrand was so affected toward him, that he was evil reported by the Brethren, grumbling that he had so affected, and helped the committing of so many Homicides; and that William was devoted unto the Apostolical See, above all others of his condition. But when the Pope was not content with the King's Liberality, and sought an Oath of Loyalty, William wrote unto him, saying, Religious Father, Hubert thy Legate admonished me, in your name, that I should give Loyalty unto thee and thy Successors; and that I should be more mindfull of the Money, which my Ancestors were wont to send unto the Roman Church: the one I have accepted, and not the other: Loyalty I would not give, nor will I; because, neither have I promised it, nor do I finde that my Ancestors have done it unto thy Ancestors. While I was three years in France, the Money was gathered carelesly; but since my returning, by the Divine mercy, what is gathered, is sent by thy foresaid Legate---Pray for me, and for the standing of our Kingdom, &c. Hildebrand was not pleased with this Letter; and therefore in an Epistle unto Hubert, he said, Thou knowest very well what account I make of Money, without Honor. And then, speaking of King William, he saith, The Roman Church may lay many things unto his charge; none of all the Kings, even of the Heathenish, have presumed to attempt against the Apostolique See, what he hath not been ashamed to do; to wit, that any hath been so irreverent, and shameless, as to discharge his Bishops, and Arch-Bishops, from the Churches of the Apostles. Therefore we will that thou, in our name, study to admonish him, that as he would take it ill, if his Subjects give him not due honor; so he would not impair the honor of the holy Roman Church; and by giving due thanks, he may procure the favor of blessed Peter. For we being mindefull of our former love toward him, and following the meekness of the Apostle (by God's help) so far as we can, have spared his fault hitherto; but if he will not put an end unto this, and others his faults, that thou knowest, let him surely know, that he will grievously provoke the wrath of blessed Peter, &c. Among his other faults that were offensive unto Hildebrand, William had imprisoned his own Brother Odo, Bishop Baiocen, without regard of his Episcopal Order; as he writes unto the King, saying, One thing toucheth us near, and by touching vexeth us, and among the excellent monuments of thy Royal Vertues, doth violently overcloud the joy of our friendly heart, that in taking a Bishop, thy own Brother, not providing for thy honor (as it became thee) but preferring thy earthly wariness, and reason,

unto God's Law, thou hast not taken notice of Priestly dignity. The honor of a Brother, and Episcopall Dignity, are no way to be matched in comparison; if you will compare it to the glory of a King, or to the Crown of Princes, these are more inferior, then if you would compare Lead unto Gold; *So Hildebrand*. And nevertheless Baronius assureth us, that the King made no account of his Intercession, nor Argument.

*Alteration of
the Church-
discipline in
Scotland.*

4. Before this time were no Dioceses, or Bishopricks, in Scotland: and sure it is, by Act of Parliament at Scone, under Constantine the II. all Churchmen were forbidden to meddle with secular business; therefore at that time a Church-man, could not be a Parliamentary Lord. But King Malcolm Canmore brought in new Titles of honor into the Civil Estate, after the manner of other Nations; and so he changed the Government of the Church, and erected six Bishopricks. At that time (as all our Historians write) many strangers from Hungary, and England (which both were tributary unto Rome, and in great troubles) came into this Land with Queen Margaret, and by her and their information, the King was perswaded unto such changes, both in the Civil Estate, and Church. Here then is a change of the Discipline in the Church of this Land, and we see by what means it came, even from Rome, where things were very corrupt at that time. But let us look back into former times, and compare all together. Bishop Spotswood, in his History, would have the Bishops to have been more ancient; and saith, that Amphibal was the first Bishop of the Scots, who lived in the Isle of Man, where King Cratiline built a stately Church, to the honor (why would he not say, for the service, or worship) of our Savior; and called it *Sodorensis Fanum*: and that was the Cathedral of the Bishops of the Isles, till the Scots were dispossessed of that Isle; and from thence the Isle Jona, or Icolmkil, hath been the seat of the Bishops. Then page 7. he telleth of Ninian, the first Bishop of Galloway, or *Candida Casa*, and of *Palladius*, sent by Ecclesin Bishop of Rome; and that he ordained *Servan* Bishop of Orkney, and *Tervan* Bishop of the Northern Picts. Page 11. he telleth of a Bishop about Aldham, but (saith he) the story doth not express his name: For answer, the Histories shew that such men were in Scotland; but that they were not Prelates, or Bishops, (in that sense, as of late the name was used) is very certain. For first, All who have written the History of Scotland, do testifie, that the Church was governed without Bishops, and by Teachers, who were called *Culdees*; that is, The worshippers of God; or who taught the worship of God: and these were called sometimes Monks, for their strictness of life; and Priests, or Presbyters; and sometimes they were called Bishops; either in the sense of the Scripture, or according to the Custom of other Nations; but by that term, declaring them to be lawful Teachers, or Pastors, *Boeth. li. 6. c. 5.* calleth them by these three names, *Culdees*, *Monks*, and *Priests*: and Laurentius the second, Bishop of Canterbury, calleth them *Frates Episcopos & Abbates*. And Bishop Jewel, in defense of the Apolo. page 122. saith, These three names, Bishop, Priest, and Presbyter, were all one. And it is certain, that at Icolmkil was a Colledge of Students; and there was one, who is sometime called *Abbas*, and sometime *Doctor*, and sometime *Episcopus*; as in that Epistle written by the Clergy of Rome, after the death of Pope Severin, which is directed unto the Bishops, Presbyters, Doctors, or Abbots: These Titles are knit with the particle *sive*. Likewise about the year 600. Columba was the Church-man which was most respected in Scotland; and he was the Doctor of Icolmkil: for as the King Aidan did use his counsel; so when he fought against the Picts, Columba did call his Colleagues together, and exhorted them to turn their supplications into thanksgiving, because the King had

had got the victory, albeit the place of the battel was distant from Jona (where Columba lived, and was at that time) 200. miles at least, saith Bishop *Spotwood*: And the same Bishop calleth Convallan Governor of that Monastery after Columba. And *Buchanan* *l.* 6. in the life of King Kenneth III saith. The ancient Bishops of the Scots, were chosen out of the Monasteries; and these Monasteries were not for Monks, in that sense as they speak afterwards; for in *l.* 7. Buchanan, speaking of King Malcolm, and the Colledge at Scone, saith, Malcolm turned the Colledge of Priests, that was there, into a Monastery of Monks. Secondly, That the Church of Scotland was not subordinate to Rome; and that they loved not the Discipline, nor Rites of Rome, is most certain, by that Contestation which was in Century VII. Thirdly, That testimony of the Synod at Celicyth, in England, about the year 816. is without all contradiction, that at that time were no Prelates in Scotland; seeing they testifie, that the Scots gave no honor to Metropolitans, nor other Bishops; and therefore they forbid the Scots to have any Function in England. But in the contrary, Bishop *Spotwood* telleth of Wiro, and Plechelm, which were consecrate at Rome Bishop of the Scots, in the year 632. as it is written (saith he) in *Baron. Annal. ad ann. 632.* and he addeth, *But, by the Cardinals leave, our Church had no such Custom before that time; nor will it be shewed, that before these two, any did go to Rome, either to be consecrate, or confirmed.* And then he addeth, *We find him [Wiro] shortly thereafter turn Confessor to King Pipin.* But if he was Confessor to King Pipin, he was not Bishop of the Scots: nor was Pipin King of France till the year 750. and so Wiro must have been above 160. years old, ere he was Confessor. I have looked on that place of Baronius, and he shews his Author to be Surius, *ad Maj diem 8.* and all, both Papists, and others, hold Surius to be a most fabulous writer: as in that particular he writes fabulously; for he saith, Wiro was Confessor unto Duke Pipin, and that Pipin was wont to come unto him with bare feet, when he made his Confession. This (I say) is fabulous; seeing it is marked as an unmeasurable shew of humility, that Justinian II. Emperor, made such obedience unto Pope Constantine, in falling down at his feet, and did not cast off his shoes. Nor can it be shewed, that any Writer of that Century, hath the word *Confessor* in that sense; or that such an Office was at that time: In the days of the Emperor Theodosius, some such thing had been in use upon a particular occasion; but upon a vile scandal it was forbidden. *Socrat. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.* And then *Baronius ad ann. 697.* calleth Wiro *Episcopum Deirorum*, when he speaks of the Synod at Utrecht. Now it is clear in the life of Pope Gregory I. (prefixed before his works) that a part of England was at that time called *Deira*: therefore Wiro was not a Bishop of Scotland; and therein Baronius Plechelm, is called *de Candida Massa*, or *Casa*. But Bishop *Spotwood*, page 4. saith, No Bishop in Scotland had any Diocye before King Malcolm III. and so that phrase, *de candida casa*, sheweth that Plechelm was born at that place. and not that he was Bishop there. Likewise Bishop *Spotwood*, page 20. speaks of two Bishops, Sedulus, and Pergustus, who having assisted in a Synod at Rome, called by Gregory II. in the year 721. after their return, made great disturbance in the Church for erecting of Images. It is true, in the subscriptions of that Synod, such names are there; and the one, Sedulus, is called *Episcopus Scotorum*, and the other is called *Episcopus Pictorum*. And so every Presbyter, who went out of Scotland, was called a Scotch Bishop: but that he was a Prelate of Scotland, it is contrary to that testimony of the Synod at Celicyth, in Century IX. which was near a 100. years after Gregory II. And then see what he did; he pressed the worship of Images; and the Culdees denied it to be lawful, saith *Io. Bale Cent. XIV.*

and therefore many of them were deposed; such was the fruit of their gading to Rome. And Bishop Sportwood, page 26. saith expressly, that Kellach was the first Bishop of this Kingdom who went to Rome to seek confirmation, and that was about the year 904. This instance condemneth what he hath said before, of all those others whom he calleth Scotch Bishops: Neither was this the Custom of Scotland onely, to Govern the Church by common consent of Culdees, or Presbyters, which in Scripture are called Bishops; see § 11. but in the primitive times it was the Custom every where. For first, They had an Ecclesiastical assembly, which *Origenes contra Celsum* li. 3. calleth, a Church Senate: for when he compareth the Christian Churches at Corinth, Athens, and Alexandria, with the multitude of other People there: he addeth also, If you compare the Church Senate, unto the Senates of those Cities, you shall finde some Senators of the Church worthy to govern any place, any Commonwealth established by God; but these Senators, who now every where do govern, have nothing excellent in their maners beyond the common multitude; and in like maner if the Church-Magistrates be compared with the Political Magistrates, &c. And after eight pages, he saith, Christians do so much as they can, first examine the minde of them which desire to be their hearers, ere they receive them into their number; they try them first privately, and when they appear to have made such progress, that they are desirous to live honestly, then they bring them in by distinct degrees--- and some are appointed to watch over their lives and maners, that if any of them do things unlawful, they debar them from the Society; and others they embrace heartily, if they by dayly progress become better: and how severe is our discipline against them which are faulty, especially who are defiled with uncleanness? our Church casteth them out of our Commonwealth--- and again, when they repent, we receive them no other way, then as if they were raised from death; but after a longer trial, then when they were at first received to learn the Religion; but upon this condition, that because they have fallen, they shall thereafter be incapable of all Dignities, and Church-Magistracy. *So far Origen.* Hence we see, the primitive Churches had their Judicatories, and their Rulers; and how they did censure the scandalous persons. Secondly, Who were these Rulers? *Ambrose teacheth on 1 Tim. 5.* saying, Among all Nations, old age is honorable; whence the Synagogue, and then the Church had their Elders, without whose Counsel nothing was done in the Church: which form, by what negligence it hath failed, I know not, unless by the laziness, or rather the pride of Teachers, while they onely will seem to be something. Therefore the Rulers of the Church were not onely Teachers, but with them were Elders, which were not Teachers; and these were out of use in Italy before the days of Ambrose, about the year 400. But see whether they were in the days of Cyprian, who lived about the year 250. In *lib. 3. epist. 10.* he directeth it unto the Presbyters and Deacons; in the beginning he lamenteth, that many of the Presbyters were dispersed in time of the persecution: and near the end he saith, I am sorry when I hear that some walk disorderly, and wickedly, and jarring with discord; even the members of Christ, which have openly confessed Christ, to be defiled with unlawful lust; nor can be governed by the Deacons, and Presbyters [or Elders] that by the bad maners of some few, the honest credit of many, and good confessions, is stained: they should fear, lest being condemned by their own testimony and judgement, they be deprived of the Society of the godly; for he is a true and famous confessor, of whom the Church afterwards hath not cause to be ashamed, but to rejoyce: As for that particular which our Com-Presbyters *Donate, Novate* and *Curdius* have written unto me, I be-
ing

ing alone can write nothing, seeing from the begining of my Episcopacy [I have resolved to do nothing by my private judgment for sentence] without your counsel, and without consent of the people: but when by the grace of God I shall come unto you, then as common honor requires we shall together treat of these things which are done, or are to be done. Hence it is clear that though Cyprian was a renowned Bishop, yet he never did any thing in point of government by himself, or without counsel of Elders and Deacons, and without consent of the Church; no, not to give advice in that that they did require of him; and these Elders and Deacons did rule and censure when he was absent; and he was sory that the people did not obey their Sentence. Whatsoever exception may be taken against the word *Presbyter*, certainly Deacons had place in giving Counsel, and the Bishop had not the sole power of Censure. This is put out of doubt in the life of Augustine; when c. 4. Possidius (Arch-bishop at the same time) shews that he was chosen one of the Presbyters for ruling the Church of Hippon; and then c. 5. the Bishop Valerius having experience of Augustin's gifts, gave him power to preach; and (saith *Possedo*) this was contrary to the use and custom of the Affrican Churches: and therefore other Bishops did revile him, that he had given an Elder leave to preach; but the good man was content that the people were instructed, seeing he could not deliver his mind so freely as Augustine could, because he was a Greek; and he knew that the Eastern Churches had that custom at that time. Behold a Church with one Bishop & no Elders, and the Bishop was the only Preacher; and Augustine was the first Preaching Elder in the Affrican Churches. 3. That the Bishops had not the whole power, it is clear as the light, if we will believe the writings of the Ancients, as is easie to be shewed by many testimonies. I will name but a few: *Basilus* (surnamed the Great, about the year 380) in *Moral summ.* 71. c. 1. expounds the texts 1. *Tim.* 3. and *Tit.* 1. Conjunctly of Bishops and Presbyters as having the same office. *Sedulius* (when *Hen. Oraus* in *Nomenclator* calleth *Presbyter Scotus* about the year 440) on *Tit.* 1. saith, Before that factions by instinct of the Devil were in Religion, and it was said among the people, *I am Paul's*, and *I am Apollo's*; the Churches were governed by the common counsel of the Presbyters: then he brings testimonies of Scripture, proving (as he concludes) that among the Ancients was no difference twixt Bishops and Presbyters. To the same purpose writes *Ierom.* on *Tit.* 1. At greater length, and concludes thus; let Presbyters know that by custom of the Church they are subject unto him who is their Prelate: and let Bishops know, that by custom rather then by the Lords appointment, they are greater then Presbyters & that the Church should be governed in community, & in *Epist. ad Evan.* 1. he saith; Whereas one was chosen to preside among others, it was done in remedie of scisme, lest each one drawing the Church unto himself, it were rent asunder: for in Alexandria from Mark the Evangelist unto Heraclas & Dionisius Bishops (these were in the dates of *Ierome*) the Presbyters do alwaies chuse one of themselves, & call him Bishop when he is set in a higher degree--- for except ordination; what doth a Bishop what a Presbyter may not do? Both France and Britannie and Africa, and India, & all the Nations do worship one Christ; and observe one Rule of Truth: If you ask for Authority, the World is bigger then a City &c. And because they had another custom at Rome, *Ierom* saith there, why speak ye of one City? why stand ye for a few, from whom Arrogance hath risen upon the laws of the Church? *Gratian* hath these words of the Epistle, in *Dec. Diff.* 43. and there the *Glosse* saith, in the Primitive Church both the office and name of Bishops and Presbyters were common: but in the second Primitive Church both names &

offices began to be distinguished--- therefore these names of Bishop, and Presbyter, were altogether of the same signification, and the administration was common; because the Churches were ruled by the Common Counsel of the Priests. This is confirmed by *Ambrose* Bishop of Millan 1 *Tim.* 3. saying, After the Bishop, he speaks of the Deacon: why? because the office of the Bishop, and of the Presbyter, is one; for they both are Priests; but the Bishop is first; so that every Bishop is a Priest, and every Priest is not a Bishop; for he is a Bishop who is first of the Priests. And on *Eph.* 4. he saith, What the Apostle writeth, doth not altogether agree with the present Order of the Church; for these things were written at the ground-laying: for he had created Timothy a Presbyter, and he calleth him a Bishop; for the first Presbyters were called Bishops, that when the first departed, the second might succeed: and as yet in Egypt, the Presbyters do ordain, if a Bishop be not present: But because thereafter the Presbyters began to be unworthy to have the first place, that order was changed; a Council providing, that not by succession, but by merit the Bishop should be created; and he should be appointed by the judgement of many, lest an unworthy man attain the place, and be a scandal unto many. And to the same purpose *Chrysostom* (though a Patriarch) writeth on 1 *Tim.* 3. Why doth the Apostle omit the Presbyter? because there is no difference almost twixt a Bishop and a Presbyter, seeing the care of the Church is committed unto the Presbyters also: and what he speaks of the Bishops, doth agree unto the Presbyters also; and they are above them in Ordination onely; and they seem to have onely this more then the Presbyters. Here it is to be marked, that what *Jerom*, and *Chrysostom* speak of that one prerogative, Ordination, is to be understood, not that the Bishop onely had power to chuse and enter a Presbyter, (for it was otherwise, as follows presently) but that the Presbyter, being chosen, and approved, the Bishop onely laid hands on him, and thereby Ordained him: even as at this present in Low Germany, the Classis, or Presbytery, appointeth one of their number to lay on hands in the name of them all; and yet at that time, both Bishop, and all the Presbyters, did lay on their hands in the Churches of Affrica; as it is commanded expressly in that great Council of Carthage. *Ge. Cassander in Consulat. art. 14.* saith, All men do consent, that in time of the Apostles was no difference between Bishops, and Presbyters; but thereafter for keeping of Order, and eschewing Schism, a Bishop was preferred unto Presbyters; and unto him alone the power of Imposition of hands was reserved. It is also certain, that onely Deacons, and Presbyters, are the holy Orders; because, as we do read, the primitive Church had not others, as Pope *Urban* testifieth, &c. Thus we see the parity of Bishops and preaching Presbyters in the primitive Church, by testimonies; now behold the practise of those ancient times: In a Provincial Council of Numidia, and Mauritania at Carthage, in the time of Cyprian, were about eighty Subscribers, and they are called Bishops; and the ninth Subscriber calls them *Catum Consacerdotum*. But certainly at that time, there could not be so many Diocies in these two Provinces; unless by the word *Dioccy*, a Parish (as we speak) be understood. And in another Council, in the same Town, in the days of Augustin, were 214. Bishops, besides some Correspondents from other Nations. The number of Christians, and Parishes, might be increased at that time; but there could not be so many Diocies (as we were wont to speak) in these two Provinces; wherefore these Bishops must be so many Pastors of several Congregations, as it also appears there: for in the Title of *Ca. 4.* it is said, *De Cellula Sacerdotis*; and in the *Ca.* it is said, *Episcopus non longe ab Ecclesia Hospitiolum habeat*. There a Priest, and a Bishop, is but one; as *Cellula*, and *Hospitiolum*: and the like change of these names, is in the next

Title,

Title, and Chapter. We see the like in *Cyprian, lib. 3. Ep. 13. ad Stephan.* saying, The copious body of Priests, is conjoynd with the glue and bond of mutual unity, that if any of our Society would attempt to spread an Heresie, and divide or waste the flock of Christ, others may contribute their aid, and as profitable and merciful Shepherds, may gather the Lord's sheep into the flock. Here a Council is a copious body of Priests, and howbeit one cannot command another, yet each one is subject unto the Society; as Cyprian speaketh in the beginning of that Council. And in the same Epistle he speaketh of Novatian, that he was condemned by the Council of many Priests. And *li. 1. Ep. 4. ad Feli. Presbyt.* and others, he useth the words *Præpositus, Sacerdos*, and *Episcopus*, as signifying the same Office; saying, The People, obeying the Lord's commands, and fearing God, should separate themselves from a wicked Overseer [*Præposito*] nor meddle with the Sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priests, seeing they [*ipsa, plebs*] especially have the power of choosing worthy Priests, or refusing the unworthy; which we see to flow from divine Authority, that a Priest should be chosen in the presence of the People, before them all, that he who is worthy, and fit, may be approved by publique judgement, and testimony---- God doth instruct, and shew, that Ordination of Priests should not be, but with the knowledge of the People assisting; that the People being present, the faults of the wicked may be discovered, and the worthiness of the good may be proclaimed; and so there may be a just and lawful Ordination, when it is scanned by the judgement and suffrage of them all: as was observed in the Acts of the Apostles, by Divine direction, when Peter spoke unto the People concerning a Bishop to be chosen in the place of Judas--- and we observe to have been done, not onely in choosing Bishops, and Priests, but of Deacons also----- therefore it is to be observed diligently, according to Divine tradition, and the practise of the Apostles; which is also done among us, and almost through all Provinces, that all the neighbor Bishops of the Province do convene, and a Bishop be chosen, the People being present; for they do best know the life of each one: as also we have seen it lately done in the Ordination of our Colleague *Sabinus*, that by the suffrages of all the Fraternity, and the Bishops meeting together, and by their judgements which sent Letters unto us, the Episcopacy was conferred on him, and hand was laid on him in place of Basilides. *So far he.* Hence it is clear, that first these above-named titles, are given unto a Pastor of a Congregation. Secondly, Such Pastors meeting together for ordering Church-affairs, are indifferently called a Council, Society, Fraternity, Synod, copious body of Priests, &c. Thirdly, Ordination was done in presence of the People, and specially by their suffrage. Fourthly, A hand was laid on the elected, *manus imponeretur*; and this was all the Rites that were used at the Ordination of a Bishop, as is clear also elsewhere. But in Scotland, after the division into Diocies (as they spoke) was much business for Ordination, or (as they called it) Consecration, or running to York, or Canterbury; and after the year 1200. they must all go to Rome for Consecration, or else it was not reputed valid; which maner practised at Rome, or places subject thereunto, yet was no where else. And as it was unworthily (and, I may say, superstitiously) done, so it is unworthy to be reported; albeit that kinde of men have taken pleasure in practising, and writing such fooleries, as if none were lawfully called, without these lately devised toys. Now to knit all this purpose together, I add from Bishop *Spotswood, Hist. pag. 51.* that before the Abbey of St. Andrews was founded, the Culdees were the onely Electors of the Bishop; and thereafter they were excluded by a Bull of Pope Innocent II. and the election was committed to the Prior, and the Canons; whence

arose a great strife among them, which by the Authority of good King David, was agreed in those times, that so many of the Culdees as would be Chanons, and enter into the Monastery, should have voice with them. But (saith he) to elude this appointment, a Mandate was obtained from the Pope, to admit none into the Convent, without the advice of the Prior, and most part of the Chanons: and thus the Culdees were held out, and deprived of all voice in the election. In the year 1298. William Cumine, Provost of the Culdees, supposing to get some advantage in those troublous times (*this was after the death of King Alexander III.*) did oppose the election of William Lamberton, and the matter by appeal was drawn to the Court of Rome; both parties went thither; Lamberton did prevail, and was consecrate by Pope Boniface VIII. This turned to the disgrace of the Culdees, so that after that time, we have no more of them, saith he. And thus by Authority of Antichrist, the ancient Government of this Church was extinguished, and Episcopacy set up: Is not therefore Episcopacy a branch of Antichristian Hierarchy? As for England, since the Saxons, or Englishes receiving the faith by Augustine, they had always Bishops; for they had their pattern from Rome, as it was then: But if we look up to the ancient Britans in that Land, we shall finde it otherways. I have said in Century VII. Chapter IV. that seven Bishops, and one Arch-Bishop, came from the Britans unto Augustin; and there I followed the words of Bishop Jewel, in the defence of the Apology, page 14. *Edit. ann. 1570.* where he quoteth Beda, *Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.* and in the same page he repeateth these words, and citeth *Galfrid. lib. 8. cap. 8.* What I wrote then upon trust, I have afterwards examined; and I finde that Beda speaks not so: for in the Edition, in *fol. at Cambridge ann. 1643.* he saith, *Loc. Cit.* Augustin called the Bishops, or Doctors, of the nearest Province of the Britans; and in the same page, he, speaking of the same persons, saith, A blinde English boy was brought unto the Priests of the Britans; and again, They said they could not depart from the ancient Customs, without the consent and license *Senorum*. In the margent it is said, in the Saxon Language it is, without the permission and license of their Nation. Then speaking of the second conference, he saith, Then came seven Bishops, (as they said) and more very learned men, especially of that famous Monastery, of which the Governor at that time was Dinooth. In a word, Beda hath not one word of an Arch-Bishop; nor in all his History, nameth he a Bishops See, nor any Bishops name: and whom he calleth Bishops of Britan, he calleth them Doctors, or Teachers, and Priests, yea he calleth them oftner Priests; nor calleth he them simply Bishops, as he calleth them simply Priests; but Bishops, as they say, or Bishops, or Teachers. Certainly Beda could distinguish between a Bishop, and a Priest; for *lib. 3. cap. 3.* speaking of Aidan, and other Scots, who came at the entreating of Oswald, King of Northumberland, he saith, They were especially Monks that came; and Aidan himself was a Monk, for he was sent from the Isle of Hij; the Monastery of which [Isle] was the chief of all the Monasteries of the Northern Scots, and of all the Pichts---- and the Doctor of that Isle was not a Bishop, but a Presbyter, and a Monk. Then *cap. 4.* he saith, Laurence [Arch-Bishop of Canterbury] with the other Bishops, sent unto the Priests of the Britans, to confirm them in the Catholique unity; but how they did prevail, the present times do declare, saith he. He meaneth, the Priests would not yield unto the Bishops, or the Britans continued in their old Custom; What can be concluded out of all those words, but that no Bishop, or Prelate, was among the Britans, other then Priests? As for Galfrid, it is no marvel that he wrote according to the style of his own time; that is, the year 1150. But if we will ascend higher then Beda, none can be had

but

The first
Bishops in
England.

but Gildas, a Britan Presbyter; he lived after the coming of the Saxons, and before the coming of Augustin: and he saith, If his Countrey-men have written any thing at all, it cannot be found; but was either burnt by the enemies, or carried away with the Captives. He shews, that in the days of Iiberius Cæsar, the Son of righteousness sent into that Land his beams, that is, his Word: and the Prince did forbid the preaching of it; but the Council would not consent unto him; and so the Gospel was spread there without impediment, until the persecution of Dioclesian: and after that, the Christians gathered again out of their Caves, and lurking-holes, and kept the truth in simplicity, until the pest of Arianism (which infected all the world) came over the Sea into this Island; *semper aliquid novi audire gaudenti, & nihil certi firmiter retinenti.* Beda lib. 1. cap. 8. repeateth the same words. Then Gildas rebuketh the vices of the several degrees of men; first of the Princes, and Civil Estate, in his Book *De excidio Britannico*; and then of the Churchmen, in the Book *Castigatio in Ecclesiasticum Ordinem*: he distinguisheth Church-men into Bishops, or Priests, (as he speaketh) and the Clerks: of the first sort, he expoundeth the first part of the third Chapter of 1 *Tim.* and he expoundeth the second part of the Clerks; and from that Chapter he convinceth them both. He nameth no other degree of Church-men; but certainly he had named them, if any other had been among them, because he speaketh so distinctly of the several ranks of men, both in State and Church. He calleth the first sort oftest *Sacerdotes* simply; but never *Episcopos*, unless he add *five Sacerdotes*. The book is in *Bibliotheca Patrum de la Bigne*. We may conclude then, the ancient Britans had no Church-men above the degree of Priest-hood. Now if that were added, which followeth in this Chapter, concerning Ireland, we have found four National Churches that have been governed without Prelates, to wit, the Affrican, ancient Britan, the Scots, and Irish, some for the space of 500. years; yea, until the Britans were subdued by the English: and some for the space of 1000. or 1100. years. And we have found, that there was a Church-Council, consisting partly of Rulers, who were not Teachers; besides that, Ambrose, and others testifie, that such were every where. Yea, and in Rome it is most probable, that the first Teachers were of equal Authority; I say, probable; because Histories are not clear in this point. Epiphanius *Hæres.* 27. saith, Peter, and Paul, were the first Bishops there; but whether Linus, and Cletus, were Bishops there while the Apostles were alive, I cannot well say: It may be (saith he) because the Apostles went into other Nations to preach, and Rome could not be without a Bishop; for Paul went into Spain, and Peter did oft visit Pontus, and Bithynia: and possibly when Clemens had refused (I cannot say it certainly) and Linus, and Cletus were dead, he was compelled to take the Bishoprick. So conjunctuarly writeth Epiphanius. Jerome in *Catalog. Scriptor.* saith, Clemens was the fourth Bishop; and he nameth Peter, [but not Paul] Linus, and Cletus; but (saith he) many Latins say, Clemens was next unto Peter. Theodoret on 1 *Tim.* 4. saith, They say Linus did succeed unto great Peter. *Io. Naucler in vol. 2. Generat.* 3. saith, In the year of our Lord 70. Linus succeeded unto blessed Peter, although blessed Peter had ordained that Clemens should succeed; but Clemens considering that it was an ill example, that one should succeed his Successor, he renounced the Papacy, and Linus was chosen, then Cletus, and fourthly Clemens. Rufinus in *præf.* before *Clemen. Recognit.* saith, Some do ask, seeing Linus, and Cletus, were Bishops of Rome before Clemens, how could Clemens, writing unto James, say, that Peter had given unto him the Chair of Teaching? we have this reason of it, Linus, and Cletus, were Bishops of Rome before Clemens; but while Peter was

of the first
Bishops of
Rome.

alive, they had the charge of the Bishoprick, and Peter fulfilled the Office of Apostleship. Dion. Petavius, a Jesuit, in *Rationa. par. 1. lib. 5. cap. 5.* saith, When Peter was killed by Nero, Linus governed the Church of Rome, as ancient writers affirm--- and they assign unto him eleven years, two moneths, and some days; so that he died in the year 78. Unto him succeeded Cletus, whom Irenæus calleth Anacletus; and he sat twelve years, and seven moneths; and suffered martyrdom *ann. 91.* and Clemens was his Successor. The Jesuit *Io. Hart in Collog. cum Io. Reynold, c. 6. se. 4.* affirmeth, That Peter, before his death, ordained onely Clemens to be his Successor. Others have other opinions; as it is in *Collog. ca. cit. se. 3.* therefore I said, Histories are uncertain in this point, albeit a great part of the Romish faith is grounded upon it; but it is most probable, that Clemens, Linus, Cletus, and Anacletus, were Sympresbyters: and the writers in following Ages, speaking conformable to their own practice, do name, some one, and some another; But it is more certain, that others were the first preachers of equal Authority at Rome, then that any of these four were the first preachers there. That Peter, or Paul were Bishops of Rome, it is not probable, because they were Apostles, and did the work of their Apostleship; and the Scripture sheweth their diligence from time to time: and it is certain, that in the mean while other preachers were at Rome, whom Paul saluteth, *Rom. 16.* Aquila, Epenætus, Andronicus, Junias, &c. these he calleth of note among the Apostles, and his fellow-laborers in the Lord. *Sedulius* saith, Whom he calleth fellow-laborers, he meaneth, in the work of teaching; and it is not without reason thought, that the Romans believed by their teaching. Ambrose (or whoever was the Author of the Commentaries) saith, Those were not idle at Rome; for they were zealous in devotion: And it is understood, that all those whom Paul saluteth, came for confirmation of the Romans: for which cause he saith, that not onely He, but all the Churches of the Gentiles give them thanks; and he admonisheth the Romans to obey them. In *2 Tim. 4.* Paul mentioneth Linus to have been at Rome at that time; and in the same verse he nameth others before him, to wit, Eubulus, and Pudens, which he would not have done, if Linus had been their Prelate. Wherefore there was a Church at Rome before Peter, or Paul, came thither; as Paul writeth unto them as a constituted Church, and testifieth, that their faith was spoken of throughout the world, *c. 1. 8.* and their obedience was come abroad unto all men. It is certain also, that they had many Preachers, and other Officers, to whom he directeth chap. 12, 6, 7, 8. nor can any man prove, that those Preachers had superiority one over another: therefore it deserveth consideration, Whether the Roman Church was not once constituted with purity of Teachers? and, Whether the Church of Antioch was not of the like constitution? See and consider *Acts 13. 1.* and many Elders, or Bishops, were at Ephesus, *Acts. 20. 17, 28.* and so at Thessalonica, *1 Theff. 5. 12.* The word, ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, in *Revel. 2.* will not prove any imparity, seeing it is attributed unto all Priests generally, *Mat. 2. 7.* and the the particle ὁ, ὁ, τῷ, is too weak a foundation for such a building; seeing it implieth not always a singularity, but often an indefinite thing; and answereth unto our particle a, or, an, oftner then unto the particle the; and so it may well be translated there, To an Angel, seeing many Bishops were at Ephesus. And this putteth the question out of all doubt to me, that as the Scripture is the first and main foundation, commanding to Ordain Elders, or Bishops (these are one in Scripture-language) in every Church, *Acts 14. 23.* or in every Town, *Tit. 1. 5.* Or κατὰ πόλιν, saith Clemens Bishop of Rome, in his Epistle *ad Corinth.* So for Practice, and History, it cannot be shewed, that when the constant Moderators were appointed, under the name of a

Bishop,

Bishop, that any Bishop (so called) had any Jurisdiction without, or larger then one Town, within the space of the first 300. years. Rhegium, a little Town, had a Bishop of as great power, within his Town, as the Bishop of Rome had within his Town; as witnesseth Jerom *ad Evangr.* and neither of them had power in the others Town. And therefore if men will leave the direction of Scripture, and follow the first declination of Antiquity, every Town should have its own Bishop. We have read of more Bishops in one Town; but for the first 300. years, two Towns were not under one Bishop. Or who will shew it, *Erit mihi magnus Apollo?* Object not a Canon of Nice; I crave a testimony within the first 300. years: and if the word ἀρχαία, in that Canon, be taken in the Apostles sense *Acts* 15. 7. for a good while ago; certainly it carrieth not a long space of time. In sum, every Town should have their own Church-Council, whether the *Præses* be *per vices* monthly, or quarterly, or yearly, or *ad vitam*, or *ad culpam*; and so, that the Church-Council may act without the *Præses*, being necessarily, or wilfully absent; but not he without his Colleagues: as Cyprian testifieth of himself, in *Epist.* 10. *ad Presbyt. & Diacon. edit. Basil. ann. 1521.* Let this be understood without the prejudice of larger Synods, which Antiquity did ever acknowledge. Now, because I would joyn all this purpose together; for the more clearing of it, I add three particulars; First, Of the ground and platform of the first Bishops. Secondly, Of the Election, and Consecration of them. Thirdly, Of the rise and growth of their Jurisdiction. Concerning the first, Lombard *li. 4. Di. 24. §. 9.* teacheth thus, The Canons judge excellently, that onely two Orders are holy, Deacons, and Priests: for the primitive Church had onely these, so far as we read; and we have the commandment of the Apostle concerning them onely: for the Apostles ordained Bishops, and Elders, in every City: we read also, that the Apostles ordained Levites, of whom the chief was Steven; but afterward the Church ordained Sub-Deacons, and *acolythi*. And in *se. 11.* he saith, The Order of Bishops is four-fold, to wit, Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops, Metropolitans, and Bishops--- This distinction seemeth to have been brought from the Heathens, who called their Priests, some Flamines simply, others Archy-Flamines, and others Proto-Flamines: for the Heathens called their Priests Flamines, &c. Lombard was a Bishop, and knew Antiquity; if he could have said more for the credit of his Order, he would not have been deficient. For the second, Pope Vergil. *de inven. rer. li. 4. cap. 6.* saith, Of old, in Consecration of a Bishop, was no other Ceremony but the people, which for that end (as Cyprian witnesseth, not in one place onely, especially in *Epist. 4. ad Felic. Presby.*) were always present at the Election of Bishops, did pray, and the Presbyters laid on their hands; this was the Consecration used at first by the Apostles, and Fathers -- Left any be mistaken, the priestly Order can no way be said, to proceed from the Bishop of Rome, unless it be understood among the Italians onely, &c. In *c. 10.* he saith, The power of choosing Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, from the beginning, did belong unto the Apostles, and then unto the Priests of the Cities; yet not without the suffrage of the people, and the judgement of neighboring Bishops. Cyprian witnesseth, not in one place onely, especially in *Epist. 4. ad Felic.* that this Custom continued a long time; and there he discourseth of this clearly: but seeing that Law is long since out of date, it is to no purpose to repeat his words. When a Bishop was chosen so, the other Bishops did initiate him; and this was done by a Decree of the Synod at Nice; where it was ordained, that a Bishop should be entered, if possible, by all the Bishops of the Province; but if that could hardly be, at least by three, and not without the Authority of the Metropolitan: But now both those

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belong unto the Roman High Priest; for he createth a Bishop, and initiateth him; or according to the Nicen Order, he commandeth him to be initiated, that is, consecrated. But afterwards the creation of Bishops was turned into another form by Boniface the Third, He ordained that they should be chosen by the people, and Society of Priests, the Prince of the place not gain-saying, and the Roman High Priest consenting, with these words, *Volumus & jubemus*. But this Decree, as too good, went soon out of use, all things falling into worse: then they began to advise with the Emperor; but Lewes, Son of Charles the Great, renounced unto the High Priest Paschalis the right, which Hadrian had given unto the Father Charles: but now many Princes gripe fast to this; yea, not onely declare, and call Bishops, as they please, without the suffrage of Priests, and people; but, by their onely Seals, give inferior Benefices; which Simplicius, and Gregory, did altogether forbid. So far he. In these days some plead much for Antiquity in Government of the Church; and yet their pretences go not higher then the corrupt times: It may be truly thought, if some questions (much stood upon now) had been asked of Cyprian, he had answered, I know not; as, What difference between the Ordination of a Minister, and the Consecration of a Bishop? what is a Presentation? what is a Patent? what difference between Ordination, Institution, and Collation? what is a Chappel, where Ministers are Ordained, and not one of his flock present? and many such others. As to the rise and growth of Episcopall Jurisdiction, *Pe. Soave in Hist. Concil. Trident. li. 4.* sheweth it fully, saying, This place requirerth (saith he) to shew the original of this Jurisdiction, that it may appear by what degrees it hath come unto this power, which is envied by Princes, and feared by all Nations: When Christ did commit unto the Apostles the preaching of the Gospel, and administration of the Sacraments, he gave unto them, in the person of all Believers, a great commandment, that *they should love one another, and forgive wrongs mutually*; commanding each one, to mediate twixt dissenting brethren, and to compose jars: and as the last and highest remedy, commanding that charge unto the body of the Church, with this promise, that it should be bound, or loosed in heaven, what they should binde, or loose on earth; and the Father will give, what they with mutual consent do crave: to wit, this pious duty of Charity, in procuring satisfaction unto the injured party, and pardon unto the offender, was the continual work and exercise of the primitive Church. And according to this commandment, Saint Paul exhorteth, that when Civil questions arise twixt brethren, they should not go to the Benches of Infidels, but suffer their controversies to be judged by wise men, chosen among themselves. This had a form of Civil Judicatory, as the other was like a Criminal Court; both which were different from worldly Courts, in that the one had execution by the Authority of a Judge, forcing men unto obedience; and the other by the onely willingness of submitting parties: which if they refuse to obey, the Ecclesiastical Judge could do no more, but commit the cause unto the judgement of God; which, as it pleaseth God, shall be executed in this life, or that to come. And upon good ground was the name of Charity given unto the Ecclesiastical Judicatory, because by it only was the defender moved to submit unto the Church, and the Church to judge, with so great sincerity of the Judge, and obedience of the offender, that there was no place left unto corrupt affection in the one, nor of repining in the other: and this great love, made the punishment of chastising seem the more grievous, even unto the chastiser; so that in the Church was never any censure inflicted, without great mourning of the people, and greater of the Rulers: and hence it came to pass, that at that time the word *mourning*, was used for chastising. So St. Paul,

rebuking

rebuking the Corinthians, that they had not censured the incestuous man, said, *And ye have not mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away.* And in the other Epistle, *I fear, lest when I come, I shall not finde you such as I would -- and lest I shall be wail many which have sinned already.* Now it seemeth, the judgement of the Church (as is usual in all Societies) was ordered by some one which was President, and propounded things, and after deliberation gathered the suffrages; which part, seeing it is most convenient unto the most able and fit man, without doubt was conferred on the Bishop; But when the Churches were multiplied, the propositions, and deliberations, were done by the Bishop, first in the Colledge of Presbyters, and Deacons, which were called the Presbytery; and there purposes were brought to ripeness, that they might have the last stroke in the publique meeting of the Church. This was yet the Custom about the year 250. as is clear in the Epistles of Cyprian, who writing of them who had sacrificed unto Idols, unto the Presbytery, saith, It is not his maner to do any thing without their advice, nor without consent of the people: and he writeth unto the people, that when he shall return, he will in their presence, and according to their judgement examine the causes, and merits: and unto the Priests, which by themselves had received some delinquents, he writeth, that they give account unto the people. Because of the ingenuity, and charity of the Bishops at that time, it came to pass, that all men almost did rest on their opinion: and the Church, when charity became cold, and the charge that Christ had laid on them was carelessly performed, left all unto the Bishop; and ambition (which is a sly affection, and ready to creep into the heart with the shadow, and shew of vertue) did perswade the Bishops to accept it gladly. But that alteration came not to the height, till the persecutions were ceased; for then the Bishops did as it were set up a throne unto themselves, which became most frequent, by the multitude of pleas, with the accession of temporary riches: And this form of Judicatory, albeit differing from the former, wherein all things were carried with consent of the Church, did yet continue in the same sincerity. And therefore the Emperor Constantine, having tried the fruit of this Court in deciding controversies, and how the vertue of Religion was able to discern many tricks, and guiles, which the Judges had not perceived, made a Law, that there should be no appealing from the Bishops sentence, and the Judges should put them in execution. Yea, and when a cause was begun before the Secular Judge, whatsoever was the state of it, if either of the parties, howbeit the other were unwilling, did appeal unto the Bishop, the cause, without delay, should be referred unto his consideration: And then the judgement of the Bishop began to be Courtly, and when he had the Magistrate to be the executioner of his Decree, he taketh unto him the names of *Episcopal Jurisdiction*, *Episcopal Audience*, and such Titles. Likewise the Emperor Valens, thought good in the year 365. to enlarge this Court, by giving unto them the inspection of the prices of things set forth to be sold; which business was not acceptable unto the good and moderate Bishops: for Possidonius reporteth, that when Augustine had been taken up with such work untill noon, and sometimes till night, he called it *Angaria*, a forced toil, whereby his minde was distracted from things more properly belonging unto him; and for these rustling broyls, he left more useful things undone: as neither did Paul go about these things, which were not suitable to a Preacher, but left them unto others. Nevertheless, when not a few of the Bishops did abuse that Authority, that was granted unto them by Constantine's Law, the same Law, after 70. years, was recalled by Arcadius, and Honorius, and it was ordained, that Bishops should judge in causes of Religion onely, and in Civil

no other way, but with consent of parties: and also it was declared, that they had no Court of Judgement. This Law was little regarded in Rome, because of the great power of the Bishop: therefore in the year 452. Valentinian, living in the City, did renew that Law, and caused it to be put in execution. But the succeeding Princes did ratifie unto them again that power, as Justinian did establish the Bishops Court, and Audience, and assigned unto them, not onely the affairs of Religion, but the Ecclesiastical faults of the Clergy, and several powers over the Laicks. By these degrees, Correction, which was appointed by Christ upon the account of Charity, was turned to Dominion, and was the occasion of losing the ancient reverence, and obedience, wherewith Christians were wont to regard their Bishops. I know well, that in words they will deny their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be Dominion, like the Secular; but I cannot see what real difference they can shew: Certainly St. Paul, writing to Timothy, and Titus, sheweth a clear difference, *Let not a Bishop be given to lucre, not a striker*: But now it is most usual to pay unto the Bishop the expences of Law, and at his command to put into prison, even as in Secular Courts. But when the Provinces in the West were divided, and the Empire was made up of Italy, France, and Germany, and Spain became a Kingdom, in these four Countreys the Princes made choise of Bishops to be their Counsellors; and then by the confusion of spiritual, and temporal power, oh how the Authority of the Bishops Court augmented! within 200. years they drew unto them all criminal and Civil power over the Clergy, yea, and over the Laicks in many particulars, pretending that the cause is Ecclesiastical. Then they forge a mixt Judicatory, wherein either a Bishop, or a Magistrate, which of the two, shall first intend the Action against a Laick; and on the account of this Court, they are most attentive unto their own gain: and, leaving nothing unto the Seculars, they usurp upon all men, as under their reach: Or if any escape this snare, there remaineth one jin to catch them, to wit, a general Rule for the foundation of faith, Every Action belongeth unto the Ecclesiastical Court, if the Magistrate will not do right, or if he delay to do it. And if the pretensions of the Clergy had held within these bounds, the condition of the Christian Republique had not yet been undone; for it had been in the power of Nations, and Princes, when they tolerably exceeded the bounds of equity, to have reduced them by Laws into some tolerable measure, as in time of extreame necessity it had been done. But he who hath laid the yoke upon Christians, even he hath taken away all way of shaking off the yoke; for after the year 1050. when all the Actions of the Clergy are made proper unto the Bishops Court; and so many Actions of Laicks, under the pretence of spirituality, and almost all others, upon the account of the mixt Court, do some way belong unto that Court: and lastly, They have made Secular Power subject unto them, under colour of delayed right. At last they are come so far, as to affirm, That the Bishop hath so large, and wide power of judging, neither by connivance, nor grant of Princes, nor by the will of the people, nor by ancient custom, but it is the very property of Episcopal Dignity, and essential unto it, and gifted by Christ himself. And albeit there be extant many Laws of the Emperors, in the Books of Theodosius, and Justinian, and in the Books of Charles the Great, and Lewes the Godly, and other Princes after them, both in the East, and West, whereby it is clear, after what maner, at what time, and by whom that power was granted: and all Histories, both Ecclesiastical, and Civil, do agree in the report of these Grants, and Customs, and in their causes, and reasons; nevertheless, this so manifest a truth, could not hitherto have place, and is fallen before a naked, contrary, and groundless assertion; even so far, that the

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Doctors of the Canon-Law, have openly declared them Heretiques, who will not suffer themselves, as blinde men, to be led into the ditch: Nor do they contain themselves within these limits, but they do also add, That no Magistrate, nor the Prince himself, may meddle with any of these Actions, which are proper unto the Clergy, seeing they be spiritual, whereof Laicks are altogether incapable. And nevertheless, the truth was not so unknown, but that even at the beginning of this error, the learned and godly did oppose it, and did convince both the parts of this assertion, of manifest falshood. First, They maintain, that the major *Laicks are incapable of spiritual things, is absurd, and impious*: seeing they are adopted by the heavenly father, called the children of God, the brethren of Christ; made partakers of the Kingdom of Heaven, and worthy of divine Grace, of Baptism, and communion of the flesh of Christ; for what be spiritual things, if these be not? And if there may be any other, should there be any question concerning him which is partaker of these highest, and most excellent things, as if he were incapable of spiritual things? And they said, The minor is as false, *The proper causes of the Bishops Court, are merely spiritual*, seeing faults, and contracts, which belong unto this Jurisdiction, if we consider these qualities, that the Scripture attributeth unto spiritual things, are as far distant from them, as heaven is from the earth: But the opposition of the better part, could not hinder the greater. And after the same manner concerning the spiritual power of binding and loosing, which Christ gave unto the Church; and concerning the exhortation of St. Paul, for composing differences among Christians, and not appearing before Infidel-Judges; by progress of time a temporal throne was set up, by many degrees more gloriously then any now, or that hath been at any time; and in the midst of every Civil Government is another set up, no way depending thereon; so that they which at first did prescribe the forms of that administration, could not possibly imagine such an Idea of a Republicque: neither is it my purpose to report, how they are not content to have attained their aim in building a Court independent any way from the Civil Government; and have likewise attained another end unexpectedly, and have made up an Empire, by a new, and strange opinion, which in a moment of time hath made wondrous progress; now they ascribe unto the Roman Pope alone, which so many Bishops in the space of 1300. years, had been purchasing for themselves, by so many admired wiles: and they made the foundation of his Jurisdiction to be (not as before) in the power of binding, and loosing, but a power of feeding, and by vertue thereof, they hold, that all Jurisdiction was given by Christ, in the person of Peter, unto the Pope alone, in these words, *Feed my sheep*; I say, I have not purpose to speak more of this, &c. *So far in the History of that Synod at Trent*. Here I add, how the Canons began, and how they were distinguished into several sorts: *Ge. Cassander* sheweth this in *Consultat. Artic. de Canonis*, saying, In ancient time a Monastical life was private, and distinct from all Ministry of the Church, so that at first they had need of a Presbyter from some other place, to administer the Sacrament; and thereafter it was granted, that one of their Order should be ordained a Presbyter, by whose Ministry they did receive the Sacraments: And so the Orders of Monks, and Clerks, were altogether distinct; for Monkery (as Jerome saith) was the office not of a Teacher, but of a Mourner. But then Religious men, in imitation of the Monastical life, did also appoint Colledges of Presbyters, and Canons, where Clerks, that were aiming, or appointed unto the Ministry, and Priests, that were already placed in the Ministry, should live according to a prescribed Rule; which, albeit it was a little more free then the Monkish, yet was tied to certain Canons; hence that life was called Canonical; and they

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who professed it, were called Canons; and the Society, or Colledge, was called a Monastery: which name continueth in some most famous Colledges. And so in some ancient Councils, is mention of the Monasteries of Monks, and of Clerks; a Bishop was Governor of the one, and an Abbot of the other. Blessed Augustine is said to have been the chief Author of this Institution, who when he had gathered a Society of godly men, to live without a Town, and apart from the multitude of men, thereafter was made a Bishop, and he would have within his Bishoprick; a Monastery of Clerks, and Presbyters, with whom he might live in a community. Some say Urban I. was the beginner of this Canonical life, because it is written, that he did appoint, that all Bishops should furnish all things necessary unto all that would live in community, out of the Revenues, and Goods, that were given unto the Mother Churches. When this Canonical life became loose by degrees, the Canons were in the Council of Mentz, under Charles, reduced to observe their Rules: in Chap. IX. of that Council, the Laws of a Canonical life, are comprised briefly; That they should observe the Divine Scripture, and the Doctrine of the holy Fathers; they should not presume to do any thing, without the knowledge of their Bishop, and Master; they should eat, and sleep together; they should abide within their Cloyster, &c. And because this constitution was not observed, in the Council at Aken, under Lewes, the whole way of a Canonical life was prescribed more exactly, and fully, out of the Books of the holy Fathers; and it was enjoined unto them that did profess that life. But when their wealth did increase, and piety did decrease, they did shake off all yoke almost, and broke all ties of ancient constitutions, so that now is scarcely any hope to reduce them into the bounds of a little more strict life, as their Regular Order did prescribe; albeit we do read, that about 300. years since, a certain Legate of the Romish Pope, willing to draw away the Clerks, and Canons of Luik, from the company of their Concubines, which were called their Cooks, did command them, that they should dwell together, eat together in their parlors, sleep in their dortures, and keep their turns in the Churches both day and night: this was in the year 1203. but how these things did succeed, the present age declareth. Nevertheless, some foot-steps of that common, and Canonical life may be seen as yet, but in the houses, and names onely; for as yet many Colledges have the name, and shew of a Cloyster, that is, of a retired place; and in them are places for eating, sleeping, and little rooms that were allowed unto every one. Therefore when their life was far changed from their Rule, another sort of Canons began, who, because they came nearer to the prescribed Rule, were called Regular Canons; and for distinction, they who had forsaken the Rules, were by an absurd and monstrous name called Secular Canons, that is, Regular Irregulars. Therefore not without cause did Albert Crantz call a Secular Canon, a Monster without example, a Regular without a Rule, and a Canon without a Canon. But when such Colledges were appointed in famous places, where Bishops did govern, and learned men did live there, the ancient custom of the Church, whereby in the more famous Churches, as in Alexandria, and Antiochia, were Schools of Liberal Sciences, and of Divinity, was maintained in these Colledges; for, for a long time such Colledges were publique Seminaries of Learning, wherein the most eminent Men, for Godliness, and Learning, were employed, until at last, this so useful, and godly work, was also neglected; and then godly Princes, and Magistrates, for supply of this want, were moved to bestow maintenance, and erect publique Universities; of which (as Albert Crantz witnesseth, and is certainly known) none was in Germany before an hundred years: And so,

although

although there is no hope now to restore that ancient institution of a Canonical life, yet, seeing as yet, even unto this day, many famous, both in Nobility and Learning, are of that profession, it should not be altogether despised, nor forsaken, but rather some remedy is to be used, as the time will permit: Yea, and it seemeth, Luther hath not written absurdly of it, when he said, That Bishopricks were Schools at the first; as these ancient words do testifie, *Præpositus, Decanus, Scholasticus, Cantor, Canonici, Vicarii, Cuscos*: I wish they would do such things, continue their ancient worthiness, and dignities; abide in their possessions; were eminent and great Lords; at least they would restore some teaching, and compel the Canons, Vicars, and Choristers, to hear one Lesson at least every day, and in these Lessons the holy Scripture were expounded: so Bishopricks were in some measure like unto Schools; and as occasion shall require, Pastors and Bishops might be more readily had. And the advice of William Duranti, Bishop of Mimata, is not much different, who thought it an expedient remedy against the sloth of the Clergy, that according to the appointment of the universal Council at Lateran, the Church, which as a pious Mother, should provide, that some of the poorer sort, being unable through poverty of their parents, should not want opportunity of instruction, would appoint Masters in every Cathedral Church, and other Collegiate, and honorable places, and these Masters might teach the Clerks, and secular poor ones of the City, or Dioc, and accept nothing for their teaching; but should have Ecclesiastical Benefices, or stipends, from the Bishops, or Chapters, or Collegiates, or other Prelates. *So far Cassander.*

5. After the death of Malcolm Cammore, the Scots receive a Reformation *More Rites in Scotland.* (I would say, Deformation) according to the Rites of Rome; and that by procurement of Queen Margaret, saith *Autumn. par. 2. Hist. cit. 16. c. 8. & Joh. Bale Cent. 2. c. 58. in appen.* The Bishop understandeth the Romish Mass, and other superstitions, which were brought hither at the first rise of the Bishops. Likewise the same Margaret did agree with Pope Urban, that the Kings of Scotland should be anointed with oyl: and her Son Edgar, was the first anointed King of Scotland. *Boet. l. 12. c. 13.* But he, and his Successors, by that oyl, had no accession to his power; howbeit, Popish writers have more esteem of anointed Kings, as being more their own, or bearing the mark of the Beast.

6. As in the days of the Emperors Maurice, and Phocas, the Patriarchs strove for primacy, (for preferment was their aim, more then the teaching of souls, or Christ's flock) so in this Century we read of debates among the Bishops of England, Spain, and France, and other Nations, which of them should have the precedency; as in England twixt the Bishops of Canterbury and York. *Ambition of Bishops.*

7. About the year 1059. Aldred being presented unto the See of Worcester, went to Rome for his Palle, (as the custom was) but could not obtain it, for some misdemeanor in his words, as they did alledge: wherefore he did turn home; and by the way he was robbed; he went back, and made his complaint unto Pope Nicolaus, but all in vain: Then Toftius Earl of Northumberland, (which had gone with the Bishop) told the Pope to his face, that his person was not to be respected in far Countreys, seeing (as he saw) his neighbors, even vile vagabonds, despised him at home; and he requireth the Pope to restore Aldred his lost goods, or else he would make the truth known, that by his means and craft, it was taken away: and more, it will come to pass, that the King of England hearing this, will refuse to send St. Peter's Tribute, and understand it as an indignity unto himself, and his Realm. The Pope was moved with the argument of his purse, and restored the Bishop to his own, *Avarice of a Pope.*

and gave him a Palle. Such was the custom in those days, and until this present time in Germany, France, and Spain, that albeit the Prince do principally name the Bishops, yet they cannot be admitted, unless they go to Rome for their Palle; which custom is a burden to the Nations, and bringeth no small gain to Rome. *Cum. Ventura in Thes. Polit. Discepta. de Vrbe Rom.*

*Ecclesiastical
Laws.*

8. In this Century (as reckoneth Sir *Hen. Spelman in Concil.*) were compiled the Ecclesiastical Laws, which go under the name of *Ælfrick*, unto *Wulfen Bishop*, among which are these; I say unto you Priests, I will not suffer your negligence in your Ministry, but in truth I tell you what is ordained for Priests; Christ himself hath given an example of Christian institution, and purity of life, or chastity; therefore all who will walk with him, in his way, have forsaken all earthly things, not looking unto their wives: wherefore he saith in his Gospel, Who hateth not his wife, is not worthy to be my disciple. C. II. After the ascension of Christ, & the departure of his Venerable Apostles, so great a persecution was raised on earth, that the Ministers of God could not meet in a Synod, because the heathens lay in wait for them, until *Constantine*, having the Government of the earth, became a Christian. In many words, there is condemned the marriage of Bishops, and Priests, and also second marriage: and then C. X. it is said, There be seven degrees in the Church, *Ostiarus, Lector, Exorcista, Acoluthus, Sub-Diaconus, Diaconus, Presbyter*. C. XVII. Presbyter is the Missal Priest, or Elder; not for his age, but ancient wisdom; it is his office to consecrate the body of the Lord in the Sacrament, even as our Savior hath ordained; he should lead the people into the faith, both by preaching, and exercising the holy Ministry chastely; being a pattern unto Christians, and not living after the manner of Laicks. There is no difference twixt a Bishop, and a Priest, but that a Bishop is appointed to give ordination, and to visit, or have care of things belonging unto God, which may not be permitted unto the multitude; they have both the same Order, albeit in this respect the Bishop is more worthy. C. XVIII. There is no other Order in the Ministry of the Church, but these seven; Monks, and Abbots, are of another sort, and not to be reckoned with them, nor have they the name of any order: and nevertheless they are called holy Orders, and they lead the souls of their Priests unto blessedness, if they abide holy. C. XXIII. A Presbyter, or Mafs-Priest, should on Sundays, and Mafs-days, teach the People in English, the understanding of the Gospel, and the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed; and that they learn the Creed, or Christian Confession, by heart; as the Lord commandeth by the Prophet, saying, They are dumb dogs, that cannot bark; they must therefore bark, and exhort the People, lest we destroy them for want of teaching. C. XXVII. A Presbyter should not sell his Ministry. C. XXVIII. Nor pass from one Church to another for gain. C. XXIX. Nor be a drunkard. C. XXX. Nor a Merchant, nor a Lawyer, nor bear weapons. The same Author hath a Letter of Pope *Nicolaus* unto King *Edward* (called *the Confessor*) where it is said, It is clear, that the Kings of England, for their reverence and devotion which they have given to blessed Peter, have flourished in glory and honor, and by his defense, they have obtained glorious triumphs; by the merits of which blessed Apostle, the Almighty God may bring to pass your desire, and confirm unto you the Empire of your Fathers Kingdom----- We commit unto you, and the Kings your Successors, the advocacy, and maintaining of that place [*speaking of the Abbey of Westminster, that Edward had re-built, and enlarged*] and of all the Churches in all England, that, in our place, [*Vice Nostra; Note here, He would have the King to be his Vicar, and not alone, but*] Ye, with the advice of Bishops, and Abbots, may ordain every where things that are just, knowing
that

that for these things, you shall receive reward from Him, whose Kingdom and Empire shall have no end. The same Author page 571. saith, The Ecclesiastical Laws of Maccabæus, King of Scots, [*Note here an error in the name Maccabæus, for Macbeth; of whom Buchanan saith, lib. 7. In the beginning he made good Laws, both many, and useful, which now are not known, or are neglected*] taken out of his Register, are these; One who is entered into Orders, call thou not before a profane Judge; if he be summoned, and appear, do not thou judge him, but remit him unto the holy Rulers. Give willingly the tenth part of all the fruits of the ground, unto the Pastors of the Churches; and worship God continually, with vows and oblations. Who, being accused, shall condemn the Authority of the Church for a whole year, and shall not reconcile himself, let him be accounted an enemy of the Realm; and if he continue two years in that contumacy, let him be forfeited of all his goods. If any shall accompany (as a servant) another man, by whose charges he is not daily sustained, either unto the Church, or publique Convention, or a Market, let him want the head. *Poet. Hist. li. 12.* hath these, and others of his Civil Laws.

9. *Anselm*, an Italian, was transported against his will (as saith *M. Fox. in Act.*) from the Abbey Becheloin in Normandy, unto the See of Canterbury: This is he, who said, He had rather be in hell without sin, then in heaven with sin: A man of special note in his time; for as *Gul. Malmesbu. de gest. Anglo. pontif. li. 1.* reporteth, when the Greeks disputed at Barri against Pope Urban, concerning the procession of the holy Ghost, the Pope cried aloud, Father, and Master Anselm, where are you? come now and defend your Mother the Church: And when they brought him into presence, Urban said, Let us take him into our world, as the Pope of the other world. He wrote many books, which to this day are commonly in hands, and declare the doctrine of the faith, as it was then professed. In the general is a remarkable passage in *lib. 1. epist. 68.* (according to the Edition of the Jesuit *The. Reynaud.*) directed unto *Lansfranc*, saying, Concerning those things which are said in that little book, you do by a wise and wholesome advice, admonish to consider more exactly in the ballance of the minde, and to confer with the Learned in their holy books; and where reason faileth, to confirm them by divine Authority: I have done so, both before, and since I have received your fatherly, and loving admonition, so far as I could; for that was my intention, through all that disputation, to assert nothing at all, but what I saw undoubtedly might be defended by the Canonical Scriptures, and the sayings of blessed Augustine. Observe here, he whom the Pope calleth his Father, and Master, dependeth upon the Canonical Scriptures, and upon Augustine, and not upon the Pope; nor thinketh upon that which now they call, *The casket of the Pope's breast*. I have also observed in his Epistles written unto the Popes, Urban, and Paschalis, that he calleth them, *the Reverend high Priest of the Catholique Church*; and he saith, *your Highness, your Majesty*; but he never saith, *your Holiness*; he calleth them *the Vicar of St. Peter*, but never *the Vicar of Christ*: nor in any place can I finde, that he speaketh of any priviledge of Peter, above the other Apostles: and in the contrary in *Comment. on Mat. 16.* he saith, It is to be noted, that this power was not given to Peter alone, but as Peter answered, one for all, so in Peter, he gave this power unto them all. On *Rom. 9.* Seeing by the free-will of the first man, all men fell into condemnation, certainly it is not to be ascribed unto mans righteousness, which is not before grace, but unto the onely mercy of God, that any of them are made vessels of honor; but that any of them are vessels of wrath, it should not be imputed unto the iniquity of God, which is not, but unto his justice; He is Potter,

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which of the same lump, (altogether corrupt in Adam) maketh at his own pleasure, some vessels unto honor in his mercy, and others unto shame in his justice. On *1 Cor.* 1. The grace of God is given unto us, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and not through Peter, or Paul: grace is given by Jesus Christ; because it is so appointed by God, that whosoever believeth in Jesus Christ, shall be saved, not by works, but by faith only, and freely receive the forgiveness of his sins. On *Rom.* 10. Seeing hearing is of grace, another grace is also necessary, which may move the heart, because the word of the Teacher outwardly availeth nothing, if God do not inwardly touch the hearers heart. On *Chap.* 14. He shall stand, because God is able to make him stand; for not he himself, but God is able to make him stand: for he who falleth, falleth by his own will; but by the will of God he standeth, who standeth; and riseth, who riseth. On *1 Cor.* 4. Who hath discerned thee? he saith this, because of the mass of corruption, which was by Adam; none but God discerneth man that he is made a vessel unto honor: But a man who is carnal, and vainly puffed up, when he heareth, *who hath discerned thee?* might answer by voice, or thought, and say, My faith, or my prayer, or my righteousness hath discerned me: The Apostle preventeth such thoughts, and saith, What hast thou, that thou hast not received? ---- God was the cause why thou wast, and art thou the cause why thou art good? Away! for if God hath been the cause why thou wast, and another hath been the cause why thou art good, he is better which hath made thee good, then he who made thee: But none is better than God; therefore thou hast received from God, both that thou art, and that thou art good. On *Hebr.* 10. This true Priest ---- did not offer often, or many sacrifices, but one offering, which alone is sufficient for the sins of all believers; after that he had fulfilled the obedience of his suffering, sitteth ---- his sacrifice was of such perfection, and efficacy, that it is needless to be offered again for the sins of any; and albeit we offer it daily, that is but the remembrance of his suffering. *The Jesuit Raynaud* denieth these Commentaries to be Anselm's, albeit he cannot deny, that in many Editions they go under his name; nor can he bring any argument out of the Commentaries, to prove what he saith: and once he alledgeth, that the Commentary on Matthew is Anselm's Bishop of Laudun; and again he guesseth it to be *Willielm. Parisiens.* but this is an easie way to reject any Book. But these testimonies agree with his other works, which the Jesuit acknowledgeth, and hath published; That on *Matth.* 16. I finde not in them; yet whereas he hath said *in li.* 1. *ep.* 68. that he accordeth with the Canonical Books, and with Augustine; see then what *Augustine* saith on *Iob. Tract.* 124. As for Peter himself properly, he was but one man by nature, one Christian by grace, one and the first Apostle by more abounding grace; but when it was said, *I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt binde on* ---- he did signify the whole Church --- which is founded upon the rock, from which Peter had his name; for the rock was not named from Peter, but Peter from the rock; as Christ was not named from a Christian, but a Christian from Christ ---- therefore the Church, which is founded on Christ, received from him the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, that is, the power of binding and loosing sins; for what the Church is in Christ by propriety, Peter is in the rock by signification. And *ibi. Tract.* 7. In the name of Peter the Church was signified. In many other places doth Augustine speak in that maner, denying that power to have been given to Peter, but as a member of the Church; and at that time speaking in the name of all the Apostles, or Church, as that Commentary saith. Concerning free-will, and grace, *Anselm* speaketh often and copiously; I shall name but one in *Tractat. de Concordia. grat.*

grat. & lib. arbi. c. 13. Without doubt the will willeth not rightly, unless it be right; for as the sight is not quick, or sharp, because it seeth sharply; but therefore it seeth sharply, because it is sharp: so the will is not right, because it willeth rightly; but it willeth rightly, because it is right: Now when it willeth righteousness, certainly it willeth rightly; Therefore it willeth not righteousness, but because it is right. I deny not that a right will willeth righteousness; which it hath not, when it willeth more then it hath; but this I say, it cannot will that righteousness, if it have not righteousness by which it may will it. Let us now consider, whether any, not having this righteousness, can in any way have it of himself? Certainly he cannot have it of himself, but either by willing, or not willing; but by willing, no man is able to attain it of himself, because he cannot will it, unless he have it; and that any, not having the righteousness of will, can by himself attain it by not willing, no mans minde can conceive: therefore a creature can by no means have it of it self; but neither can a creature have it from another creature; for as a creature cannot save another creature, so it cannot give that by which it may save it: It followeth then, that no creature hath that righteousness of will, but by the grace of God. But I have proved before, that this righteousness may be kept by free-will; therefore by the gift of God, we have seen that his grace to save a man, agreeth with free-will; so that grace alone can save a man, though his free-will can do nothing; as in Infants, and in them which have not understanding; for grace doth continually help natural free-will (which without grace, can do nothing unto salvation) by giving unto the will righteousness, which it may keep by free-will: and albeit he give it not unto all men, because he sheweth mercy on whom he willeth, and whom he willeth, he hardneth; yet he giveth it unto none for any preceeding merit, because, who hath given unto God, and it shall be repayed unto him? But if the will keep by free will what it hath received, it attaineth either increase of received righteousness, or power according to good will, or some reward: All these things are the fruit of the first grace, even grace for grace; and therefore it is all to be imputed unto grace, because it is neither of him which willeth, that he willeth; nor of him which runneth, that he runneth; but of God which sheweth mercy; And therefore, except God onely, it is said unto all others, *what hast thou, that thou hast not received? why gloriest thou, as if thou hadst not received?* So I have translated that Chapter word by word; one may quarrel that I have translated *attaineth*, for *meretur*; but I have done so according to the use of the word, as I have marked in other places; and because it so agreeth with the words following, *All these things are the fruits of grace, even grace for grace.* In the next Chapter Anselm saith, As none hath righteousness but by preveening grace, so none keepeth it but by following grace; for howbeit it be kept by free-will; yet it is not so much to be imputed unto free-will, as unto grace, when righteousness is kept, because free-will hath, and keepeth it not, but by grace preveening, and following----- Lastly, seeing all things are according as God disposeth, whatsoever a man hath that helpeth free-will to accept, or keep his righteousness, whereof I speak, it is to be imputed unto his grace. In these particulars then, the former testimonies are according to the minde of Anselm: As for that testimony concerning the sacrifice of Christ, he hath a Treatise *De Sacramento altaris*, wherein he speaketh much of the change of the bread, and seemeth to be puzzled in reconciling the sentence of Pope Nicolaus II. with the ancient Fathers: but in *c. 12.* he speaketh of the maner how the things of the Sacrament are to be judged; thus, seeing the things of the Sacrament are so, we should think of the things, as they are spiritual things, in a spiritual maner; and when we

receive the flesh of Jesus from the altar, we should be solicitous, that in our thoughts we rest not on the flesh, and be not quickned by the Spirit; for if we be not quickned by the Spirit, the flesh profiteth nothing; for if in our thought we rest on the flesh of our Saviour, we not onely shall not be quickned by the Spirit, but neither can we understand, how the flesh of Christ, a man, can be eaten by man; but as those which were hard in heart, understood it, unto whom the speech of Christ seemed hard, and they went back; for they understood it carnally; for they thought he would cut off pieces of his flesh, and give them to eat: therefore we should think of that body of the Lord spiritually, and in a divine maner, and discern it humbly; that is, we should think it diverse from all other food, and eat the spiritual flesh of Christ, in a spiritual maner; that is, it is received in a Sacrament of his true flesh on the altar: And again, we should think, that the very flesh which was crucified, and buried, is not also torn in the Sacrament, nor broken, nor devoured after the maner of common flesh, but under the similitude of bread to be broken, and offered, and never consumed; for it is not after a wicked maner killed by us, but holily sacrificed; and thus do we set forth Christ's death till he come again: For we do now this humbly upon earth, what he, as the Son, doth for us in heaven, where he, as our Advocate, intercedeth with the Father for us: To intercede for us, is to present for us, in some maner, before God the Father, the flesh which he took for us, and of us: Therefore we do sacrifice the body of Christ, when by certain piety of faith, we believe it to be certain, and do sanctifie it; and we do hold fast this faith unto his honor, by whom *he who sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all one.* For the death of Christ needeth not to be done again, because when it is once done, it is sufficient to everlasting salvation. Ambrose saith, Christ hath died once, and was made an oblation for our sins; what do we then? do we not offer every day? yes, we do offer, but in remembrance of his death; and there is but one sacrifice, and not many; How one, and not many? because Christ was offered but once, and this sacrifice is the example thereof; it is the same, and the same continually; therefore it is but one sacrifice; else because he is offered in many places, there be many Christs; no, no, but one Christ every where; here he is full, and there he is full; for as what is offered every where, is one body, and not many bodies, so it is but one sacrifice; but the Priest is he who offered the sacrifice which cleanseth us, and we now offer the same sacrifice, which being offered then, cannot be consumed: What we do now, is done in remembrance of that which was done; as he saith, Do this in remembrance of me; we offer not another sacrifice, but the same continually; or rather we do this in remembrance of that sacrifice, and unto him we do vow, and render our selves, and his gifts in us; and on the solemn feasts, and on certain days, we do dedicate, and consecrate the remembrance of his benefices, lest time bring upon us ungrate oblivion thereof. What was Anselm's judgement in the doctrine of justification, appeareth by an *Admonition pro moribundo*, where he ordereth the Priest to ask the dying man, Brother, art thou glad to die in the faith of Christ? *Ans.* Yea, Brother. Hast thou a purpose to amend thy life, if God will give thee space to live? *Ans.* Yea, Brother. Believest thou that thou canst not be saved by thy own merits, or any other way, but by the death of Christ? *Yea.* Givest thou him thanks for the same with all thy heart? *Yea.* Then go on, and so long as thou livest give him thanks, and hide thy self in his death; role thy self on it, and put thy trust in no other thing; and if the Lord would judge thee, say, O Lord, I put the death of Jesus Christ betwixt thee and me, and otherwise I will not contend with thee. If he say, Thou hast deserved condemnation; say thou, I lay the death of my Lord

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Jesus Christ betwixt thee and my wicked merits; and I offer the merit of his most worthy passion, for the merit that I should have had, and alas, I have it not. Say again, O Lord, I lay the death of my Lord Jesus Christ betwixt thy wrath and me. Then let him say thrice, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. *1a. Vsser. de succes. Eccles. c. 7.* sheweth from *Cas. Vlenberg. lib. causar. caus. 14.* that all Christendom received this form of questioning the sick, from this Anselm: but it hath been changed from time to time. In the Book, *Institutio baptizandi, aliaque Sacramenta--- administrandi, ex decreto concilii Tridenti. restituta*, printed at Lions, ann. 1598. at that part *de recommendatione anima*, are the same questions and answers; but there are set first these, Believest thou, dear brother, all the Articles of the Faith, and all the holy Scripture, according to the exposition of the holy and Catholique Doctors? *Ans.* I believe. Dost thou detest, and refuse all Heresies, and Superstitions, which are damned, and disallowed by the holy Mother, the Catholique Church? *Ans.* I do disallow. Instead of these two questions, the above-named Jesuit reporteth, *ex Bibliotheca Vaticana*, thus; If he be a secular man, he should be demanded so, Believest thou these things that belong unto Christian faith, in so far as they be determined by the Church? *Ans.* I believe. And in the end he saith, These things being finished, Anselm saith, Without doubt the sick man shall be saved. *Observe*, Here is no word of Purgatory, nor of saying Masses for him after death. But the most remarkable difference is in *Index Expurgat.* set forth by Cardinal Quiroga; there it is ordered to blot away, or leave out these questions; Believest thou that our Lord Jesus Christ died for our salvation? and that none can be saved by his own merits, or any other way, but by the merit of his passion? And where it was said in *Ordo baptizandi*, printed at Venice ann. 1575. at the end of these questions, We need not despair of his salvation, which with his heart believeth, and with his mouth confesseth these questions; that *Index* ordereth to leave out these words also. By this form, and the changes of it, we may see how the Papists have changed their faith, especially in this main cordial for a sick soul. The same Anselm wrote two Books, entitled *Cur Deus homo*, against some whom he calleth *Infidels*: And it appeareth (certainly unto me) these have been the Fore-fathers of the Socinians; and that Socinus have gathered the most part of their quirks out of these Books: but as the man hath been wickedly minded, he hath not taken to heart what Anselm hath answered unto these Infidels; I studying brevity, will onely repeat some of the answers, except onely the first objection. *Lib. 1. c. 2.* The Objector saith, As right order requireth, that we should believe the profound things of Christian faith, before we presume to search them by reason; so it seemeth to be negligence, if after we be confirmed in the faith, we endeavor not to know what we do believe; wherefore, as by the preveening grace of God, I think that I know the faith of our redemption, so that albeit I cannot comprehend by reason what I do believe, yet nothing shall be able to pull me away from the certainty thereof: I crave, that thou wouldest declare unto me (which many others do crave, as thou knowest) upon what necessity, and reason, hath God (seeing he is Almighty) assumed the baseness, and weakness of humane nature for the restoring of us? *This is the main objection, and the preamble of it condemneth implicate faith.* Anselm answereth *cap. 3.* We do neither wrong, nor reproach to God, but giving thanks with all our heart, we do praise and set forth the unspeakable altitude of his mercy, that how much the more wonderously, and above all imagination, he hath restored us from so great, and so deserved wickedness, wherein we were, unto so great, and so undeserved benefits, which we had lost, he hath set forth the greater love, and pity

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toward us: for if they would diligently consider, how conveniently the restoration of man is procured after this maner, they would not jeer at our simplicity, but with us they would commend the wise bountifullness of God; for it was necessary, that as by the disobedience of a man, death entered into mankind; so by the obedience of a man, life should be restored: and as sin, which was the cause of our damnation, had its beginning from a woman, so the Author of our righteousness, and salvation, should be born of a woman: and as the diuel overcame man (whom he perswaded) by eating of a tree, so a man should overcome him by suffering (whereof he was the author) on a tree. *Cap. 4.* Is not this a necessary reason, why God should do these things, seeing his so precious a work (mankind) was altogether lost; nor was it fitting, that what God hath propounded concerning man, should be altogether annulled; nor could his purpose be brought to pass, unless mankind had been delivered by the Creator himself. *Cap. 5.* Whatsoever other person had delivered man from everlasting death, man might be judged to be a servant unto that person; and if it were so, man had not at all been restored unto that dignity which he had had, if he had not sinned; seeing he which should have been the servant of God onely, and equal unto the good Angels in every respect, should have been a servant unto one which is not God, and whose servants the Angels are not. *C. 8.* The will of God, when he hath done a thing, should be a sufficient reason unto us, albeit we see not why he hath done so: nor should any think it contrary to reason, when we confess that God hath done these things which we believe of the Incarnation: And they understand not what we believe; for we affirm, without any doubt, that the divine nature cannot suffer, nor in any respect can be brought from his Celsitude, nor hath any difficulty in whatsoever he will do. But we say, that our Lord Jesus Christ, is very God, and very man; one person in both natures, and two natures in one person: wherefore when we say, that God was humbled, and suffered weakness, we understand it not according to his insuffering nature, but according to the infirmity of humane nature, which he had assumed; and so it is clear, no reason is against our faith: for thus we do not understand any humiliation of the divine substance, but we declare that there is but one person of God and man: nor did God the Father deal with that man so as you seem to understand, or give an innocent unto death for the guilty; for he did not force him unto death against his will, nor suffered him to be killed; but he himself did willingly suffer death, to the end he might save us from death. *Cap. 9.* And it seemeth, thou distinguishest not betwixt that he did in obedience, and that which was done unto him; because he would still be obedient, and he did suffer, howbeit obedience did not require it: God requireth obedience of all reasonable creatures, and the creature oweth obedience unto him; so that man did owe obedience unto God the Father, and the Father did require it of him: Thus for his obedience; and if man had not sinned, he should not have suffered death; nor would God have required it of him, seeing he was made reasonable and holy, and to the end he might be blessed in the fruition of God: Now thou wilt not think it fit, that the creature which he made holy unto blessedness, he should force it to be miserable without a fault; for it is a miserable thing, that man should die against his will: and so God compelled not Christ to die, in whom was no fault; but he willingly suffered death, not by his obedience of forsaking life, but for his obedience of keeping righteousness, wherein he continued so stoutly, that therefore he suffered death. Likewise it may be said, that the Father commanded him to die, seeing he commanded him to do that for which he suffered death; and therefore as the Father gave him command, so did he, and he

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drunk the cup which the Father gave him, and he became obedient unto the Father, even to the death, and so he learned obedience by what he suffered, that is, how far obedience should be kept. But the word *he learned*, may be understood two ways; either for that he made others to learn; or because what he was not ignorant of, in respect of knowledge, he learned by experience: But what the Apostle, when he had said, *he humbled himself, and became obedient, even unto the death of the cross*; subjoyneth, *therefore God exalted him, and gave him a name---* whereunto it is like what David saith, *He shall drink of the brook in the way, and therefore he hath lift up his head*. It is not so meant, as if he could not have come unto exaltation, but by this obedience of death, and this exaltation was not conferred on him, but in payment of his obedience; for before he did suffer, he said, *All things are delivered unto me by the Father*; and, *All that the Father hath, is mine*. But as he with the Father, and the holy Ghost, had decreed that he would shew unto the world his great power, no other way but by death; seeing it was by death, it is not unfitly said, to be for death---- for he was exalted after death, as if these things were done for death: But when he saith, *I came not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me*; it is like unto that, *My doctrine is not mine*; for what one hath not of himself, but from God, that is not so much his own, as it is God's; for none hath truth which he teacheth, or a good will of himself, but from God: therefore Christ came *not to do his own will, but his Father's*; because the holy will which he had, was not of his manhood, but of his God-head: for God spared not his own Son, but gave him for us; that is no other, but that he did make him free; as we finde many such words in Scripture. And whereas he said, *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me*; yet not as I will, but as thou wilt: and, *If this cup cannot pass----* it signifieth the natural desire of life, according to his own will, whereby humane flesh did flee the pangs of death. And he calleth it *the will of the Father*, not because the Father would the death of his Son, rather then his life; but because the Father would not that mankind should be restored, unless man had done so great a thing as was that death, because it was not reason that another should do it: Therefore the Son saith, that he would his death, which himself would also suffer, rather then mankind should not be saved; as if he had said, Because thou wilt have the reconciliation of the world no other way, I say, thou wilt have my death; therefore let thy will be done; that is, let me die, that the world may be reconciled unto thee. *Cap. 10.* Because in this question thou undertakest the person of them which will not believe unless they see reason, I will indenture with thee, that we accept no inconvenient unto God, not the least; and that no reason, not the least, be refused, if a greater reason hinder not; for as impossibility followeth upon any inconvenient unto God, so a necessity followeth upon whatsoever reason, if it be not overthrown by a greater. Now the question is onely of the Incarnation, and of the things which we believe of the assumed manhood; Let us now suppose that the incarnation of God had never been, nor these things which we speak of that man; and let us hold this sure, that man was not made unto blessedness, which he could not have in this life, nor could any man attain it but by remission of sin; nor could any man pass thorow this life without sin; and such other things, the faith of which is necessary unto salvation. And here we finde, that the remission of mans sin is necessary, that he may attain unto salvation, as we all do hold. *Cap. 11.* Then let us try by what way God forgiveth men their sins; and to this end, see first what is sin, and to satisfie for sin: if Angels, and men, had continually given unto God what they owe him, they had never sinned: therefore to sin, is no other thing

but not to render what is due unto God. Now the will of all reasonable creatures, should be subject to the will of God: this is the duty, or debt, which Angels, and men, owe unto God; and if he do this, he sinneth not; and who-soever doth it not, he sinneth: This is righteousness, or uprightness of will, which maketh righteous, or upright in heart, or will; this is the onely, and all the honor which we owe unto God, and which God requireth of us; for only such a will doth works acceptable unto God, when he can do; and when he cannot do, onely the will doth please God by it self; because without it no work pleaseth God: he who giveth not his dutiful honor unto God, taketh from God what belongeth unto him, and he dishonoreth God; and this is to sin: and so long as he rendereth not what he hath taken away, he is under guiltiness; nor is it sufficient to render what is taken away, but for the wrong he hath done, he must render more then he hath taken away---This is also to be marked, that when one rendereth what he hath unjustly robbed, he should give what could not have been required of him, if he had not robbed: after this maner should every one which sinneth, render honor unto God; and this is satisfaction which every sinner should do unto God. *Cap. 12.* Now let us consider, Whether it were fitting, that God should forgive sin through mercy onely, and without all payment of that honor which was taken from him? To forgive sins thus, is no other, but not to punish; and because to order sin rightly, without satisfaction, is no other but not to punish; if it be not punished, it is past without order: but it is not fit, that God should let sin pass without order; therefore it is not fit, that God should let sin pass without punishment; and moreover, if sin pass unpunished, both the sinner, and the not-sinner, do fare alike with God, which is not convenient unto God: Yet more, we all know that the righteousness of men is under a Law, that according to its quantity, the measure of retribution should be recompensed: and if sin be neither paid, nor punished, it is under no Law; and therefore if unrighteousness were let pass through mercy onely, it were more free then righteousness is, which were very inconvenient; and this inconvenience were yet more, that it would make unrighteousness equal unto God, because, as God is liable unto no Law, so were unrighteousness. And albeit he command us to forgive one another, yet that is but because he so ordereth us, that we take not in hand what belongeth unto him alone, seeing to revenge is proper unto him who is Lord of all; and when earthly powers do it rightly, God doth it, seeing they are ordained by him for the same effect: As for his liberty, and bountifulness, we should think so reasonably of them, that we destroy not his honor; for liberty is but in things expedient and fitting; nor can that be termed bountifulness, which worketh any thing unfit for God. And where it is said, What God willeth, is just; and what God willeth not, is not just: that is not to be understood, as if God would any inconvenient thing, and it were just, because God willeth it; for it followeth, if God will lye, it were just to lye, but rather that he were not God; for a will cannot lye, but such wherein truth is corrupt, or rather which is corrupt by forsaking truth: therefore when it is said, If God will lye; it is no other, but if God be of that nature which can lye: for this cause it followeth not that a lye is just, unless it be understood as of two impossible things; we say, if this be, that is; because neither the one, nor the other is: as if one would say, If the water be dry, the fire is moist, for neither of them is true: And so it is true onely of these things, which are not unbecoming that God will them, to say, If God will this, it is just. *Cap. 13.* Nothing is less tolerable in the order of things, then that the creature take away the honor which is due unto the Creator, and pay not what he taketh away: but nothing is suffered more unjustly, then

which

which is intolerable; and therefore I think thou wilt not say, that God should permit that, which is unjust to be permitted; as, that the creature should not repay what he hath taken from God: also seeing nothing is better then God, nothing is more just then strictest justice, which preserveth his honor in the dispensation of things; and this justice is no other thing but God himself: therefore God keepeth nothing more justly, then the honor of his own excellency; And think you that he keepeth it wholly, if he suffer it to be taken from him, so that it be neither paid, nor he which hath taken it away be punished? and if you dare not say so, it followeth necessarily, that the honor which is taken must be paid, or punishment follow; or else God were not just unto himself, or that he is unable in both, which to think were impiety.

Cap. 15. If you will say, Why doth God permit his honor to be minced in the least? certainly the honor of God cannot really be increased or minced; for he is his honor incorruptibly, and no way changeable: nevertheless, when each creature doth either reasonably, or naturally keep its order which is commanded unto it, it is said to obey God, and to honor him; and this is the reasonable creature especially, to which is given to understand what it oweth, which when it doth what it oweth, it honoreth God; not because it conferreth any thing on him, but because it submitteth it self willingly unto his will and dispensation; and so far as it may, it continueth its order in the universality of things, and the comeliness of that universality: but when it willett not what it should, it dishonoreth God so far as it can, because it will not submit it self willingly unto his dispensation; and it confoundeth the order and beauty of the universality, so far as it may; howbeit it cannot in the least do harm, or defile the power and honor of God: For if the things that are within the compass of heaven, would not be under heaven, or depart from heaven, they cannot be but under heaven; nor flee from heaven, but by drawing nearer unto heaven; for from whence, and what way, and whithersoever they go, they are still under heaven; and the more they go from any part of heaven, they come the nearer unto the opposite part: So albeit a man, or bad angel, will not be subject unto the will and dispensation of God, they cannot flee from it; because, if they will flee from his commanding will, they run under his punishing will. And if you ask, What way can they flee? not but by his will permitting; and what they will, or do wickedly, his infinite wisdom turneth it to the order and beauty of the forenamed universality: for the same willing satisfaction of their perversity, or requiring of punishment on them that satisfie not willingly (besides that God doth many ways bring good out of evil) have their place, and continue the beauty of order in the same universality. Cap. 19. This then is most sure, if God could let sin go unpunished without satisfaction, that is, without willing payment of the debt, a sinner could not attain unto blessedness, at least that which he had before he sinned; for in that way a man could not be restored such as he was before sin. And whereas all nations do pray, *Forgive us our sins*, he who payeth not, saith in vain *Forgive*; and he who payeth, prayeth, because this belongeth unto payment, that he doth supplicate: for God is debtor to none, and every creature is indebted unto him; wherefore it is not fit that man deal with God, as one with his fellow. Cap. 20. Neither will you doubt (I think) that the satisfaction should be according to the measure of the fault; Then what will you pay for your fault? if you say, repentance, a contrite and humble heart, abstinence, and such toil of the body; mercy in giving, and forgiving, and obedience; In all these, what give you unto God? when you give any thing that you owe, howbeit you had not sinned, you may not reckon that for payment; but all these you speak of, you do owe unto God.

Cap. 22. Man was set in paradise without sin, as it were for God, and betwixt God and the Divil, that he might overcome the Divil, by not consenting to his advice of sin; and for the excuse and honor of God, and for the confusion of the Divil; when he who was weaker did not sin on earth, though the Divil bade him, who being stronger, had sinned in heaven without any adviser; and seeing man might easily have done so, being straitned with no force, he willingly, upon onely perswasion, did suffer himself to be overcome at the will of the Divil, and contrary to the will and honor of God: Now judge thou, if it be not contrary to the honor of God, that man be reconciled unto him with the contumely of such dishonor against God, unless first he shall honor God, by overcoming the Divil, as he hath dishonored God when he was overcome by the Divil: Now the victory must be such, that as he being strong, and immortal in power, did easily consent unto the Divil to sin (whereby he justly fell under the punishment of mortality) so being infirm, and mortal, as he made himself by the difficulty of death, he should vanquish the Divil, that he commit no sin, which possibly he might have done, so long as he is conceived from the wound of sin, and born in sin: and because this is reason, and seemeth impossible, learn one thing more, without which man is not reconciled in righteousness, and yet is not impossible. **Cap. 24.** You have sought a reason, now hear a reason; I deny not that God is merciful, he saveth man and beasts; but we say of this highest mercy, whereby he maketh man blessed after this life, that he should give this mercy unto none, but onely unto him whose sins are forgiven; and this forgiveness should not be granted, but by payment of the debt which is owed for sin, according to the greatness of the sin; I think I have proved this sufficiently before: Now if you ask, How can man be saved, seeing he is not able to pay what he oweth? nor can he be saved, if he pay it not; or how can we maintain that God, who is rich in mercy, cannot shew his mercy above the reach of mans understanding? I say, you shall ask this question from them, who believe that Christ is not necessary unto the salvation of man; let them, in whose person you do speak, shew what way a man can be saved without Christ; and if they cannot do it, let **them not jeer us** any more, but come and joyn with us, who do not doubt but **man** may be saved by Christ; or let them despair that this can be done any way: and if this be horrible unto them, let them believe in Christ, as we do, that they may be saved, &c. *This is a taste of these books, concerning the reasonableness of mans salvation by Christ, and of the doctrine professed in the days of Anselm.*

Contentions
betwixt
Kings and
a Bishop.

10. Some things are remarkable in the conversation of this Anselm, he fell at variance with King William II. he sheweth the causes in an Epistle unto Hugo Bishop of Lions. First, He would seek a Palle from Pope Urban; and the King would not suffer him, seeing he did not acknowledge Urban for Pope. Secondly, Then Anselm craveth that a Synod of the Nation might be called, for reformation of some abuses in the Church; or that the King would cause some things to be amended, which in his judgement were wrong: the King did refuse both. Thirdly, The King required from the Bishop some Lands, *non parvas*, which Lanfrank had in possession for the use of Soldiers, and *sub occasione cujusdam voluntariae justitiae*; and at that time the Soldiers were dead, without children. The Bishop refuseth to render the Lands unto the King, nor will he, *placitare*, acknowledge the King for them. In these particulars he asketh Hugo's advice; and for his own opinion, he declareth, that seeing according to the decree of Rome, the Pope may deprive him, if he seek not his Palle within a year; and seeing the King is the Advocate of that Church, and now himself is the keeper of it, if he would consent

consent unto the King in giving away these Lands, or in paying for them, his Successors were to be prejudged in time coming; therefore he chooseth rather to suffer the King's violence, and forsake his Bishoprick. In an Epistle unto Pope Paschalis he repeateth the same causes, and sheweth that all the Bishops of England did advise him to obey the King, and he would not, for respect unto the Apostolical See: and in time of his banishment, the King had taken all his goods, and the revenues of the Bishoprick, so that he was necessitated to live by the liberality of the Bishop of Lions: and he saith, that some had advised him to excommunicate the King, but the more prudent & *rectum habentes consilium* had dissuaded him, because he could not be both party and Judge; and he was advertised by his friends about the King, that the King would condemn his excommunication. *So far there.* The ancient Historians write, that this William turned Monasteries into Parks, and places of pleasure; and robbed Churches for his private gain; and often said, The bread of Christ is sweet unto Kings. In the year 1100. when he was hunting in a new Forest, a Soldier (whether by chance, or of purpose, it is uncertain) killed him with a dart, that he died immediately. *Pa. Iov. in Angl. Reg. Chron.* His Brother Robert was then at Jerusalem; and the younger Brother Henry was crowned. He wrote unto Anselm, excusing himself, that necessity had moved him to accept the royal blessing from another Bishop, and inviting him to return; and so Anselm did return: But their peace stood not long time; Pope Paschalis wrote unto Anselm, that it was decreed in his Consistory, that no Clergy-man should do homage unto a Lay-man, nor receive a Church, or any Church-benefice from the hand of a Lay-man, because it is the root of Simony. Upon this advertisement Anselm would accept no presentation from the King; and he degradeth all the Bishops, and Abbots, whom the King had promoted. The King said unto him, I have as great liberty in my Kingdom, as the Emperor hath in the Empire; and whosoever violateth the custom of the Realm, is a Traitor, and enemy unto me. Anselm fled away again to Rome; and when he was returning with warrant of Paschalis, the King's Attorney meeteth him in Flanders, and in his Masters name forbad him to enter the Land, unless he would faithfully promise to keep all the customs, both of his Father William, and his Brother. *Mat. Par. in Hen. 1.* At that time they were reconciled. Again, when Gerard Bishop of York died, Henry giveth that See unto his Chancellor Thomas: Anselm will not consent, unless he will acknowledge him as the onely Metropolitan; and he chargeth him to give Ecclesiastical obedience, according to former custom, or else he would discharge all the Bishops of the Kingdom, that they shall not consecrate him; nor acknowledge him, if he shall be consecrated by foreigners. Thomas would not acknowledge him in that maner, and sought consecration from Rome. Then Anselm wrote an Epistle unto Paschalis, praying that Thomas be not consecrated, until he profess due obedience unto him; and that the Pope would not give him a Palle; not (saith he) that I do envy him a Palle, but if he get one, he thinketh he may deny profession of obedience unto Canterbury; and so the Church of England shall be divided, and the rigor of Apostolical discipline shall be weakened, and he shall not abide in England. Shortly thereafter Anselm died. *ann. 1110.*

11. Moreover I have noted three Epistles of this Anselm; one unto Alexander King of Scots, wherein, after congratulation of his Succession, he saith, I know that your Highness loveth me, and desireth counsel; therefore first, I pray God that he would so direct you by the grace of his holy Spirit, and give you counsel in all your actions, that after this life he may bring you into the heavenly kingdom: And my counsel is, that you indeavor to hold fast

*A counsel
to a King.*

the fear of God, (by his help from whom you have received it) and those good maners which you began to have in your infancy, and youth-hood; for Kings do reign well, when they live according to the will of God, and serve him in fear; and when they rule themselves, nor are subject unto vices, but overcome the importunity, or tentations, by constant fortitude; for constancy of vertue, and royal fortitude, are not inconsistent in a King: for some Kings (as David) have lived holily, and ruled the people (committed unto them) with rigor of justice, and meekness of holiness, according to the exigence of things: do you so carry your self, that evil men may fear you, and the good may love you; and that your conversation may please God always; and you at all times remember the punishment of the wicked, and reward of the godly after this life. The Almighty God commit you, and all your actions, unto none other but his own dispensation. This is a rare counsel given by a Bishop (especially in these days) unto a King. In another Epistle unto Muriardach King of Ireland, he exhorteth him to amend with all earnestness, whatsoever he knoweth that in his Kingdom hath need to be amended, according to the Christian Religion, seeing God hath exalted him unto that Royal power for the end, that with the rod of righteousness he should govern his Subjects, and strike with that rod, and remove whatsoever is contrary unto righteousness: especially he lamenteth, that in that Countrey, men did put away their wives, and change one with another, each as they do exchange their horses, or any other thing at your pleasure. Another, that their Bishops had not Diocies, or appointed bounds; and were ordained one by one, even as any Presbyter; which (saith he) is contrary unto the holy Canons, which ordain certain bounds of superintpection, and that a Bishop should not be ordained by fewer then three Bishops. Out of this Epistle it appeareth, that first, The Magistrate is not excluded from Government of the Church, as the Popes did afterwards exclude them. Secondly, That all abuses could not be rooted out with the first plantation of Religion; and what is tolerated, at a time should be amended. Thirdly, That the Church of Ireland had not Diocesan Bishops (as they were wont to be called) from their first Reformation, nor was subject unto Rome at that time, but had such discipline as was then in Scotland. For confirmation of these points, add here by the by from Bernard in *Vita Malachie in c. 6.* he saith, At that time the Irish paid not Tithes, nor first-fruits; they had not lawful marriages; they made not confessions, nor did any seek or enjoyn penance; there were very few Ministers of the Altar. And in *c. 7.* he saith, A Bishoprick was not content with one Bishop, but every Church almost had its own Bishop; until (as it followeth there) Malchus, an Elder of Lesmore, and Gislebert (the first Legate of the Apostolical See in Ireland) perswaded the Bishops, and Princes there, to change their ancient custom. It is true, Bernard speaketh there of Ireland, as barbarous at that time; but, excepting that of the marriage, in all the other particulars, though they were not conformable unto the Church of Rome, yet they have many Reformed Churches conformable unto them at this time, even though the corrupt Romanists call them barbarous. But I return unto Anselm, in another Epistle unto Waleran Bishop of Nuemburgh, who had written, admiring what way so great diversity of Ceremonies had entered, seeing there is but one faith, one baptism, and one spouse of Christ; especially he admireth of the Rites in the Sacrament, diverse not onely from the perpetual custom in Germany, but likewise different from the ancient Roman order, &c. Anselm answereth (*in Thesi. concerning indifferent ceremonies*) well, saying, Your reverence complaineth of the Sacraments of the Church, because they are not administred in all places after one maner:

Truly

Of the
Church of
Ireland.Of Ceremo-
nies.

Truly it were good and laudable, if they were performed through all the Church after one maner, and with one minde; but because there is great diversity, nor differing in the substance of the Sacrament, nor in the vertue thereof, nor in the faith, nor can they all be brought to one custom, I think they should be tolerated in peace, and love, rather then be condemned with jars, and scandal: for we have learned from the holy Father, if the unity of love be kept in the Catholique faith, diversity of custom hindereth not. But where you ask, Whence hath that variety of custom come? I know no other but the diversity of mens opinions; which albeit they differ not in the substance of things, and in unity, yet agree not in the expediency, and decency of administration; because one judgeth this fitter, another thinketh it not so fit; nor think I, that difference in such things, is any straying from the truth.

12. William the Conqueror wrote unto Pope Gregory VII. thus; Hubert your Legate, Religious Father, coming unto me, hath admonished me, as from you, that I should do fealty unto you, and your Successors; and that I should bethink my self of the money which my predecessors were wont to send unto the Church of Rome: I have accepted of the one, and not the other: I would not acknowledge fealty, nor will I do it; because, neither have I promised it, nor do I finde, that my predecessors performed it unto yours. The Pope returned answer unto his Legate, which is in *Gregorii VII. Regist. li. 7. ep. 5. tom. 5. concil. edit. Binii*. Where after signification how little he doth value money, without due honor, he saith of the King, There be many things the holy Roman Church may lay to his charge, seeing no Pagan King hath attempted that against the See Apostolique, which he hath not been ashamed to do. Hence it appeareth, that the Popes were always busie to seek their advantage in troubled waters, and sometimes with little speed. Whereas before the Sheriff, and Bishop, kept their Court together, King William gave unto the Bishops an entire jurisdiction by themselves, to judge all causes relating to Religion. This was the first Spiritual Court in England; and henceforth the Spiritual Power began to transcend the Secular Courts.

CENTURY XII.

CHAP. I.

OF EMPERORS.

1. HENRY V. after the death of his father, inviteth Pope Paschalis to come unto Ausburgh, for redressing some former tumults: Now Paschalis becometh the more haughty, and in the way assembleth a Synod at Guardistella, where, preveening the Diet at Ausburgh, he reneweth the Acts of Pope Gregory VII. concerning the Investiture of Bishops; he setteth up, and putteth down Bishops at his pleasure, because (said he) in the casket of the Roman high Priests breast, all Laws are contained; and now men must speak more considerately with him, and account all his words as Laws; whatsoever dare lift up it self against the high Priest, must be beaten to dust. This was strange news unto the Emperor, who was confident that the Pope would make no novations without his advice. Paschalis got intelligence of this disgust, and therefore stayed his journey, and appointeth another Synod at Treca, intending to accurse the Emperor. The Emperor preventeth him,

*Consentings
betwixt the
Emperor and
Popes.*

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and assembleth a Synod at Mentz, for staying the Pope's attempts. In the mean time Paschalis requireth oath of all the Bishops assembled at Treca, that they shall continue constant with the Roman See; and he excommunicateth particularly, and by name, all the Bishops at Mentz. On the other side Henry alledgeth, that the Scepter was come into his hand from God; and therefore, according to the custom, and Laws of his Ancestors, he would not suffer the prerogatives of the Republique to fail in his person: but these Popes think on nothing but the ruine of the Empire, and the drawing of Christian people under their yoke; they had deceived him in his rude and tender years, in setting him against his dearest Father, and now they conspire against himself; nor will they stay their ambition, until they have robbed all others of their dignities and honors: These and other reasons he caused to be published; and concluded thus, Albeit I be able, both by right and arms to defend all these customs, that have been established by so many holy Fathers, and maintained through so many ages, yet I would willingly acquit my self of the Papal Synods, if Monks, Priests, and Bishops, would restore unto me the sinews of the Empire, to wit, the Revenues, Cities, Towns, Regalities, Castles, and in a word, give unto Cæsar what appertaineth unto Cæsar, and they remain contented with their Tithes, serving God, and caring for his people. Paschalis demandeth, that the whole matter continue undiscussed till the next year 1110. and in the mean time that there be no innovation, that is, the Emperor shall meddle with nothing then in controversie. The next year Henry goeth with 30000. horse, besides Italians, towards Rome; wheresoever he came, he was received as Emperor: At Sutrio the Legates of Paschalis shew him, that the Pope is willing to Crown him, if he will establish the Liberties of the Church, discharge all Laick Investitures, and take from the Church all the Dukedoms, Marque-ships, Counties, Advocations, Coyns, Taxes, and other Royalties: The Emperor consenteth, (saith *Naucier* after *Gosfred*) and with joy marched to Rome, and kissed the Pope's foot, at St. Peters, on the steps, and went in together. When all were set, and the Emperor came unto the altar, to receive the Communion from the Pope, he saith, Lord Emperor, the body of our Lord, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered for us on the Cross, as the Church believeth, I give to day unto thee, for confirmation of true peace betwixt me and thee. Some days thereafter, the Emperor intreateth the Pope, that he would not deprive the Bishops, who had before received Investiture from him: The Pope refuseth: they come to hotter words; and then was such a stir, that if the Emperor had not defended himself with his own hands, he had been slain: in the end (as it pleased God) among many Romans that were slain, and taken, he taketh the Pope, and carrieth him out of the City, and indenteth with him, both for his Coronation, and the Investitures in times following; especially, that all Abbots, and Bishops, should take their Investiture from the Emperor, *per virgam & annulum*, and their consecration from other Bishops as formerly; and no Bishops shall be consecrated, until first they have received Investiture from the Emperor; except onely those, who formerly were wont to receive Investiture from the Roman Bishop, or any other Archbishop. Both parties did swear thus, As this part of the lively body is divided, [*they were at Mass*] so let him be divided from the Kingdom of Christ, who shall violate these articles. The Emperor was crowned in Rome, and returned with joy into Germany. Within a few moneths, Paschalis calleth a Synod at Lateran; he revoketh the former articles, and affirmeth that agreement to have been made onely for the freedom of some captives; and he went about to excommunicate the Emperor: wherefore Adelbert Bishop of

Mentz;

Mentz, and sundry others in Germany rebelled : But the Emperor prevaieth, and held Adelbert in prison three years. In the year 1118. Henry went towards Rome; Paschalis hearing that he was approaching, and having offended some chief Citizens, fled unto Pulia : In his absence, the Emperor would be crowned again by Maurice Bishop of Bracara, to shew unto the world, that he acknowledgeth not his Crown to be received from the Pope. Then he returned into Germany, and Paschalis into Rome, where within few days he died. Gelasius renewed the sentence against the Emperor; wherefore he marched the third time to Rome : the Pope flieth, and the Emperor causeth to be choose Gregory VIII. and recommendeth him unto the family of Frangepanes. At this time the Bishops of Germany stir up the Saxons against the Emperor, in behalf of Pope Gelasius, and then of Calixtus, and fought an open battel in February *ann. 1122.* At last Henry, despairing of peace, unless he would yield unto the proud Prelate, he renounceth his former priviledge of Investitures, in the time of Calixtus. All this time he had hard fortune, and did acknowledge Divine Justice in revenging his rebellion against his Father; He reigned twenty years, and died without succession. In the days of Henry IV. Alexius Comnenus was Emperor of Constantinople; at first he envied the expedition of the Latins, yet their first victory may be (under God) ascribed unto his aid. His Son Calo Johannes was an excellent Prince, liberal, a lover of justice, and victorious in Europe against the Scythians, and Huns; and in Asia against the Turks, and Saracens; and recovered many Lands, which his Ancestors had lost : The Venetians took sundry Islands in the Archipelagus from him; and from that time they keep Creta. *Pe. Maxia*, when he was sick, he calleth his friends, and Nobles together, and setting his yonger Son Manuel before them, he said, I had other hope, then now you see, O Romans, when I came into Syria; I thought to have gone beyond the limits of my Ancestors, and to have washed securely in Euphrates, and to have seen the river Tigris, and to have subdued all the adversaries about Cilicia, or who have made apostasie unto the Agarenes; and I thought to have, like an eagle, (this may seem a presumptuous word) flown into Palæstina, (where Christ, having stretched forth his hands on the Crofs, hath by his death restored the ruine of our nature, and by his drops hath united all the world) and to have gone up unto the mountain of God, as the Psalmist speaketh, and to have stood in that holy place, and to have invaded the enemies round about it; as sometimes the Barbarians had taken the Ark, so they have often taken the Lord's sepulchre : But because I am disappointed, (for what cause, the Lord knoweth) I can do no otherwise; nor am I unwilling to yield unto the things which ye see approaching; for who is wiser then God? who shall fathom his minde? or change his judgements, by adding, or impairing? for the thoughts of men are changeable, but God's purpose is not vain, or variable : And seeing God hath bestowed many benefits on me, yea, which scarcely can be told; in your audience, as my witnesses, I with a thankful heart do proclaim the bountifulness of God toward me. My Father was Emperor, I have succeeded in the throne, and have lost nothing that I received; but whether I have encreased the talent which God hath committed unto me, I leave that to the censure of others; howbeit, without offence, and ostentation, but to the praise of God's miraculous providence, I may say this, Both West, and East, have seen me in arms; I have not been afraid of the Nations in both the Continents: short while was I in my Palace; I have spent my time, for the most part, under pavilions, and have delighted under the vault of heaven: this Land where now we are encamped, hath seen me twice: for a long time

*The speech
of a dying
Emperor.*

the Persians, and Arabans, have neither feared nor seen a Roman Army; but, as it hath pleased God, they have given over many Cities unto us his servant, which as yet we do possess, and they do obey our commands. God grant that I, who have fought for Christian people, may attain the eternal inheritance, which the humble, and those who are accepted of God, shall possess; and the same God give strength, and success unto your endeavors against these bloody people, which call not on the holy name of our God: And so it shall be, if you acknowledge that the success is in the hand of the most High; and by his blessing ye shall have a Governor, who shall not be cruel, vain-glorious, fullen, nor a slave to his belly; or who cannot be drawn from his palace, more then a painted image from its colours; for as is the disposition of the Ruler, so are all things almost ruled, seeing he hath a great influence on them; if he be naughty, they decay; or if he have spirits, they do flourish: because, as David teacheth, God blesteth the godly, and with the froward, he dealeth frowardly. And seeing I am to speak of the Successor of the Empire after my death (which now inevitably approacheth) I wish ye may hearken unto me; To shew how the Empire came unto me, it is not more necessary to declare, then to hold up a lamp at noon; for seeing ye have consented unto the Father's will, and ye are equally affected toward my Sons, being ready to obey one of the two, Isaacius, and Manuel; and they also have submitted themselves unto my will: It is true, Nature is wont to bestow the Government on the eldest; but I have observed, that in designation of Kings, God hath often taken another course. Ye know that Isaac was yonger then Ismael, Jacob came forth after Esau, Moses was yonger then Aaron, David was the yongest of his Brethren, and many more; for God is not a respecter of persons, after the maner of men, nor judgeth he by years; but he regardeth the frame of the heart, and especially humility, and meekness: And therefore in many occurrents, I have not followed corrupt nature, but, despising the custom thereof in more weighty affairs, I would rather follow God, who is free from all depraved affection. Now, if without all scruple, the Government were to be given unto my elder Son Isaacius, it were needless to speak of their conditions; but seeing I incline unto my yonger Son Manuel, to prevent the wrong suspicions of the vulgar sort, that I do prefer the yonger before the elder, through affection rather then judgement, it is requisite I speak a word of my motives: There is no more unity of affections, then of forms; which have great variety, though we all are men equally; some are thus set, and all do not take pleasure in one thing; seeing otherwise, neither God would accuse any of us, nor could we be blamed one by another, for we would all be necessitated unto the same conceits, and follow the same purposes: So my two Sons, though they have one Father, yet have they not the same minde; albeit they both be eminent in strength of body, comeliness of countenance, and gravity of carriage, yet unto me it seemeth, that Manuel is fitter for the Government; for Isaacius hath been rash in my sight often; and being commoved upon a light occasion, could not rule his passion; and such anger is a great enemy to wisdom, yea, hath undone many (otherwise) good men: But the other, besides a multitude of other vertues, which Isaacius also hath, can yield at a time, and follow the command of reason; and therefore, seeing in the uprightness of heart, which the King, and Prophet David doth commend, we think men should obey a judicious minde, rather then a strong hand. I have determined that Manuel shall be Emperor; wherefore accept ye the yonger man as Emperor, ordained of God, and entring into Government by my sentence; as ye have many predictions, that he is advanced, and ordained of God--- which if ye

will

will consider, ye shall finde, that I have not without reason designed him to succeed unto me, but hereby have answered unto his vertue, &c. *Nice. Chronat. Annal.*

2. CONRADE III. the Sister-son of Henry V. and Duke of Suevia, strove for the Empire; but many Papalines in Germany (as they had been enemies to Henry) were against him; and Pope Honorius causeth Lotharius Duke of Saxony to be chosen Emperor; and he prevailed, and was Crowned by Pope Innocentius. He subdued many Cities in Italy, which had usurped liberty; as also he overthrew Roger King of Sicilies, he drove him out of Italy; and gave his Lands of Pulia, and Calabria, unto his Cousin Reynold, with the Title of Duke. The Pope was not content, and pretended that these Dominions appertain unto St. Peter: so variance was like to arise betwixt Lotharius, and the Pope, but the difference was composed; so Reynold took his badge, and Title from them both. This Lotharius caused the Civil Laws to be reduced into a method, which were almost forgotten; he commanded them to be read in Schools, and pleas to be determined by them. Since the days of Charles the Great, no Emperor had done greater exploits in Italy; he suppressed the rebellious in Cremona, Pavia, Bononia, &c. he had curbed the Popes, and had recovered the privilege of Investing Prelates, if he had not been perswaded by Bernard. He died not far from Trent, *ann.* 1138. Then Conrade was sole Emperor, against the minde of the Pope, and was confirmed by his Legate. He was vexed by Henry Duke of Bavier, who had married the onely Daughter of Lotharius, and aimed at the Empire. At that time the fourth King of Jerusalem, Fulco, was in great danger of the Persians, who had taken the famous City Edessa; and the Saracens were besieging Antiochia: wherefore Pope Eugenius by his Letters, and Bernard by words, perswade the Emperor to go into Palestina: as Lewes King of France was ready, they both went, but did no good unto Baldwin the Successor of Fulco. Manuel the Eastern Emperor was blamed for their unlucky success; he promised them victuals, but disappointed them; and sent traitorous guides with them. At this time began the long continued, and troublesome factions of Gwelphs, or Welphs, and Gibelines; that is, Papalines, and Imperialists: the one faction had their name from Welpho, a Duke of Bavier, and Brother of Henry, with whom the Pope conspired; and the other from Henry, Son and General to the Emperor; and so named from a Village where he was born. By the procurements of the Popes, these factions waxed so, that all the Towns, and people of Italy, bragged in one of these two names. *Ann.* 1152. Conrade was poysoned by his Physician, hired thereunto (as was suspected) by Roger King of Sicilie; he gave the Imperial Ensigns unto his Brothers Son Frederick; and recommended his yong Son unto him, the elder Brother Henry being desunct.

3. FREDERICK I. (surnamed *Barbarossa*, or Red-beard) attained the Crown without any contradiction; he was endowed with all excellencies of body and minde. The Romans were taking of their ancient liberty, and of a free Government under *Consules*; and they sent unto the new Emperor, promising to consent unto his Coronation, if he would consent unto their former liberty; seeing they should not be subject unto Germans, who had received their honor from the Romans. The Emperor, partly in anger, and partly in disision, writeth, saying, They had been Romans, as they boast, but now no footsteps of their ancient State appeareth, it being altogether wasted, [*behold the wound of the first Beast!*] first by Charles, and then by Otho the Great; and that old Common-wealth was translated into Germany, and there are *Consules*, *Senatores*, & *Equites*: They were deceived in

*Difference
between the
Emperor and
Civil State
of Rome.*

thinking the Germans had received the Empire from them; for it was not given by the Romans, but conquered by the arms of Charles, whom certainly they in their necessity had implored for their defense from the Tyrants Desiderius, and Berengarius, [*it was not therefore a gift of the Pope*] and therefore it was not convenient, that they prescribe unto their Emperor. This Letter exasperateth them, so that the Emperor must march toward Rome. *Pe. Maxia.* Pope Hadrian was ill intreated by them, and vexed by the Castellanes; and now hearing of his coming, went to Sutrio to meet him. When the Emperor saw the Pope, he lighted from his horse to receive him; and held his stirrop and bridle on the left side; the Pope sheweth himself a little angry, because he should have done it on the right side: when the trench-men reported his words unto the Emperor, he laughingly excused himself, that he was not accustomed to hold stirrops; and seeing he had done so much of curtesie, and not of duty, less matter it was what side he held. The next day, to make amends unto the Bishop, he inviteth him, and received him, holding the stirrop on the right side. When they came to Rome, the Pope sheweth how his Ancestors had left some special token unto the See of St. Peter: and he intreateth him to take in from William, King of Sicilie, the Dutchy of Pulia, especially Beneventi, Ceperano, and Banco, unto the See; which if he would promise to do, he was ready on the other side to perform all duty unto him; The Emperor being advised by the Princes, promiseth to do all that was required, and the next day was Crowned: In time of the Coronation, the Citizens shut the gates, and slew a great number of the Germans within the City: the Emperor was called out of the Church, he brake open the gates, brought in his army, slew many Romans, and took others captive: by intercession of the Pope, a reconciliation was made, and the Captives were set free. *Platin.* Then the Emperor returned into Germany, and having prepared an army against Sicilie, he promised to make speed again. In the mean time the Greek Emperor Manuel had covenanted with the Pope to expel William out of Sicilies, and Manuel should have the three Sea-ports of Pulia. He sent an army, and William overthrew them, and the Pope's forces, both together, and took the Pope captive, and caused him to confirm his Title of both Sicilies, upon condition that he should not trouble the Church-Lands in time coming. *Platin.* Then the Emperor began to consider, how the Popes had abused his Ancestors, had extorted from them the privilege of Investing Prelates; and now this Bishop had deluded himself, in confirming King William in that Land, which appertaineth unto the Empire; therefore he began to require homage, and oath of fidelity of all the Bishops: and he commanded, that none of the Pope's Legates be received without his licence; and that none of Germany make appealation to Rome. What more stir was then, may be gathered from the Pope's Letter, accusing and threatning, and Frederick's Answer. The Pope wrote thus, Hadrian Bishop, the servant of God's servants, unto Frederick the Roman Emperor, greeting, and Apostolical blessing; As Divine Law promiseth length of days unto them which honor their parents, so it denounceth death unto them who curse father, or mother; and we are taught by the voice of truth, that each who exalteth himself, shall be made low: wherefore, beloved Son in the Lord, we admire not a little at your prudence, that thou seemest not to give that reverence unto blessed Peter, and the holy Roman Church, as it becometh thee; For in thy Letters sent unto us, thou putttest thy name before ours, wherein thou art guilty of insolency. I will not say arrogancy. What shall I speak of thy fidelity, promised and sworn unto blessed Peter, and us? how dost thou observe it, when thou requirest

*The pride of
the Pope.*

*His falsehood
punished.*

*The Popes
Letter unto
the Emperor.*

requirest homage of them which are God's, and all the children of the most High, to wit, the Bishops? of them thou cravest fidelity; and their sacred hands doest thou tie unto thy hands; and being openly contrary unto us, thou shuttest not onely the Churches, but the Cities of thy Kingdom against the Cardinals that are Legates from our side. Repent therefore, repent, we advise thee, because, seeing thou hast received from us Consecration, and the Crown, we fear thy nobleness, that thou shalt lose what is granted, while thou huntest after what is not granted. The Emperor replieth thus, Frederick, *The Emperors reply.* by the grace of God Roman Emperor *semper Augustus*, unto Hadrian high Priest of the Catholique Church, that he may cleave unto all things which Jesus began to do and teach. The Law of righteousness restoreth unto each one, what is his own: We derogate not from our parents, unto whom, within this Kingdom, we render all due honor; from whom, to wit, from our Ancestors we have received the Dignity, and Crown. It is known, that in the days of Constantine, Silvester had not any Royalty; but by the grant of his godliness, liberty was given unto the Church, and peace restored: and whatsoever Royalty your Papacy is known to possess, you have attained by the liberality of Princes. Therefore when we write unto the high Priest of Rome, by right, and according to custom, we set first our name; and according to equity, we yield the like unto him writing unto us: turn over the Histories, and if you have forgot what you have read, you may finde there what we assert. And from these which are God's by adoption, and possess our Royalties, why should we not require homage, and regal oaths? seeing he, which is our and your teacher, though he received nothing from any man, or King, but gave all good things unto all; gave unto Cæsar tribute for himself, and for Peter; and gave unto you an example that ye should do so; and hath taught you, saying, Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart: therefore let them leave the Royal things unto us, or if they think them profitable, let them render unto God what is God's, and unto Cæsar what is Cæsars. Unto your Cardinals indeed the Churches are shut, and the Cities are not open; because we see, they are not Preachers, but plunderers; not seekers of peace, but robbers of money; not reformers of the world, but insatiable rakers of gold; but when we shall see that they are such as the Church requireth, bringing peace, enlightening the Countrey, and helping the humble in equity, we shall not fail to sustain them with necessary stipends, and provision. As for humility (which is the mother of virtues) and meekness, ye are guilty, when unto secular persons you propound such questions, as concern not Religion: wherefore let your fatherhood provide, lest while you move such things which we think not fitting, you give offence unto such, as are ready to shut their ears against your words, as they which are wearied of unreasonable rain. We cannot but answer unto these things that we have heard, when we see the detestable beast of pride to have crept into the seat of Peter. Provide better for the peace of the Church, and ever farewell. *Naucler. gener. 39.* This answer did so sting the Pope, and the Cardinals, that they conspire with the forenamed William, and many Cities of Italy, and endeavor by all means to make the Emperor odious unto all men: Especially the Pope wrote unto the Bishops Electors, that the German Emperor had received his Title from his Predecessors, and now he had power over all Nations, to throw down, and build up, and give and translate Kingdoms, &c. And he made a league among the Cardinals, that after his death, none should be chosen but one of them, who shall be obliged to pursue the Prince with excommunication, and arms, till they got the upper hand; and that none should seek the Emperors favor, without the consent of them all. On the other side the

Emperor sent Letters throughout the Empire, regranting and accusing the pride of the Pope, as being contrary unto God (who hath ordained two Governments, one spiritual, another temporal) and unto Peter (exhorting all men to fear God, and honor the King) & now, by setting himself above the Emperor, would make a Schism in the Church; and therefore they would so look to the Imperial Dignity, that it be not prejudged by the new presumption of the Pope, as he himself was careful of the liberty and unity of the Church. The Pope fretteth the more, and wrote anew unto the Princes of Germany, willing them to work against the Emperor what they could. Arnold Bishop of Mentz, and Eberhard Bishop of Salisburgh reply, submitting themselves unto the Pope, but excusing the Emperor, exhorting him to use more modesty in his Ambassies: What stir there followed in the election of the Pope, I refer unto its place. Frederick had much ado with the Gwelph Cities (as the Papalines were then called) and subdued many of them; especially he brought Millain to ruine. Pope Alexander finding no security in the Continent, fled unto Venice. Here followeth variance among the writers; *Platina*, and some others say, that the Emperor was forsaken by his own Army, that he was necessitated to go into Venice, and kiss the Pope's foot. *Di. Peta. in Rati. par. 1. lib. 8.* saith, He was discomfited unawares, and so brought under. Others write, that the Emperor had purpose to follow the Pope, but first he would be secure of Rome; and in the mean time he sent an Army under the command of his Son Otho, against the Venetians, and charged him to attempt nothing until he himself came; nevertheless, the young man, more hardy then wise, joyneth with the Venetians, and being taken, was carried unto the Pope, at Venice. The Pope would not dismiss him, unless the Father would submit himself; and so the Emperor, for love of his Son, yieldeth. Then (as all the writers agree) in St. Marks at Venice, Frederick kneeled at the Pope's feet, expecting no new insolency from the humble servant of servants; but the man of pride setteth his foot upon the Emperor's neck, and said, It is written, *Thou shalt walk upon the Serpent, and upon the Basalisk.* The Emperor saith, Not unto thee, but to blessed Peter; The Pope again, Both to me, and to Peter: The Emperor fearing a new jar, held his peace; And they agreed, That first Alexander should be acknowledged as only Pope. Secondly, That the Emperor should restore all that he had purchased in time of the Schism. Such was the fatal superstition of these times, holding mens mindes in darknes; and now the Bishop is where he would be, not (as before) on mens shoulders, but upon the Emperor's neck; and hath got it, not by piety, but---- And the Emperor being made subject in this maner, returneth into Germany, bewailing his misfortune *ann. 1177.* In the year 1184. he brought Constantia, the onely childe of William King of Sicilies, into Germany, and married her to his Son Henry: when they were Crowned at Mentz, there was so great conflux of people, that the City was not sufficient to contain them; and the Emperor caused to be set up a spacious house, for the time, without the walls. The Pentecost was the day of the solemnity; When the Emperor was in the Church, with many Princes of both Estates, and had set the Bishop of Mentz on his right hand, and the Bishop of Colein on the left, the Abbot of Fulda demandeth the seat on the Emperor's left hand, where the Bishop of Colein was sitting: Many (saith *Al. Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 6. c. 46.*) do remember that this was done in that place: The Elector thought it a disparagement to give place unto an Abbot; The Emperor being required to determine the matter, said, We do approve, as we should do, the ancient customs of the Empire, but for this purpose we think it indifferent. The Elector hearing him, riseth up, and saith, Seeing, O Sovereign Majesty

Papal pride.

A pretty
conceit be-
twixt a
Bishop and
an Abbot.

Majesty, your will commandeth so, I, an Arch-Bishop, give place unto an Abbot; an Electoral Prince, unto a Monk: but, by your leave, I will be gone: And when he had so said, he went away. The Count Palatin of Rhine, the Emperor's Brother, and the Count of Nassau followed him, but first said, Sovereign Emperor, by your leave, we follow him, and do acknowledge his benefits, which we have received. Lewes, Prince of Thuringia, said unto the Count of Nassau, (because he held something of the Abbot) You deserve well of your Lord, who forsaketh him to day, and followeth another. He answered, For the benefit which I hold of him, I will give obeysance in due time; and to day I will follow him with whom I came hither, and is equally the Lord of a few which I have; The same did the Duke of Brabant. When so many seats were emptied, King Henry was displeased, and embracing the Arch-Bishop in his arms, entreating him earnestly, that he would not begin so solemn a day with sadness, nor move a stir in so great a convention of the Princes; that he would continue in his seat, and not darken the joy of the Coronation with such a cloud of wrath. Then said the Emperor, Seeing one word doth so offend you, I wish that I had not spoken it; albeit I acknowledge not that I have spoken anything otherwise then became my place; but take heed, lest by healing of a little ach, you make a deeper wound in the body; for such is your wisdom, you know what it is to divide such an assembly. Then the Arch-Bishop said chafingly, Your Imperial Majesty would have rewarded me well to day, for the many services that I have followed, and performed for you; I am become hoar-headed in your pitched pavilions; I have vexed Italy; I have fought against Lombardie; I have caused Brunswick to sweat, and bleed: this is my great reward, that in the assembly of the Princes, I should be dashed for an Abbot, who had not attempted such a thing, if he knew not the secret favor of the Cæsarean Majesty: But if you, O Cæsar, and the King, will have me to remain, let our seats be as they were; if the Abbot will displace me, let him climb up into the clouds, and set his seat in the north, and be like unto the most High. But the Bishop, having notice of what the Abbot intended to do, brought with him 4,000. armed men, and more; and certainly they had fallen to blows, if the stir had continued. Then said the Emperor, Arch-Bishop, seeing you have taxed me of secret correspondence in this business, with the Abbot, I am ready to give my oath, that I am not accessory to this fault. And when it appeared that he was ready to give his oath, the Bishop said, The word of your Cæsarean Majesty, is unto me sufficient for an oath. Then the Emperor turning unto the Abbot, (because he saw, that not a few Princes were ready to draw swords for him) said, Father, you must have a little patience, without prejudice of your right, lest any more trouble do overcloud this solemn day. The Abbot was a little ashamed, and took the lower seat. Then was the King and Queen Crowned. About that time Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, prevailed mightily in the East, and

ann. 1187. he took Jerusalem: The Christians kept the Title, King of Jerusalem, and some Towns in Asia, the space of 100. years, and more; and many Princes went thither, but never possessed Jerusalem, except that short time when the Emperor Frederick II. was in it, as followeth. Barbarossa was moved to go thither: he was hindered by Isaacius the Greek Emperor, and therefore did sundry affronts unto him, both in Thracia, and Asia; as also he conquered Iconium from the Turks; and so great was his glory, that his Army was called Invincible; and none durst resist him, saith Nicetas li. 2. de Isaac. Who also testifieth, that this Emperor did forbid the worship of Images; and did use unleavened bread in the Sacrament; for which causes, and some other such things, the Armenians did welcome the Almans into

*The affairs of
the East.*

Asia as their friends. On a day, when he was hunting with the Lord of Armenia, he went into an unknown river to water his horse, he fell into the water, to the irreparable loss of all Christendom, saith *Naucler*; for Saladan was so afraid of him, that he left Syria, and intended to retire with all the Turks into Egypt. Thus (saith he) died that Emperor *ann.* 1190. one so glorious, and who had in his time enlarged the Empire, that after Charles the Great, none was to be compared unto him in honor of exploits. His Son Conrade took the Government of the Army, and recovered Antiochia, Cœlosyria, Laodicea, &c. and died *ann.* 1191. Manuel in the 38. year of his reign, left his young Son Alexius Emperor, and recommended him unto his Cousin-German Andronicus; at first he shewed himself a good Tutor of his Pupil; then he carried equal sway; and lastly, like a shameless Traitor, murdered him within three years after his Fathers death: but the Princes took him, and punished him many ways: and Isaacius Angelus, next in kindred, was Emperor. In the time of this Andronicus, the Sicilians came into Greece; without resistance they possessed Thessalie, Amphipolis, and made towards Constantinople. Isaacius sent Branas against them, and he came upon them unawares: at first the Greeks were unwilling to fight; but being encouraged by Branas, they partly slew, and fully chased all the Sicilians out of Greece. *Nicet. Choni.* Likewise at that time the Turks had invaded the Eastern part of that Empire; and the Myfi usurped liberty: as also the Bulgarians, and the above-named Branas, made an insurrection, aiming at the Empire, but was killed: And after him others did usurp the Title; so unfortunate, and worthless, was Isaacius. And one Isaacius Comnenus usurped the Kingdom of Cyprus; nor was the Greek Emperor able to expel him, until Edward King of England (intending for Jerusalem) came and took him, and gave him as a Captive to one of his Subjects: he possessed all the Island, and at his returning home, he gave it as his proper gift unto the King of Jerusalem, *Nicet. li. 2. de Isaac.* Isaacius was dethroned by his Brother Alexius *ann.* 1190.

*Base ambition
bringer's
under.*

4. HENRY VI. the second Son of Frederick, hearing that his Father was dead, and fearing that his elder Brother would return unto the Crown, fought the Empire miserably. First, He restoreth unto Henry Duke of Saxony, and others which had rebelled against his Father, all that his Father had taken from them: Then he sent unto the Pope Clemens, and Cardinals, promising in all things to confirm the Laws, and Liberties of the Church, if they would grant him their consent. Clemens, with advice, assigneth him the time of Easter in the next year to his Coronation; but Clemens died sooner. When Henry came at the appointed time, with his new Empress Constantia, the Romans receive him with a few persons, but would not admit his Army. Then Pope Celestin standing on the steps, before the door of St. Peter's, took an oath of Henry, that he shall defend the See of St. Peter, he shall repair whatsoever hath been diminished from it, especially he shall surrender unto the Church of Rome, the Cities Tusculo, &c. and expel Tancred, the base Son of Roger, out of both Sicilies, (which Kingdom appertained unto his Wife, the onely Daughter of King William) reserving the pension that belongeth unto the Pope, in the name of few. These Articles being so granted, they go into the Church, and Henry was Crowned in this manner; The Pope sitting in his Chair, held the Crown betwixt his feet; the Emperor boweth down his head unto the Pope's feet; the Pope setteth on the Crown with his feet, and by and by struck it off again with his foot to the ground; thereby declaring, that he had power to take it from him if he shall so deserve: Then the Cardinals took up the Crown, and set it on the Emperors head. And thence-

thenceforth the Emperor is but the image of the old Emperors, as *Cumm. Ventura in Theſor. Polit.* at that Title, *Quomodo Imperium à Pontifice dependet*, ſaith, They do ſtray very far, who diſtinguiſh not the now Empire, from the old Roman Empire; for the old received no beginning from the high Priests, but the Pope was revered as the Vicar [or rather *Minister*] of Chriſt, and head of the Church: and they do erre (ſaith he) who diſcern not the preſent Empire, from the Empire of Charles the Great, &c. When the Coronation was ended, the Pope ſent immediately unto Tuſculum, and made it level to the ground, to be example unto others, that they preſume not againſt the Chair of St. Peter. *Platin.* Henry undertook wars againſt Tancred, but ſoon left off, becauſe the plague had entered into his Army: After two years Tancred dieth; and Henry got the Kingdom after ſome ſkirmiſhes, and ſeverity uſed againſt ſome rebellious. At that time the truce of five years, which Richard King of England had made with Saladin, were expired; wherefore Pope Coeleftin did ſolicite the Princes, eſpecially the Emperor, that they would not forget the Conqueſt of Jeruſalem, ſeeing ſo fit an occaſion of peace at home was offered, and Saladin was lately dead. The Emperor pretendeth infirmity, and ſent a great Army with the Dukes of Saxony, and Auſtria, and ſome Biſhops. At this time Almarik King of Cyprus married Iſobel the Widow-Queen of Jeruſalem, and he was called King of Cyprus, and Jeruſalem: He had no minde to the wars, and therefore the Title, King of Jeruſalem, was given to John de Bregna, a man of great valor, and Son in Law unto the ſame Iſobel: The Germans joyning with him, were Maſters of the field for a ſpace; they took Berito, and re-edified Japha, or Joppe. In the mean time Henry made greater Conqueſts in Italy, then the Pope deſired, taking ſome Lands, and Cities, which the Pope did alledge to appertain unto his See. Then he became ſick at Meſſina, and cauſed his Son Frederick (aſyet lying in the cradle) to be elected King of the Romans, and of both Sicilies; and recommended him unto his Brother Duke of Suevia, and unto Pope Innocentius; and he died *ann.* 1198. Alexius reigned at Conſtantinople with great miſfortune.

CENTURY XII.

CHAP. II.

Of P O P E S.

1. **P**ASCHALIS II. was choſen *ann.* 1099. at his Election the people cried, St. Peter hath choſen good Rainer (that was his name;) then he put on a purple veſture, and a tiare on his head, and riding on a white palfrey, was led unto the Lateran Palace, by the people and Clergy; there a Scepter was given him, and a girdle put about him with ſeven keys, and ſeven ſeals, in token of his ſeven-fold power, to wit, of binding, looſing, ſhutting, opening, ſealing, reſigning, and judging. He had open field of his Anti-Pope Clemens III. and put him to flight. Not long after Clemens died, when he had ſat 21. years. Then Richard Earl of Campania, cauſed Albert to be inſtalled for Clemens; but he ſaw no appearance of quietneſs, and forſook his Papacy within four moneths. At Preveſte another was ſet up, whom they called Silveſter III. he deſpairing of ſo great honor, would be an Anchorite within 105. days. A fourth Roman was ſet up; but he was alſo forſaken. So Paſchalis, being alone, ſet his heart to enlarge Peter's patrimony: he be-

siedgeth some Cities belonging unto the Emperor; and raised the Son of Henry V. against the Father. The Popes were wont to date all their Writs, from the year of the Emperor; but now Paschalis beginneth with the year of his Papacy: He sate eighteen years, and six moneths, in continual sedition.

2. GLASIUS II. had his neck thrown, and was trampled under foot, before he was Crowned; for Cincius Patricius Romanus would have had another elected; and the Emperor set up Gregory VIII. and went to de-thrown Gelasius; who fled from place to place, till he came to Cluniak, where he died within a year.

3. CALLISTUS II. was set up by the Cardinals at Cluniak, but would not accept till he knew the consent of the Cardinals at Rome: Before he entered the City, he sent a Nuntio to excommunicate the Emperor in Germany. He had many bouts with Gregory VIII. and at last thrust him into a Monastery. Then began the controversie betwixt the Imperialists, and Papalines, whether the Emperor, or Pope, did excel in dignity? Reasons were alledged on both sides: but for brevity I omit the one; and that the pride of the man of sin may be known, here are the other in rime:

*Pars quoque Papalis sic objicit Imperiali;
Sic dans regnare, quod Petro subjiciare:
Ius etenim nobis Christus utrumque dedit.
Spiritus & corpus mihi sunt subjecta potenter,
Corpore terrena teneo, caelestia mente,
Vnde tenendo solum, solvo liquoque polum.
Æthera pandere, cœlica tangere Papa videtur.
Nam dare, tollere, necesse, solvere cuncta meretur:
Cui dedit omne decus lex nova, lexque vetus.
Annulus & baculus, quamvis terrena putentur,
Sunt de jure poli quæ significare videntur.
Respice jura Dei, mens tua cedat ei.*

The Emperor was fain to yield, and triumph was made at Rome, when the peace was concluded, fifty years after the discord began betwixt Henry IV. and Gregory VII. Then Callistus assembled a Synod at Lataran, for the support of Jerusalem; and there was a Decree, that none may dissent from the doctrine of the Church of Rome; because, as the Son came to do the Father's will, so all Christians must do the will of their Mother the Roman Church. Then Callistus besieged Sutrio, where Gregory abode, and brought him unto Rome, sitting on a Camel, with his face backwards; such was the discipline in those days. Callistus sate five years, and ten moneths.

4. CELESTIN II. was chosen by the Cardinals; but Leo Frangepanis by force set up Honorius II. who hearing that Celestin had renounced his election, did also renounce, and then was accepted by the Romans; and he sate in peace two years; for now the people stood in awe of the Pope's curses.

5. INNOCENTIUS II. was chosen next; but the above-named Leo, with some Cardinals set up his own Son ANACLETUS II. for fear of him, and his friends, Innocentius fled into France; and in a Council at Claremont, he condemned Pope Anaclet, and all his followers. *Bernard in epist. 124.* calleth Anaclet, the Antichrist; and in *epist. 126.* he calleth him, the chief of Schismaticks; and there he witnesseth that others spoke so of Innocentius. From France Innocentius goeth unto Lotharius the Emperor, and promiseth to Crown him, if he will aid him against his Competitor.

At

Contention
Whether the
Emperor, or
Pope, should
have the
precedency.

At this time Pope Anaclet giveth unto Roger Duke of Sicilie, the Title of King, for siding with him. Lotharius and Innocentius come together into Rome, as is above: Anaclet lurketh until Lotharius returned, and then he forceth his Anti-Pope to flee into Pisa. Then Bernard wrote his 130. Epistle, saying, Pisa is assumed unto the place of Rome, and is chosen from among all the Towns of the world, to be the Supremacy of the Apostolique See [*Why then do they now charge us, that we will not tie the Supremacy of the Church unto Rome? seeing he also addeth*] nor happeneth this by chance, or counsel of men, but by heavenly providence, and bountiful favor of God, which loveth them that love him; and hath said unto his Christ, Dwell in Pisa, and I will abundantly bless her; I will dwell there, because I have chosen her, &c. There a Council was called, and the Pope of Pisa accurseth the Pope of Rome; and sent again for the Emperor, who came with a greater Army then before. The first place he set upon, was the Abbey of Cassino, and commandeth Abbot Raynold to forsake Pope Anaclet, and he would reconcile him unto Innocentius, and maintain the priviledges of the Abbey, as his Ancestors had done. On the other side, Innocentius commandeth the Abbot, and all his Monks, to come bare-foot before him. Raynold chooseth the Emperor as his Patron; therefore Innocentius became jealous of the Emperor, who went on to judge Raynold's cause; and commandeth them both to compear by their Proctors before him, and his Bishops assembled. Gerard a Cardinal appeareth for the Pope, and Peter a Deacon for Raynold. Gerard objecteth, One who is excommunicated by the head of the Church, should not sit at the feet of the Churches Son. Cæsar answereth, That excommunication is the question; therefore he may sit till he be heard. Gerard saith, The universal Church hath ordained us, and our predecessors, Rulers of the world [*He alledgeh no power from Christ's Institution*] The Emperor replieth, We received from the Apostolique See not the Empire, but the token thereof. Gerard saith, But Monks should swear obedience unto us. Peter replieth, By the Imperial Laws we are not tied to such an oath. Behold here the Pope at the Emperor's Bence; howbeit thereafter he gave Raynold unto the Pope's pleasure. Among the Epistles of Bernard, the 114. was written by this Innocentius against Peter Abaillard, where he saith, By the testimony of the Apostle, as there is but one Lord, so we know but one faith, on which, as an unmoveable foundation, (beside which none can lay another) the certainty of the Catholique Church standeth unviolated: hence blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, for his excellent confessing this faith, did hear from our Lord and Savior, *Thou art* (said he) *Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church;* signifying by this rock, the certainty of faith, and the solidity of Catholique unity----- Martian, a most Christian Emperor---- writing unto our most holy Predecessor Pope John, against them who presume to profane holy mysteries, saith, Let no Clerk, or Soldier, or any of whatsoever condition, attempt in publique to treat of the Christian faith; for he wrongeth the judgement of the most reverend Synod, who attempteth to canvase, or dispute again the points that are once judged, and rightly determined; and the contemners of this Law, shall be certainly punished as the sacrilegious. Observe how a Bishop in those days expounded the word *rock*, otherwise then the Jesuites do now, but as the Reformed Church doth. Secondly, He acknowledgeth the Civil Magistrates power in *Ecclesiasticks*, without mention of the Pope, but expressly with relation unto a Synod. This Pope did first ordain, that the Pope should sit at Mass, when others do kneel; as if a religious gesture were too base for the Pope, when he holdeth his Savior in his hand, according to their doctrine. He hoped to enjoy peace, when after eight years Anacletus died;

*The Pope yet
once ar-
raigned.*

but the Romans did reject him altogether, alledging that Church-men should live by tithes, and offerings, and other Revenues do appertain to the Commonwealth. In the mean time the Emperor was incumbred so in Germany, the Romans set up their old policy, and create new Governors to rule the City: Innocentius will oppose, but first in a Synod ordaineth, that whosoever shall smite a Clergy-man, shall be summarily excommunicated, *Gratia. c. 17. q. 4. Siquis.* Then he excludeth the people *à comitiis Pontificalibus* from all the Pope's Councils. *Platin. & Onuphr.* but neither his menaces, nor gifts, could prevail: When he saw the opposite forces wax strong, he died in sorrow *ann. 1143.* when betwixt prosperity, and adversity, he had sate thirteen years and seven moneths.

6. CELESTIN III. was chosen first by the Cardinals onely; they had the advantage, that the people were in a stir; and thereafter it turned to a custom, that the Cardinals sought not the consent of Prince, nor people. Nothing is found memorable of him in his five moneths, say *Platin.* and *Onuphr. in Innoc. II.* but Bernard, though he intended not to write an History, yet informeth us of the Popes, and the Court, and of the Church in his time; and the Romanists will not deny his testimony, seeing he is a Canonized Saint: Unto him he wrote Epistle 192. the inscription is, *Unto Master Guido de Castello*, who was a disciple of Peter--- and afterwards was Pope Celestin: In the Epistle he calleth him, a Cardinal Presbyter of the Roman Church; and his salutation is, that he decline not to the right hand, nor to the left: then he saith, I were injurious unto you, if I do believe that you love any man so, that you love his errors also; for whosoever loveth thus, knoweth not as yet in what maner he ought to love; for such love is earthly, sensual, divelish, and hurtful both to the lover, and to the loved--- Mr. Peter bringeth us profane novelties of words, and meanings; disputing of the faith against the faith; by the words of the Law, he impugneth the Law--- when he speaketh of the Trinity, he is an Arrian; when he speaketh of grace, he is a Pelagian; of the person of Christ, he is a Nestorian: It is not presumption, if I intreat you, that in the cause of Christ, you prefer none unto Christ. In the next Epistle unto Cardinal Yvo, he saith, Peter Abailard is a Monk without a Rule; a Prelate without a charge; neither keeping order, nor can be kept in order; he is unlike himself, without a John, and within a Herod--- when he speaketh of the Faith, of the Sacraments, and of the holy Trinity, he addeth, impaireth, and changeth at his pleasure--- he is condemned with his work at Soisson, before the Legate of the Roman Church--- but he is careless, because he braggeth, that Cardinals, and Clerks of the Court are his disciples; and for defense of his by-past, and present errors, he chooseth them to be his Judges, by whom he should fear to be judged, and damned. Bernard in Epistle 196. saith to the same Guido, Arnald of Brixia, whose conversation is honey, and doctrine is poyson; who hath the head of a dove, and venom of a scorpion; whom Brixia hath spewed out, Rome hath abhorred, France hath refused, Germany holdeth abominable, and Italy will not receive, is said to be with you; beware, I pray thee, that he do not more harm by your authority--- To favor him, is to contradict the Lord Pope, yea the Lord God; for by whomsoever a just sentence is justly pronounced, surely it cometh from him which saith by the prophet, I speak righteousness, &c. Hence we may guess what a man Celestin was, and what many of the Court were before he was Pope. Then in Epistle 234. he writeth unto the same Celestin, saying, Who knoweth not that the cause of the Bishop of York was decided by Pope Innocentius? but oh that it were not known how that sentence is put in execution! oh that it be not told in Gath, nor in the streets of Ascalon! &c. And

in the next Epistle unto the Roman Court, he saith, All men should write of that which concerneth all; nor fear I to be taxed for presumption, because, albeit I be the least of all men, yet I think the injury of the Roman Court toucheth me; we are vexed, I say unto you, we are vexed without measure grievously, so that we are weary of our life: we see horrible things in the house of God, and because we cannot amend them, we do at least advertise them which should: if they shall amend, it is well; and if not, we have delivered our souls, and ye have no cloke for your sin. Ye are not ignorant, that sentence was pronounced by the Lord Pope, of good memory, Innocentius, with the general consent of you, and the Roman Court, that the election, or rather intrusion of William Bishop of York is null-- and ye know, that this sentence was full, not onely of judgement, but of mercy--- but oh! that the sentence might stand, and what is done contrarily might not stand--- oh! that Phinehas could go with his sword against this fornication; or that Peter were alive in his seat, to consume these wicked ones with the breath of his lips--- I say unto you, it will be a great scandal in the Church; and I fear, lest the Authority of the Roman See suffer a very grievous loss, if he be not punished who hath transgressed their general sentence, that others may fear. But what meaneth that which is reported, that this William hath privy and dark Letters, I wish from the Princes of darknes, and not from the Princes of the Apostles; and behold, the children of the uncircumcised have heard it, and do jeer at it, that against a publique sentence, contrary Letters are come from Rome. What shall I say to you?--- If the Roman Court will compel these men, against their consciences, to bow down unto Baal, the Lord see and judge it, and the Court of Heaven look to it, where judgement cannot be wrested by any ambition, &c. Here we see one Pope against another, and the Court at one time, against it self in a short time, to the great scandal of the Church, and derision of the enemies; and this was sharply told them by their own Saint.

7. LUCIUS II. sate eleven moneths; He was vexed by the Romans, *The Romans would be free.* and sent humble Letters unto the Emperor, representing the oppression of the Church, and of all Italy, and inviting him to come unto their defence; But, saith *Naucler. generat.* 39. the Emperor could not at that time: So the Romans do (besides their Senators) create Jordanes their Patricius; they go unto the Pope, and take from him all badges of Royalty, as well within, as without the City, as belonging unto the Patricius; and they bid the Pope be content with the first-fruits, oblations, and tithes, after the custom of the ancient Priests. When Lucius began to oppose them, they drave him out of the City, and threw stones at him, that thereafter he was not able to do any thing, and died. *Ibid.* Alfonso Duke of Lusitania, made his Land tributary unto Peter's See. *Baron. Annal.*

8. EUGENIUS III. was chosen, and because the City was not quiet, he went forth to the Monastery Farven, and was consecrated by the Cardinals, and then dwelt at Viterbio. In the mean time the Romans throw down the houses of the Cardinals, and Clerks, and of some Nobles, plundering their houses, not sparing St. Peter's Church. Eugenius accurseth them, and by the power especially of the City Tibur, he compelleth the Romans to seek peace; and they promised to have no Magistrate without the Pope's consent. In time of their perplexity, they sent unto the Emperor Conrade, beseeching him, as Lord of the City, and Emperor of the world, to come and possess the City, as Constantine, and Justinian had done, and from thence to rule all Italy, and Germany; and they complain, that the Clergy had conspired with Sicilie

against the City; and they promise all manner of obedience and loyalty : The sum of their sute was comprised in few verses.

*Rex valeat, quicquid cupit, obtineat, super hostes
Imperium teneat : Roma sedeat, regat orbem
Princeps terrarum, cœu fecit Iustinianus :
Cæsaris accipiat Cæsar, quæ sunt sua, præsul,
Vt Christus iussit, Petro solvente tributum.*

The whole Letter is in *Otho, Frising. de gest. Frider. l. 1. c. 28.* But Conrad was so pestered with wars in Germany, that their imploration was in vain. When Eugenius was come into the City, he understood of plots against him, and fled down the river in a ship; the Citizens pursue him with weapons, and darts, as once they did with Gelasius, saith Naucier. He went to Pisa, and thence to France. This is the sum of the Historians; now hear *Bern. in l. 4. de consider.* he saith unto Eugenius, Name but one man in all the great City, who hath accepted thee for Pope, without price, or hope of price. When he was chosen, Bernard wrote unto the Roman Court the 236. Epistle, saying, The Lord forgive you, what have ye done? one which was buried, ye have brought again among men; one that was fleeing from cares, and troubles, ye have pestered with cares and troubles; ye have made the last first, and behold, his last condition, is more perilous then his first; he who was crucified to the world, is by you revived unto the world---- hath he left Pisa, that he might have Rome? he who could not manage the Vicounty of one Church, was he seeking the Government of the whole Church?---- But seeing it is so, and many say, It is of God; it is your duty, oh most dear, that it be diligently cherished by your fervent endeavors, and faithful obedience, which certainly is wrought by your hands; and therefore if any consolation be in you, if any vertue of charity in the Lord, if any miseration of piety, if any bowels of compassion, do ye aid and work with him in the work, whereunto he is assumed of the Lord by you. And in the next Epistle unto Eugenius, he saith, I was expecting that some of my sons would come, and lighten the father's sorrow, and say, Joseph thy son is living, and ruleth in all the Land of Egypt; therefore have I now written, not so much of mine own accord, as of necessity, being constrained by the intreaties of friends, unto whom I cannot refuse the residue of my life: And seeing I have begun, I will speak unto my Lord, for now I dare not call thee my son; because the son is turned to be the father, and the father is the son; and he who came after me, is preferred before me; but I do not envy it, because, what was deficient in me, I am confident that I have it in him, who came not onely after me, but even by me; for (if you offend not) I have begot thee, by the Gospel: what then is our hope, our joy, and the hope of our glory? is it not you before God? In a word, a wise son is the glory of his father. And henceforth thou shalt no more be called son, but a new name shall be given unto thee, which the mouth of the Lord hath named; this is the change of the right hand of the most High, and many shall rejoyce in this change: for as of old, Abram was turned unto Abraham, and Jacob unto Israel; or rather (to speak of thy predecessors) as Simon to Cephas, and Saul to Paul; so my son Bernard, into my father Eugenius, by a very joyful, and, as I hope, profitable change: This is the finger of God, raising the needy out of the dust, and the poor from the dung, that he may sit with the Princes, and possess the throne of glory. It followeth, that this change being made of you, that the Bride of thy Lord, which is committed

committed unto thee, be also changed into the better; [*note*] and that she be no more called Sarai, but Sarah: understand what I say, and the Lord giveth thee understanding. If thou be the friend of the Bridegroom, call her no more my Princess, but, the Princess; usurping nothing as thine in her, but that it is be needful, thou shouldest give thy life for her: if Christ hath sent thee, thou wilt think that thou comest not to be served, but to serve; and to minister not onely thy means, but even thy life, as I have said; A true successor of Paul, will say with Paul, Not that we domineer over your faith, but we are helpers of your joy; An heir of Peter, will hear Peter saying, Neither as Lord over the people, but we were examples of the flock: for so now, not a servant, but the free-woman, and the fair one of the most fair Bridegroom, shall by thee come unto his long wished for arms; for by whom other, shall this so necessary freedom be hoped, if you also (which God forbid) seek in God's inheritance your own things; who even before had learned, I will not say, not to possess any thing as your own, but not to be your own: therefore she having such confidence in you, as she seemed to have in none of your predecessors in many ages before; [*note*] all the Church of the Saints every where, is justly glad, and glorieth in the Lord, and especially she whose womb hath born thee, and whose breast thou didst suck. What then? may I not rejoyce with them that rejoyce? shall I onely not be of the number of them which are glad? I confess, I have joyed, but with fear; I have joyed, but in the very moment of my exaltation, fear and trembling hath come upon me: for albeit I have laid aside the name of father, yet have I not laid down fear, nor care, nor solicitation and bowels of a father: I consider the height, and fear a fall; I consider the pinnacle of honor, and I behold the surface of the gulf below; I look up to the top of dignity, and I fear danger approaching; as it is written, Man when he was in honor, did not understand: which (in my judgement) reareth to the cause, and not to the time; that it is so meant, as if it were said, Honor swalloweth understanding, &c. When Eugenius fled out of Rome, Bernard wrote unto the Emperor Conrade thus; The Kingdom, and Priest hood, could not be more sweetly, more friendly, yea, more fruitfully conjoynd, and complanted one in another, then when they were both together in the person of our Lord, which was made unto us of both the tribes, according to the flesh the highest, both Priest, and King; yet not onely so, but hath commixed, and coupled them together in his body; which is the Christian people, and he the head thereof; so that this sort of men, are by the Apostolical word called, a chosen royal Priest-hood; and in another Scripture, so many as are predestinated unto life, are they not called Kings, and Priests? therefore what God hath conjoynd, let no man put asunder; but rather, what divine Authority hath ordained, mans will should endeavor to fulfill; and they should joyn in hearts, who are conjoynd in ordinances; let then cherish one another, defend other mutually, and bear one anothers burthens; The wise man saith, A brother aiding a brother, both shall be comforted; but if they bite one another, (which God forbid) both shall come into desolation. Let not my soul come into their counsels, which say, That either the peace, and freedom of the Church, is hurtful unto the Crown; or the prosperity, and exaltation of the Crown, is hurtful unto the Church: for God, the Author of them both, hath conjoynd them not to destruction, but to edification. If ye know this, how long will ye disseemble common contumely, and common injury? Is not Rome as the Apostolical Seat, so also the head of the Empire? therefore though I would not speak of the Church, is it the honor of the King to have an headless Empire? know not what the wise men, and Princes of the Kingdom, do advise you

herein, but though I speak imprudently, I will not be silent in what I do judge. The Church of God, from the beginning, even till these times, hath been oft afflicted, and oft delivered---- it is her voice. They have often afflicted me, from my youth, but they could not prevail against me---- Be sure, O King, that neither now will the Lord leave the rod of the wicked, upon the back of the righteous; the hand of the Lord is not shortened, nor become unable to help; At this time he will deliver his Spouse, which he hath redeemed by his blood, endowed with his spirit, furnished with heavenly gifts, and nevertheless enriched with earthly things: He will deliver, I say again, he will deliver, but if by the hand of another, let the Princes of the Kingdom consider, whether this be to the honor and advantage of the King? certainly not: Wherefore gird thy sword, O most mighty, and let Cæsar recover unto himself, what is Cæsar's, and unto God, what is God's. *Vtrumque interesse Cæsaris constat*; undoubtedly both these appertain to Cæsar, to maintain his own Crown, and to defend the Church; the one becometh the King, and the other the Advocate of the Church. The victory, as we trust in the Lord, is at hand; the Romans are more arrogant, then potent; for what? did ever any great or mighty Emperor, or King, presume so vile a thing, both against Crown, and Priest-hood? but this cursed, and tumultuous people, which cannot measure their strength, nor think on the end, nor consider the event, in their foolishness, and fury, durst attempt so great sciledge; the temerity of the multitude, cannot stand for a moment before the King's face, &c. I will not here add observations. *Bellarmin. de Ro. Pont. l. 2. c. 31.* I alledgeth, That Bernard did first give unto the Pope the Title, Vicar of Christ. It was not from the beginning so; but the Cardinal mistaketh it, Bernard was not the first, if Platina do truly report the words of Gregory VII. he used this Title before him; and according to the language of the Court at that time, Bernard giveth this Title unto all Priests, even from whom all iniquity proceedeth, as he speaketh *in sexto Convers. Pauli ser. 1.* and giveth unto Eusebius both this, and loftier Titles; for *lib. 2. de Consider.* he calleth him, *The Great Priest, the Prince of Bishops, the Heir of the Apostles; Abel in Primacy, in Government Noah, in Patriarchship Abraham, & Order Melchisedek, in Dignity Aaron, in Authority Moses, in Judging Samson, in Power Peter, in Vocation Christ*; here is a rhapsody of glorious Titles; and he addeth these passages of Scripture, that are wrested, to maintain the ambition of the man of sin; but whether he speak so in derision, or according to his own minde, it may be judged by his words following immediately: but first see what he said a little before. What hath the holy Apostle left in legacy unto thee? he saith, What I have, I give thee. What is it? One thing I know; it is not silver, nor gold; seeing he said, Silver and gold have I not. If thou happen to have it, use it according to the time, and not at thy pleasure; so use them, as not abusing them; seeing these (in respect of the souls good) are neither good, nor ill; but the use of them is good, the abuse ill; the care of them is worse, and seeking is filthier: by whatsoever way thou may have them, certainly thou hast them not by title of the Apostle; for he could not give what he had not; what he had, that he gave, the care of all the Churches. Gave he Lordly power? hear himself, Not domineering over the people, but being an example of the flock. And lest you think he said so in humility onely, and not in truth, the Lord saith in the Gospel, *The Kings of the earth have dominion*--- but not ye so. It is clear, dominion is forbidden unto the Apostles. Go then, and take (if thou darest) either Apostleship, if thou be a Lord; or dominion, if thou be Apostolical: thou art clearly forbidden to do either of the two; if thou wilt have them together, thou shalt lose them both

The original
of the title
Vicar of
Christ.

And consisted
by Bernard
at large.

or else think not thy self to be excepted from those, of whom God complaineth, saying, They have reigned, but not by me; they were Princes, and I knew them not: And if thou wilt reign without God, thou hast glory, but not with God. We see what is forbidden, now hear what is commanded; Who is the greater among you, let him be as the yonger; and he that is chief, as he that serveth: There is the model of an Apostle; dominion is forbidden, and serving is commanded; which is commended also by example of the Law-Giver; for it followeth, I am in the midst of you, as he who serveth. Bernard there hath many things to this purpose, and after he hath mentioned these former Titles, and prerogatives, he saith, I have spoken of who thou art, but forget not what--- consider what thou wast, and now art; why wilt thou not behold, what thou canst not cease to be? Indeed it is one thing what thou wast, and art, and another who thou art become; the one must not be forgot in searching thy self; for thou art what thou wast, and thou art not less, after thou art become such, and perhaps more; thou wast born that, and changed this, but not changed into this; the former is not cast off, but this is added. If thou consider what, remember thy nature, thou wast born a man; if thou ask, who thou art? a Bishop; this thou art made, and not born: which of these thinkest thou nearest, or chiefest unto, that thou art made, or that thou wast born? is not that thou wast born? therefore I advise thee to consider most, what thou art most; to wit, a man, even as thou wast born: And thou must consider, not onely *quid*, sed *qualis natus*. what, but what an one thou wast born--- take away therefore in thy predication, the cover of these leaves, which hide the shame, and heal not the wound; blot away the false colour of fading honor, and the glance of counterfeit glory, that thou mayest nakedly consider thy self naked, because thou camest naked out of thy mothers womb: Wast thou born with a mitre, or glancing with Jewels, or shining with silks, or crowned with feathers, or burthened with metals? if thou blow with thy meditation these things, as a morning cloud, thou wilt see thy self a naked man, poor, wretched, miserable, lamenting that thou art a man, ashamed that thou art naked, weeping that thou art born of a woman, and therefore with guiltiness, and therefore with fear, and filled with miseries both of soul and body; for what calamity wanteth he, who is born in sin, a frail body, and barren soul?--- A modest man will moderate his cares, abstain from superfluities, and not fail in things necessary: a just man will not presume on things higher then himself; but will say with that just man, If I be just, I will not lift up my head; therefore in thy meditation walk warily, that thou neither ascribe unto thee more then enough, nor deny more then is just; and thou ascribest unto thy self more then truth, not onely by arrogating any good thou hast not, but by ascribing what thou hast, &c. In *lib. 3.* he saith, Thy fathers were ordained to overcome, not some nations, but the whole world; for it was said unto them, Go into all the world; and they sold their coats, and bought swords, to wit, zealous eloquence, and a vehement spirit, weapons powerful through God: Whither went those famous Conquerors?--- *occumbebant, non succumbebant*; these mighty warriors did die, but never gave over; they triumphed when they were dead--- Thou hast succeeded into their inheritance; so thou art the heir, and the world is thine inheritance; but it is to be seriously considered, how this inheritance concerneth thee, and how it did concern them? for I believe not every way, yet in some way; I think a dispensation is committed unto thee, and possession is not given thee; if thou wilt usurp this too, he contradicteth thee, who saith, The earth is mine, and the fulness thereof: Thou art not he, of whom the Prophet said, All the earth shall be his possession: This is Christ,

to whom the possession belongeth by right of creation, merit of redemption, and by gift of the Father--- What sayest thou? wilt thou deny me power? and forbid me to rule? yea plainly, as if he had not power, who hath care--- *Præsis ut proßis* : So govern, that thou do good; so govern, as a faithful, and wise servant, whom the Lord hath set over his house: Unto what? to give them food in season; that is, to steward, and not to command, do this: and thou, being a man, affect not to rule over men, lest unrighteousness rule over thee--- I am afraid, for no poison unto thee, and no sword more then this desire of ruling: certainly, albeit thou think much of thy self, yet if thou be not much deceived, think that thou hast not received more then the great Apostles; remember therefore that word, I am debtor to the wise, and to the unwise; and if thou think that belongeth to thee, remember also, that the grievous name of a debtor, agreeth to a servant, rather then to a ruler--- therefore if thou acknowledge thy self a debtor to the wise, and unwise; thou must earnestly consider, how both they who are not wise, may be wise, & they who are wise, become not unwise; and how they who are become unwise, may grow wise again: But no kinde of foolishness, is worse then infidelity; therefore thou art a debtor to Infidels, Jews, Greeks, and Gentiles; therefore it should be thy work, that Infidels may be brought unto the faith; the converted, be not turned away; and who are turned away, may return; who are perverted, may be made straight: according to rectitude; and the subverted may be recalled unto the truth; the subverters may be convinced with unvincible reasons, to the end that themselves may be amended, if possible, or if not, they may not have power, and authority to subvert others--- Albeit the Apostle excuse thee concerning the Jews, seeing they have a term, which cannot be prevented, the fulness of the Gentiles must come in. But what sayest thou of the Gentiles themselves? yea; what answerest thy consideration unto this question? thinkest thou, that the Fathers have set bounds unto the Gospel, and suspended the word of faith, while infidelity continueth? by what reason think we, hath the word, which did run so swiftly, come to a standing? who did first hinder the running of salvation? possibly some cause, which we know not, or necessity might hinder them; but what reason have we to dissemble? by what confidence, or what conscience, do we not so much as tender Christ unto them which have him not? do we withhold the truth of God in unrighteousness? But certainly, the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in sometime: do we expect that faith shall fall upon them? who hath ever believed by chance? how shall they believe, without a Preacher?--- I add concerning the pertinacy of the Greeks, who are with us, and not with us, joynd in the faith, and severed in peace, albeit in the faith they do halt from the right paths. And also of heresie, which spreadeth quietly every where almost, [*note*] among some doth rage openly; for it devoureth quickly the babes of the Church every where, and openly. You ask, Where is this? Yours which visit the South so oft, behold, they know, and can tell thee; they go, and return thorow the midst of them, or pass by them, but as yet we have not heard, what good they do among them; and possibly we had heard, if they had not made more account of Spanish Gold, then of mens souls. It is thy duty to provide a remedy unto this malady; but there is a foolishness, which in these days hath almost made foolish even the wisdom of faith; [*note*] How hath this poison envenomed almost all the Catholique Church? for, while even in her each one seek our own things, it is come to pass, that by mutual envying, and contention, we are taken up with hatred, encouraged to injuries, ready unto strifes, use cavillations unto guile. carried to slanders, break out into curses, are oppressed by the mightier, and do oppress the weaker. How worthily,

and laudably, might the meditation of thy heart be exercised, against so pestilentious a kinde of foolishness, which thou seeest to possess the very body of Christ, which is the multitude of believers. Alas! ambition, the cross of the ambitious, how doest thou vex all men, and please all men? nothing doth vex men more bitterly, nothing disturbeth them with more turmoil, and nevertheless, nothing is more frequent among miserable men, then the affairs thereof. Doth not ambition haunt the houses of the Apostles, more then devotion doth? doth not your Palace resound all the day over with its voice? doth not all the discipline of the Laws, and Canons, serve unto its gain? doth not all the pilling, and polling of Italy, wait with unsatiable greediness on its spoils? doth it not onely interrupt, but even cut off thine own spiritual studies? &c. Here Bernard continueth, reporting the iniquity, and gross abuses of the Roman Court in appealations, exemptions of Bishops, of Abbots, the priviledges of Monks, Simony so openly maintained, that when a poor, or honest Bishop, was sought by the people, he could not attain it, till the Pope himself gave the poor man money to give for his investiture; so yielding unto the maner of the Court, and saving the poor man from the malice of them who love gifts; on the one side, respecting conscience, and on the other, providing to the fame of the man, saith he. Yea, he saith plainly, The Lord is angry, seeing the house of prayer, is become a den of thieves. Nor spareth he the Pope himself, saying, A wise man will preveen his work with a three-fold consideration, whether it be lawful, decent, and expedient? for albeit in Christianity it is certain, it cannot be decent, which is not lawful; nor expedient, which is not decent, and lawful; yet it followeth not that all is decent, and expedient, which is lawful. Now apply these three unto thy work; How? is it not undecent for thee to use thy will for law? and because there is none to whom thou canst appeal, therefore to follow thy will, and despise reason? Art thou greater then thy Lord, who said, I come not to do mine own will? Albeit it is not more base then arrogant, as if thou wert void of reason, to do not according to reason, but after thy pleasure; and to be led, not in judgement, but after thy appetite, what is so beastly? and if it be unworthy to any rational man, to live as a beast, who can endure so great reproach of nature, and injury of honor, in thee the Governor of all? By degenerating in this maner (which I wish were not) thou hast made the common reproach proper to thy self, to wit, Man being in honor, and understandeth not, he is compared unto the unwise beasts, and is become like unto them, &c. In *lib. 4.* he propoundeth unto the Pope's consideration, the Clergy, and People of Rome, and when he hath shewed what they should be, and what they are for the time, and howbeit they may be incorrigible, yet Eugenius should not cease to endeavor a reformation, (seeing he should endeavor, though he cannot amend them) he then saith, I pray bear with me a little, yea, give me leave, I speak not rashly, but with fear; I am jealous over thee, with a godly jealousy; oh, that it were as profitable as earnest; I know where thou dwellest, incredulous and rebellious people are with thee; (*and on the margin he addeth Eze. 2.*) they are wolves, not sheep; and nevertheless of such art thou the shepheard: a profitable consideration, whereby possibly thou mayest finde how to convert them, lest they subvert thee: why should we despair, that they can be turned into sheep, from which they have been turned into wolves? in this, in this (I say) I spare thee not, that God may spare thee: either deny thy self to be a shepheard unto this people, or shew it indeed; thou wilt not deny it, lest thou deny thy self his heir, whose Chair thou possessest; this is Peter: But it is known, that he never pranked in jewels, nor silks, nor was covered with gold, nor was carried on a white palfrey, nor convoyed with Soldiers, nor environed with cla-

morous lacquies, and yet he believed, that without such things, that gracious command might be fulfilled, If thou love me, feed my sheep. In these things thou hast succeeded not unto Peter, but unto Constantine: I advise thee, to bear with these things for the time, and affect them not as due unto thee; I had rather excite thee unto these things, whereof thou art a debtor: albeit thou be clothed with purple and gold, yet shun not thou (who art the heir of a shepherd) thy pastoral care and work; be not ashamed of the Gospel--- Thou wilt say, I bid thee feed dragons, and scorpions, not sheep: I say, the rather set upon them with the word, not the sword; what? shouldst thou take a sword into thy hand again, which thou wast once commanded to put into its sheath? &c. In a word, thorow all these five Books of Consideration, Bernard useth not one argument from these lofty titles, to prove the dominion of the Pope, but in the contrary disproveth it; and adviseth him to bear with these things for the time, and neither affect, nor exercise dominion; yea, he presseth stewarding, and serving, so hardly, that he maketh dominion, and stewarding, or pastoral office, inconsistent, and dominion can no way stand with an Apostolical title. And he sheweth the estate of the Church in his time, that it was degenerated from her self in former times; and that these, who should have been shepherds, were become scorpions, and wolves; so that all the Catholique Church almost, was envenomed with the poison of heresie; which was occasioned by the ambition, avarice, and simony of the Papal Court. Eugenius was reconciled to the Romans, and died at Rome *An. 1152.* and in the eighth year of his Papacy.

9. ANASTASIUS IV. did nothing worthy of memory; he gave a great cup of gold to the Lateran Church, and repaired the old *Pantheon*, or St. Maries, *Jo. Bale.* He fate scarcely two years.

10. HADRIAN IV. an English Monk, was not inferior to Hildebrand in pride: In his first year he was solicited, partly by promises, and partly by threats, to leave free administration unto the Consuls; he would not. The Clergy did often entreat him to go unto the Lateran Church; he would not, unless Arnold of Brixia (who was condemned by Pope Eugenius) were banished the City. The people took these in ill part, and one day, when the Cardinal of St. Pudentiana was going unto the Pope, they fall upon him, and wound him: for which cause the Pope, in anger, did accurse them, until they did banish that Arnold, and gave over the Government of the City into the Pope's hands. *N. aucler.* Shortly after he had excommunicated the Emperor, he was walking with his Cardinals to refresh himself, in the fields of Anagnia, and coming to a spring of water, he would taste of it, and with the water, a flie entereth into his throat, and choaketh him, *Platin.* and so a flie killeth him, who had despised all the power on earth. In the later end of his days, he was wont to say, *There is not a more wretched life, then to be Pope. To come into the seat of St. Peter by ambition, is not to succeed Peter in feeding the flock, but unto Romulus in paricide, seeing that seat is never obtained without some brothers blood. Mat. Parisien.* He fate four years, and ten moneths.

A Pope's
confession.

Anti-popes call
one another
the Antichrist.

11. VICTOR IV. and ALEXANDER III. were set up together, and strove against one another, as sometime did Romulus, and Remus; the one alledged the priority of suffrages, and the other pluralities; for Victor was chosen by nine of the Cardinals, the rest being present, and not contradicting; and after twelve days, fourteen Cardinals, departing the City privately, nor calling the others unto a new election, did choose Alexander: but besides the priority, Victor was set in St. Peter's Chair, with the applause of the City and Clergy. Neither of the two abode at Rome; Victor abode at Sena, and Alexander at Anagnia. Both seek the Emperor's favor, who was
lying

lying at the siege of Crema in Lombardie, and intreat him to remove the Schism. They did excommunicate one another with solemnity of ceremonies, and gave one another unto their author Sathan. *Radevius* (as *Ph. Mornay in Myster.* citeth) hath these words, as spoken by Alexander of the other, He, prefiguring the time of Antichrist, is so exalted, that he sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God; and many with their bodily eyes have seen the abomination of desolation, standing in the holy place, not without shedding many tears. We may think that Victor spoke no less, so that they both in others judgement were the Antichrist; wherefore others are to be blamed the less, if they give that name unto the Popes. Alexander bought the favor of the Romans with his money. The Emperor Frederick wrote unto them both, that he would not judge in so weighty a cause, but permit it unto the judgement of the Church; and, after the example of former Emperors, he summoneth a Council, not of the Bishops of the Empire onely, but he inviteth the Clergy of France, Brittain, Spain, Hungary, and Denmark; and he summoneth both the Popes to compear before the Council at Pavia. Fastings and prayers were made unto God, to grant a good success unto the Assembly. The Emperor began thus, Albeit the right of calling Councils appertaineth unto Us, as it is written of Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, and in later days of Charles the Great, and Otho, and other Emperors; nevertheless I refer unto your wisdom, the authority of determining this most high and weighty business, seeing God hath made you Priests in these things that concern him; nor is it my part to judge of you, unto whom God hath given power to judge of us; onely we exhort you to shew your selves such, as who look for the judgement of God upon your selves. All the Bishops, Abbots, and Legates, did solemnly swear, to receive undoubtedly whatsoever the Synod shall decree; and then the Emperor did remove from the Council. Alexander would not appear, but sent them word, that he who is the judge of them all, should and can be judged by none. The Fathers were the more offended, and condemned Rowland, [this was the name of Alexander] and they consecrate Pope Victor. The Emperor approveth the Decree; and all the persons of the Council, without exception, subscribe it: and the Presidents sent Letters unto all the forenamed Nations, that they should acknowledge none other Pope but Victor. Nevertheless, Pope Alexander accuseth the Emperor, and all the Cities which submitted themselves unto Octavian, or Victor: but despairing to have a Synod assembled in Italy, he passeth into France, and in a Council at Claremont, *An.* 1162. he reneweth the former curse. The next year Pope Victor dieth.

12. PASCHALIS III. was chosen by the Cardinals, with the general approbation of all the Princes, and Bishops, in an Assembly at Wirtzburg *An.* 1165. In this Synod it was decreed, That none should be Pope, but he who shall be elected according to the ancient custom, and with consent of the Emperor; and a Messenger of Christ, and Successor of blessed Peter, and not be emulous of the Imperial Dignity. All who were present, took an oath, that they should never acknowledge any Pope, who was chosen another way. Christian Bishop of Mentz, did first subscribe. *Avent. lib.* 6. In the mean while Pope Alexander ceaseth not to treat by his Nuntio John, a Cardinal, with the Romans, and promised them the liberty of their Consuls, and other Officers, if they would aid him against the Emperor. Upon these conditions he was received, and then he inticed other Cities to usurp liberty. When the Emperor had levied an Army, he went with Paschalis towards Rome, as is touched before. Pope Alexander fled into Venice, one of the Cities which

had usurped liberty, and had made a confederacy with other Cities. The Emperor left Paschalis in Rome; but ere he was soiled, the Romans had received Pope Callistus III. and maintained him in contempt of Alexander, until the reconciliation was finished between Frederick and Alexander. Then this Pope made a new agreement with the Romans, and was received by them *An. 1178*. There in a Council he enacted, That if the Cardinals could not accord in the election of a Pope, whomsoever the two parties shall choose, he shall be received by all; and if any person, leaning to the election of the third part, shall demean himself as Pope, he shall be accursed. He did annul the acts of Victor, Paschalis, and Callistus. *Bellarmin. de Sanctor. beat. lib. 1. cap. 7.* testifieth, that in the days of this Alexander, a soul did appear, and rebuked some persons for worshipping a man that was killed in drunkenness: as also he testifieth, that before that time a soul had appeared unto St. Martin, when he was praying for it, and confessed it self to be the soul of a damned robber. Because these things were frequent, Pope Alexander ordained, That none should be worshipped as a Saint, unless he were canonized by a Pope. *Po. Verg. de inven. rer. lib. 2. cap. 8.* He canonized Thomas Becket, who (as the Sorbonists then maintained in their publique disputes) was justly condemned for rebellion. Before that time the Clergy paid tribute, *Gratian. cau. 22. qu. 8. c. Tributum.* but Pope Alexander exempted all Church-mens goods, whether Benefices, or proper heritage, from all tribute of temporal Lords. *Bellar. de Cler. lib. 1. cap. 24. prop. 4.* And in Proposition 5. of the same Chapter, he saith, The exemption of the Clergy, as well concerning their persons, as their goods, was brought in by the law of man, and not of God: This is against the Canonists, saith he. In the same Council it was ordained, That manifest usurers, should not be buried among believers. This Pope gave the title of King unto Alfonso Duke of Lusitania, for his valiantness against the Saracens there. *Baro. Annal.* He sate twenty and one years.

Damned souls
were wor-
shipped.

13. LUCIUS III. had peace with the Emperor; but because he would have taken off the new liberty, and name of Consuls, the Romans forced him to flee to Verona. Unto him a King of Armenia did submit himself, because of a variance between him and the Greek Emperor: and the Pope embraced him for his homage, albeit neither he nor his people were conformable in Religion. Naucler saith, Lucius ordained, That a Priest, having a concubine, might say Mass, and others might receive a Sacrament from him, if his Bishop did tolerate him. He sate four years, and died *An. 1185*.

14. URBAN III. had peace at home: but in his time Saladin conquered Jerusalem by dissension of the Christian Princes there. He sate one year and ten moneths.

15. GREGORY (IX. called the) VIII. by Letters, exhorted the Princes to send aid unto the distressed Christians in Asia; and died on the 57. day.

16. CLEMENS III. condescended unto the Romans concerning their Magistrates; that strife had continued fifty years. In his time was the greatest expedition into Asia; then went the Emperor Frederick, Philip King of France, Richard King of England, Ortho Duke of Burgundy, with many Bishops from Italy, Flanders, Denmark, &c. but all in vain; for after the death of Frederick, when they should have been supplied with victuals, Clemens was busie in conquering Sicily from Tancred, who had furnished them. *Platina.* He spoiled sundry Cities; and when he, despairing of victory, turned to Church affairs, he ordained, That onely a Pope hath power of transporting a Bishop from one seat to another; that Bishops should be in honor above Princes. He sent Peter, Cardinal of Capua, into Poland, to reform

reform the Clergy; to wit, to discharge all married Priests; for until that time, that liberty was not taken from them. The same Cardinal attempted to do the like in Bohemia, but they had almost killed him *An. 1196. Spalat. de Rep. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 10. §. 47.* He went also into Denmark, but the Clergy would not obey him; so he did excommunicate them all. Clemens sat five years.

17. CELESTIN IV. gave the Romans liberty to raze Tusculo, because that City, in a kinde of emulation, had been offensive unto Rome; yet gave he the people license to abide in the suburbs. Now with Tancred, and then with Henry VI. he had continual wars; and died *An. 1198.* In that Century the strange pride of the Popes was apparent, and it was strongly opposed by the Emperors, and manifestly manifested unto the world, even by themselves, one condemning another in open Councils; and ye shall anon see it contradicted, and bewailed, by some Bishops, Abbots, and others.

CENTURY XII.

CHAP. III.

Of divers Countreys.

1. **M**Any and fearful signs were seen in the beginning of this Century; bloody Armies appeared in the air; two Suns were seen in heaven; the Stars seemed to fall as thick as rain; many Comets were seen, one of them was marvellous in bigness, continuing in the evening the space of eighteen days, and with great light. A marvellous earthquake is reported to have been in the year 1117. so that Churches and Towns fell to the ground in Italy, and other Nations; the sea in some places overflowed 1000. paces. *Platin.*

2. Fluentius Bishop of Florence, preached that these signs did portend great miseries, and that Antichrist was then reigning in the world. Platina saith, Paschalis was not fearful, and said, All these things have natural causes: but he would not let Fluentius pass without a censure: he convened a Council of 340. Bishops at Florence, and made a shew of despising him as a broacher of new opinions, and enjoyed him silence. *Bellarmin. de Ro. Pont. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

3. Arnulph, a singular preacher of Christian Religion, in a Sermon at Rome, reprov'd the dissolute wantonness, incontineney, avarice, negligence, and immoderate pride of the Clergy: he said, they should follow Christ and his Apostles in purity of life. Many Nobles did reverence him as a true disciple of Christ, saith *Platina in Honor. II.* Others write no less of him. Naucler calleth him Bishop of Lions. In the second Tome of Councils is a Book under his name, where he complaineth of the multitude of holy days, as the occasions of many vices, namely, incontineney; he complaineth of curious singing, in learning whereof, much precious time was spent, which might be better employed; of the multitude of idle Monks, and Nuns, of the corrupt promotion, and negligence of Prelats; of the lascivious apparel in the families of Bishops; of their non-residence at their Churches; of the negligence of the Clergy, in not perusing and observing the Acts of ancient Councils; of the unchaste lives of Priests, &c. *P. Mornay in Myſter. ex Chro. Hirſaug.* sheweth, that this Arnulph said, He was sent by an Angel to preach at Rome, and the Angel told him, that he was to glorifie God in suffering for his cause; and therefore he said publicly, I know that ye will kill me; but wherefore? because I tell you the truth, and rebuke your pride, cover-

ousness, and luxury. I call heaven and earth to record, that I have told ye what God hath commanded me; but ye contemn me, or rather your Creator. Neither is it a marvel, that ye will kill me, a sinner, for telling you the truth, seeing if Peter would rise again, and tell you of your faults, ye would not spare him. I am ready to die for the truth; and I tell you, in the name of the Lord, that the Almighty God shall not spare your filthiness, ye shall go into hell; God is a revenger of such wickedness, &c. The people loved him dearly; but the Clergy laid wait for him, and murdered him in the night. All the Clergy was defamed for his death. The Pope took it ill, but he revenged it not, *Platin.*

4. Paschalis II. sent a Palle unto the Bishop of Panormitan, in Sicily, and craved of him an oath of fidelity: both the Bishop, and the King Roger was offended, and said, It is a new usurpation; for it was never decreed in any Synod, that Bishops should be tied unto the Pope by an oath. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 15.*

5. Moses, a Jew, was baptized on the feast of Peter, and Paul; from that feast, he would be called Peter: and because Alfonso King of Spain answered for him at his baptism, he was called Petrus Alfonsus, in the 44. year of his age. In a book against the Jews, he saith, All the sacrifices of the Law, are fulfilled in the sacrifice of Christ, once offered on the Cross: after his death, the Church useth no sacrifice, but one of thanksgiving in bread and wine; as David had prophesied, when he sang, Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? offer unto God the sacrifice of praise: where he intimateth, that all sacrifices should be abolished, and onely this of thanksgiving should continue. There also he saith, Christians have no images for adoration; and as no account was made of the stones, whereof the altar had been made, so we make no reckoning what become of the reliques of the cross, or of any image that had been set upon it, *Catal. test. lib. 14.*

6. Hildebert Bishop of Towers, about the same time, wrote many Epistles; in one unto an Earl, going a pilgrimage, he condemneth pilgrimages for visiting of Monuments: amongst other things, he saith of the Roman Church, This is proper unto the Romans, to infer calumnies, to deser persons; to bring menaces, and carry away riches: Such are they, whose business thou mayest hear to be commended in ease; whose prey, is in peace; whose fighting, is in fleeing; and victory, in cups: they regard no man, nor order, nor time: they are in judgement, Scythians; in chamber, vipers; at feasts, Peasants; in understanding, stones; in discerning, prattling daws; to anger, fire; to forgive, iron; in friendship, pards; in deceit, foxes; in pride, bulls; to devour, minotaur, &c. He wrote to Honorius II. refuting the appellations to Rome, because it was a novelty contrary unto the Scriptures, and very hurtful unto the Church. He sheweth the condition of Rome briefly in two verses;

*Vrbs felix, si vel dominis vrbs illa careret,
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.*

He was apprehended, and imprisoned at Rome. *Mornay in Myster.*

7. Honorius Augustodunensis was famous for his learning and godliness, about the year 1110. Gesner testifieth of many of his books, as yet extant: he wrote one *De Papa & Imperatore*, against the Pope. In *Dialog. de prædesti. & libe. arbit.* he writeth of the Roman Church in this maner, Turn thee to the Citizens of Babylon, and behold what they are, and how they walk! behold! come to the top of the mountain, that thou mayest see all the houses
of

of the damned City : Look to the Princes and Judges of it, that is, the Cardinals and Bishops, amongst them is the seat of the Beast ; at all times they are prone to ill, and ever insatiable intangled with the things of iniquity : they not onely practice wickedly, but teach others to do the like ; they sell holy things, and buy wickedness ; by all means they endeavor, that they go not alone to hell : Turn thee to the Clergy, and among them thou shalt see the pavilion of the Beast ; they neglect divine service, but they are busie in the service of gain ; they defile the Priesthood with filthiness, and deceive the people with hypocritie ; by their wicked deeds they deny God ; they cast aside the Scriptures ; and how can they who are blinde, lead blinde people unto salvation ? Behold the Convents of the Monks, and among them thou shalt see the tabernacle of the Beast ; by feigned profession they scorn God, and provoke his wrath ; with their habit they deceive the world--- Look to the habitations of the Nuns, and amongst them thou shalt see a bed strawed for the Beast ; from their tender years they learn luxury ; they are more shameless then any bordeller, and she will have the palm of victory, who exceedeth others in wickedness, &c. In the same dialogue he saith, Because some are predestinated, the grace of God preveeneeth them, that they have a will, and it followeth them, that they may do ; but seeing predestination is unchangeable, the wicked being justly forsaken, neither will nor can do good ; they hear admonitions with deaf ears, because none cometh unto the Father, unless the son by grace, that is, by the holy Ghost drawing them ; and in his mercy he loveth whom he willeth, and in his justice he reprobateeth whom he willeth ; neither can they say, Why doest thou so ? --- The kingdom of heaven is not according to merits, but of grace ; for what deserveth man but ill ? In the same dialogue he had said, Degrees of glory shall be according to the diversity of merits ; but then he addeth, We receive grace for grace ; we receive grace when God preveeneeth us, that we have will, and followeth us, that we may do ; according to this grace, he giveth another grace, when he rewardeth with glory. In *Pf. 6.* Save me according to thy mercy, and not according to my merits. In *Ser. de Natal. Dom.* All men, before and under the Law, and under Grace, are saved by the nativity of Christ.

8. Rupert Tuitienfis was Abbot of that Monastery near to Colein, about the year 1112. Gesner hath a large Catalogue of his works. In his Commentary upon John, *lib. 1. cap. 1.* he saith, By onely grace are we brought into the Kingdom of Heaven, which we can conquest not by merits of our own works. *Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 2.* Christ buildeth his Church on a sure rock, to wit, on himself ; Cephas had his name changed, and was called Peter, from this rock ; whereby is signified, that upon all which are built on that foundation, which is Christ, shall be named a new name (as the Prophet saith) which the mouth of the Lord hath named. *Ibid. lib. 12. cap. 15.* The Church of the elect, sojourning in this world, abideth not always in one estate, but sometimes shineth with the graces of the Spirit, sometimes it is obscure, and shineth less, being under oppression, until the mutability of this world be finished. And *cap. 16.* It is the rule of the Catholique Church, to direct her prayers unto God the Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord, because there is no other door, nor way, but by him--- his name onely is the necessary chariot of all prayer. And *De Vict. Verbi. lib. 12. cap. 11.* What, and how many are the chief Sacraments of our salvation ? the holy Baptism, and the Eucharist of the body and blood of our Lord ; these both are the gifts of our Lord, the one for remission of sins, and the other for distribution of many graces. In *Prolog. in Apocalyp.* he saith, Blessed are the meek (saith the Lord) for they shall inherit the earth ; both of them who shall enjoy, and who shall not enjoy, we have a

remarkable example in the spies----- for among those, Joshua and Caleb were meek, that is, they acknowledged the truth, and were not repugnant unto it--- What is the holy Scripture, but the very Land of promise? and what it was to them to go bodily out of the Land of Egypt, and to enter into the Land of promise, is unto us to go out of the land of darkness, or ignorance, and to enter into the knowledge of God by the truth of the Scriptures----- When we read or hear the Scriptures, we see not God face to face, but the vision of God, which certainly will be perfected, is begun here by the Scriptures. *Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 2.* Neither do they promote the sons of the Church for their virtues, but the daughters, that is, the effeminate and vicious persons for their gifts unto the offices of the Church: Do not they who are so promoted, hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans? for Clemens reporteth, that Nicolaus was rebuked for his jealousy towards his wife, and that he answered, Let any man have her who listeth: And from this answer, the unbelievers inferred, that the Apostles permitted unto all men the common use of women. Is not this like unto that doctrine, that they will not have lawful marriage, because it is forbidden by the laws of the Church? and nevertheless they live incontinently; yea, they do worse, imitating the married when they please, and though they have not a lawful bed, they are lecherous in such a manner, that they have not broken any bond of marriage. *Ibid. cap. 3.* It is not possible that any of these whom God hath predestinated unto the Crown, can lose their Crown; it may be, and it hath come to pass, that some lose the Crown, whom God hath called by a visible calling, or which might have been heard by man. *Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 11.* Excepting the Apostles, whatsoever other thing afterwards is said, let it be cut off, neither have any authority; therefore albeit after the Apostles there be any holy man, how wise soever he be, let him not have that authority, seeing the Lord speaketh in the Scriptures. *Ibid. lib. 11. cap. 20.* Possibly one will say, Since Christ overcame death, and ascended into the heavens, doth he descend thence again? surely he descendeth, but invisibly----- all the world hath heard his descending--- when a sound was heard from heaven as of the Spirit coming, and filled the house where they were sitting, did not Christ then descend from heaven? Is the substance, or Majesty of the Son, separated from the Spirit, that when the holy Ghost descendeth, the Son of God descendeth not also? certainly he descendeth not in the form of his manhood, yet undoubtedly he descendeth in his uncircumscribed Deity, or in the Spirit that he giveth; and he descendeth to visit the Nations, by his Messengers whom he inspireth.

9. Bernard in *Epist. 56. ad Gaufrid. Episco. Carnot.* writeth, that Notbert Præmonstratenfis did teach, that Antichrist was before the doors, and to be revealed in the same age: Within these few days (saith Bernard there) I obtained to see this mans face, and I learned many things from an heavenly fistule, to wit, from his mouth. Behold what account this Author made of him, who spake thus. *Hen. Oram in Nomenclat.* saith, this Notbert was the beginner of the Order of Monks in the Diocly of Magdeburgh. *Pol. Vergil. de inven. rer. lib. 7. cap. 3.* calleth him a Priest of Lorrain; and saith, that he began that most exact Order after the rule of Augustinians; as also in that Chapter, and the preceeding, he sheweth, that sundry others, seeing (about that time) that the Monastical institutions were not observed, men becoming always worse and worse, and godliness was corrupted by riches, (*quæ [pietas] ut mater illas à principio Ordini pepererat, & quotidie sunt qui ignavia sua potius quàm religioni consulant*) therefore they would reform the Order, and added some new Rites, for distinction from others of the same Order, who were become looser; and by these means, the number of Orders were multiplied.

10. Theodoricus Abbot of St. Trudo at Leodium, about the year 1120. said, Simon Magus now reigneth at Rome, and not Simon Peter; and Simony is in place of the Gospel; what may we not have, if we have money? In *Catal. test. verit. lib. 14.* are some of his verses; concerning the Government of the Church, he saith, *Vt Mosso Nisa, corvo datur ecce columba: Qualis pullus erit, quem fert commixtio talis.* Hence it appeareth, that good men at that time bewailed the wretched condition of the Church.

11. Hugo de S. Victore, by Nation a Saxon, and Abbot of S. Victor at Paris, was in great account about the year 1130. His works are extant in three Tomes. In one place he saith, The Clerks of our time know not the Law, nor learn they it; but they study vanity, ease, surfeiting and drunkenness; they are often in the streets, seldom in the Churches; slow to search the faults of sinners, and ready to follow the trace of hares; they give more bread to dogs than to the poor; their beds are better arayed then the altars--- the barking of dogs, and lowing of oxen, is more pleasant unto God then the singing of such Clerks---their preaching may be dispised, whose life is condemned. *Of our communion with Christ, he saith on Iohn 6.* The Lord, shewing a difference betwixt the bread he gave, and which they did eat in the wilderness, saith, I am the bread of life: for he is the bread wherewith an hungry soul is refreshed, which is, when true faith embraceth him; for by faith we love him, and by love we are united unto Christ, which is our life; therefore this spiritual bread is eaten by faith, even without Sacramental eating, and is profitable unto salvation dayly; we have need of this bread, while this present life endureth: and so said Augustine, Why preparest thou thy teeth and stomach? believe, and thou hast eaten. On Chapter 20. he saith, Whose sins ye forgive, *i. e.* whose sins are forgiven by you, God also forgiveth them: this is spoken generally, not onely unto the Apostles, (as some say, this is the prerogative of the Apostles) but it is spoken and granted unto all their successors. On *Rom. 2.* The written Law is called the Law of works, because men under the Law, thought that all their righteousness was in the works of the Law; but the Law of Faith and Grace, is so called, because men under Grace, set the sum and efficacy of their salvation on Grace onely, knowing, that as no man is saved by righteousness of his works, so none is justified by works of his righteousness; for righteousness is not of good works, but good works are of righteousness. On Chapter 4. If man had not sinned, he should have had perfect righteousness, which consisteth in the perfect fulfilling of God's commands; so that he should have had no lust against reason, and he might have loved God with all his heart; but after sin, and for sin, man cannot have this perfect righteousness, unto which eternal life is justly due; but God of his grace giveth faith unto man, and of the same grace reputeth it for that perfection, as if he had the perfection of righteousness. *De Scriptura & Scriptor. Sacris cap. 1.* he saith, That Scripture onely is truly called Divine, which was from the Spirit of God, and written by those who spoke by God's Spirit; that maketh a man divine, and reformeth him according to the image of God, by teaching to know him, and by exhorting to love him; whatsoever is taught therein, is truth; whatsoever is commanded, is good; and whatsoever is promised, is blessedness; for God is truth without falshood, goodness without wickedness, and blessedness without misery. In *cap. 6. & 7.* All Divine Scripture is contained in the Old and New Testaments: and when he hath divided the Old Testament into the Law, Prophets, and *Hagiographa*, and hath reckoned the Books that are in the Hebrew Canon, he addeth, There be also other Books, as Wisdom, the Books of Syracides, Judith, Tobias, and the Maccabees, that are read indeed, but are not rolled in the Canon.

Catol. test. ver. lib. 15. Likewise *De Sacramentis fidei lib.* 1. *cap.* 28. If it be asked, What is original sin in us? It is a corruption, or vice, by which in our birth we draw ignorance in our minde, and concupiscence in the flesh. And *cap.* 19. In the estate of innocence, the flesh as a weak beast, did bear the Spirit sweetly, having neither spur nor bridle; or if there was any bridle then, wherewith the flesh, which cannot go by it self, was ruled, yet it had not need of a bridle to restrain it, because it was not impetuous. *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 11. Some Fathers have said, That the Saints see all things, because they see him who seeth all things: I dare say no more but this, they see as much as pleaseth him-- it is hard to judge any more. But thou wilt say, If they hear me not, I speak in vain unto them which neither hear nor understand. Behold, let us say, Saints hear not the words of them that pray unto them; nor doth it impair their blessedness, that they know not what is done abroad: Let us say then, they hear not. But doth not God hear? Why art thou solicitous then, whether they hear, or how much they hear, seeing God heareth, for whose sake thou prayest? he seeth thy humility, and will reward thy devotion. *Ibid.* *To.* 5. *cap.* 10. The Sacrament is given in both kindes, to the end we may believe, that thereby a twofold effect is signified; for it hath the vertue (as Ambrose saith) to preserve both body and soul. *Ibid.* *par.* 15. *cap.* 7. It is more probable, we should believe that every soul suffereth punishment in those places especially where they have sinned; but if there be any other place of these punishments, it is not easie to prove.

12. Bernard Abbot of Clarevaux, or Clareval, was famous in that time. He oft complaineth of the defection of the Church; as in *sesto Convers. Pauli Ser.* 1. he saith, The whole multitude of Christians seemeth to have conspired against thee, O Christ; from the least to the greatest, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, there is no soundness. Iniquity proceedeth from the Priests, thy Vicars, which seem to be Governors of thy people--- alas! alas! O Lord God, they are first in pursuing thee, who seem to desire and have the primacy in thy Church--- Now holy Orders are given for filthy gain; they seem to abound in godliness, while they take on them the charge of souls, but their least thought is of the safety; and can any persecution be more grievous unto the Savior of souls?--- many Antichrists are in our days--- Christ seeth this, and is silent; our Savior suffereth, and dissembleth; and we must also be silent, and dissemble, especially concerning our Prelates, and Masters of the Church--- The Ministers and Vicars of Christ think it necessary to observe what they command, but they will not consider what is the will of their Master, &c. In a word, none can more sharply rebuke the vicious lives of Bishops and Abbots, then Bernard did in his time; as appeareth especially in his *Epist.* 42. albeit not with open hostility, nor would he make a Schism in the Church. Yea, he did not spare the Popes, as appeareth partly by what he wrote unto Eugenius, and in *Epist.* 178. unto Innocentius II. he saith, It is the one voice of all, who have any faithful care of people among us, that righteousness perisheth in the Church; the keys of the Church are not regarded, the authority of Bishops is despised, because none of them endeavor to revenge the offences committed against God; nor can any correct unlawful things in his own Dioc; they lay all the blame upon you, and the Court of Rome; they say, that ye throw down what they have lawfully built, and ye have established things which they have justly condemned. Yea, for his liberty in speaking against the Errors of his time, he was detested and reproached, so that he was necessitated to publish Apologies; namely, see that *Apologia ad Willerm. Abbat.* where he saith, that they called him, the most miserable of men; one who durst presume to judge the world, and by the shadow of

Complaints
of Bernard.

He was
detested.

of his baseness insult over the lights of the world; yea, not a ravenous wolf in a sheeps skin, but a biting flea, or a base moth: and he saith there, that he was like to be killed every day, and was judged as a sheep for the slaughter: and nevertheless, he was not afraid to speak of their vices, because (saith he) *Melius est ut scandalum oriatur, quam veritas relinquatur.* And he continueth telling them, that at that time a small train was called avarice; sobriety was thought austerly; and silence, sadness: but looseness was called wisdom; prodigality, liberality; babling, affability; jeering, mirth; softness of clothes, and pride of horses, honesty; superfluous ornaments of beds, cleanliness; and when one doth so unto another, that is called charity; and so charity destroyeth charity, and discretion confoundeth true discretion; and such mercy is full of cruelty, because thereby the body is served, and souls are killed---- Who at the beginning, when the Order of Monks began, could think that Monks would become so naughty? O how unlike are we unto those in the days of Antonius! ---- Did Macarius live in such a maner? did Basilus teach so? did Antony ordain so? did the Fathers in Egypt carry themselves so? ---- I will speak, I will speak, though I be called presumptuous, yet I will speak truth; How is the light of the world become darkness? how is the salt of the earth made unsavoury? they whose lives should have been a pattern of life unto others, are become blinde guides of the blinde, when they shew example of such pride---- I am a liar, if I have not seen an Abbot having above sixty horses in his train: when ye saw them riding, ye might say, these were not Fathers of Monasteries, but Lords of Castles; not feeders of souls, but Princes of Provinces: they must have carried after them, their table-cloths, cups, basins, candlesticks, and portmanteaus stuffed, not with straw, but ornaments of beds: scarcely will any of them go four miles from his house, but he must have all chattels with him, as if he were going into a leagure, or through a wilderness, where necessities could not be had---- O vanity of vanities, but not so vain as mad! the walls of Churches are glorious, and poor folk have necessity; the stones are covered with gold, and the children are naked, &c. One may say, yet Bernard was a serious follower of the Popes; yes, he gave them all the titles that the flatterers could, or were wont to give: but see what blows he gave them, as appeareth by what he wrote to Innocentius, and what is here above in Eugenius II. he layeth on them the blame of all the wickedness in the Church; and he proveth, that they had not right to usurp as they did. In Rites he was carried with the sway of the times, and these were the lesser things; but behold his doctrine of faith, how different it was from the tenets of Rome now; and if you will know the Giant by his foot, note these passages. In the *Sermo. de multipl. utilis. verbi Dei*, he saith, The word of God, sounding in the ears of the soul, doth trouble, terrifie, and judge; but anon, if you observe, it quickeneth, meltereth, warmeth, enlighteneth, and cleanseth: briefly, it is our food, and sword, and medicine, confirmation and rest; it is also our resurrection, and consummation. And think it not a wonder that God's word is called now, all in all in respect of justification, seeing it shall be all in all unto glorification: Then let a sinner hear it, [*note*] and be afraid; a carnal soul shall tremble at that voice, for that word is lively and efficacious, it searcheth all the corners of the heart; so that though thou wert dead in sin, if thou wilt hear the voice of the Son of God, thou shalt live; for the word that he speaketh, is spirit and life: If thy heart be hard, remember how the Scripture saith, He sendeth forth his word, and it melteth them; and, My soul melted when my beloved spoke. If thou be lukewarm, and fearest to be cast out, go not away from the word of God, and it will warm thee, for his word is hot as fire; and if thou

His doctrine.

bewailest the darknes of ignorance, hearken diligently what the Lord will speak in thee, and his word shall be a light unto thy feet, and a lantern unto thy steps; and if thou be the more sad, that the more thou art enlightened, thou seest the more clearly, even thy least offences, the Father will sanctifie thee by the truth, which is his word, that thou mayest hear with the Apostles, Now ye are clean, for, or through the word that I have spoken unto you: and when thou wasest thy hands, behold, he hath prepared a table before thee, that thou shalt not live by bread onely, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God, and by the strength of that food, thou mayest run the way of his commands; if an army were set against thee, and a skirmish of tentation, take unto thee the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and thereby shalt thou easily triumph; or if it shall happen (as in battels it is usual) that thou be wounded, he will send forth his word, and heal thee; and he shall deliver thee from death, that in thee also it may be verified what the Centurion said, Lord, onely say the word, and my servant shall be healed: But if yet thou stumblest, confesse and cry, My feet are almost gone, and my steps are well nigh slipt; and by his word he will strengthen thee, that thou shalt learn experimentally, that even the heavens are made strong by the word of the Lord, and all their power is by the breath of his mouth. In *Epist. 91. ad Abbates Suefioni congreg.* I would be in that Council, where the traditions of men are not obstinately defended, nor superstitiously observed, but where they search diligently and humbly, what is the good, acceptable, and perfect will of God; thither am I carried with all my desire, and there would I abide devoutly---- God onely willeth not to be better then he is, because he cannot: Let them be gone both from me, and from you, which say, We will not be better then our fathers; protesting that they are the children of the lukewarm and dissolute; the remembrance of these is with a curse, for they have eaten four grapes, wherewith the childrens teeth are set on edge: or if they do glory in holy parents of good memory, let them follow their holiness, while they stand for their dispensations, and connivences, as for a law. And in *Tract. de Præcept. & Dispens.* Many things were devised and ordained, not because they might not be otherwise, but because it was so expedient, and certainly but for conserving charity; therefore so long as the things do serve charity, let them stand without change; nor can they be changed without offence, no nor by the Rulers: But contrarily, if they be contrary unto charity, in the judgement of such onely unto whom it is granted to see so, and unto whom it is committed to foresee, is it not clearly most righteous, that what things were devised for charity, should also be omitted, or intermitted for charity, when it is so expedient, or at least that they be changed to another thing more expedient: as on the other side, certainly it were unjust, if these things that were ordained for charity, be held against charity. Let them therefore hold fast what is immoveable---- nor do I onely think so, or first speak so, the Popes have so spoken---- Leo saith, Where it is not needful, change not the institutions of the holy Fathers; but if there shall be necessity, for the benefit of the Church, let him who hath power dispense with them; for a law is changed upon necessity: Now by necessary, or unviolable, I understand not what is delivered by men, but what is proclaimed by God, that they may not be changed but by him which gave it; for example, Thou shalt not kill---- and all the other commandments of that Table; albeit these can no way be dispensed with by men, nor was it ever lawful, nor shall it ever be lawful unto any man to loose one of these any way, yet the Lord hath loosed them when he pleased; as when he commanded the Hebrews to spoil the Egyptians----- and therefore when we read that any good man hath done

any time otherwise, and the Scripture doth not witness that God hath commanded him, we must confess that they have sinned as men, or that they have received a particular warrant from God, as some Prophets did---- But what will I have to be thought necessary, and unchangeable? truly that onely which is confirmed by Divine and eternal reason, so that is changed no way, not by God himself: under this kinde is all which our Lord did teach in that Sermon on the mount; and whatsoever is delivered in the Old and New Testaments concerning love, humility, meekness, and other vertues to be observed spiritually; for these are such, that it is not lawful, nor expedient to do otherwise at any time--- At all times, unto every person, these things bring death if they be despised, and life if they be observed, &c. Behold how these Abbots had a purpose of Reformation, but were hindered by others upon that ground of former practice, or ordinances; and how Bernard excuseth former practices, and yet would have had a change; and still maketh the word of God to be the rule. In the same Treatise he saith, True obedience knoweth no law, nor is restrained to any bounds--- by vigor of free, and a glad minde, it considereth not measure, but is enlarged into infinite liberty--- this is the property of the just man, for whom the law is not made; not that he should live without a law, but because he is not under the law, and is not content with the vow of any profession, which he overcometh by the devotion of his minde. In *Traict. de Gra. & lib. arbit.* This work [*of sanctification*] cannot be done without two, one by whom, and another in, or to whom it is done. God is the Author of salvation, and free will is capable onely--- we have will from free-will, but not the power to do what we will; I say not, will to do good, or will to do evil, but onely will; for to do well is increase, to do ill is decrease; to will simply, is that which increaseth, or decreaseth: Creating grace made free-will, saving grace maketh it to increase, but it prostrateth it self to decrease: so free-will maketh us willing, and grace maketh us to will well. Near the end he saith, What hast thou, that thou hast not received? thou art created, healed, saved; Man, which of these hast thou of thy self? which of these is not impossible unto free-will? thou which wast not, could not create; nor being a sinner, couldst thou justifie; nor being dead, couldst raise thy self: I do pass these good things, that are necessary unto them which must be healed, and laid up for them that shall be saved; but what I say, is clear for the first and last, as none doubted of the middle thing, but he who knoweth not the righteousness of God, and would set up his own, not being subject unto the righteousness of God. And he concludeth there, Without doubt it is of God both to will and to do, according to his good will; therefore God is the Author of thy good work; he both applicth the will unto work, and maketh the work easie unto will; or if we will speak properly, these which we call our merits, are some seeds of hope, proofs of love, tokens of hid predestination, presages of future felicity, the way of the Kingdom, not the cause of reigning: In a word, whom he justifieth, not whom he findeth just, doth he glorifie. In *fest. omnium Sanct.* Ser. 1. What can all our righteousness avail before God? shall it not be reputed as a filthy rag? saith the Prophet; and if it be narrowly examined, all our righteousness shall be found unrighteousness, and naught; and if our righteousness cannot stand for it self, what shall become of our sins? therefore we must pray with the Psalmist, Lord, enter not into judgement with thy servant; and with all humility let us flee unto mercy, which onely can save our souls. And Ser. 2. Who can say, I have a clean heart? who can say, The snare is broken, and my feet are safe from falling, seeing the Apostle saith, Let him who standeth, take heed lest he fall? and of himself he saith, O wretched man! who shall deliver me?---

In *Annunt. B. Mariae Serm. 1.* Thou must first believe, that thou canst not have remission of sin, but by the mercy of God: next, that thou canst not have any good work, unless he give even that: thirdly, that thou canst by no works merit eternal life, but that it is given freely--- for the Apostle saith, We are justified freely by faith---- Who is a better man then the Prophet? of whom God witnesseth, I have found a man according to mine own heart; and nevertheless he had need to say, Lord, enter not into judgement with thy servant; therefore let no man deceive himself. In *Feria 4. Heb. Dom. Panos.* Worthy is the Lamb which was slain, to receive power for doing that he came for, to take away the sins of the world; I mean, a three-fold sin waxing on the earth; think ye that I will say, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life? indeed that is a three-fold cord which is not easily broken--- but I intend to speak of another threefold sin, which also the vertue of the Cross doth overcome, & possibly that may be heard with more profit; the first is original, another is personal, and the third is singular. Original sin is the greatest of all sin, which we all have from the first Adam, in whom we all have sinned, and for which we all do die; certainly it is the greatest, which hath so defiled all mankind, that there is none free, none save one; it is extended from the first man, until the last; and this poison in each one, runneth from the sole of the foot, unto the top of the head; yea also, it is spread abroad through every age, from the day when each man is conceived by his mother, until that day when the common mother receiveth him--- and certainly that original sin is very grievous, and infecteth not onely the person, but even nature; and yet personal sin is more grievous unto every one, when with loose reins we give our members, as weapons of unrighteousness, unto sin, being guilty now, not so through the fault of another, but by our own fault; the singular fault is the most grievous, which is done against the Lord of Majesty, when wicked men kill a just man unjustly---- How wilt thou, Lord, make the thirsty drink of the river of thy pleasure, who so doest pour the oyl of thy mercy on them who crucifie thee? It is clear then, that this passion is most powerful to take away all sorts of sins. And in the next Sermon *De cana Dom.* A Sacrament is a holy sign, or a holy secret thing; for many things are done for themselves onely, but other things are done to sanctifie other things, and these are called, and are signs: for to take example from usual things; a ring is given simply for a ring, and there is no signification; and it is given for investing into an inheritance, and then it is a sign; so that he which receiveth it may say, This ring is little worth, but the inheritance was I seeking. After this maner, when the Lord was to suffer, he would invest his disciples in his grace, that invisible grace was given unto them by a visible sign: For this end were all the Sacraments ordained, as the Eucharist, the washing of feet, and Baptism, the first of all Sacraments, wherein we are com- planted to the similitude of his death--- What is the grace into which we are invested by Baptism? certainly cleansing away of sin; for who can bring a clean thing out of unclean, but he onely who is clean, and on whom sin falleth not, even God? and indeed the Sacrament of this grace before, was circumcision---- I have often said it unto you, nor should ye ever forget it, that in the fall of our first parents, we all did fall; and we have fallen upon a heap of stones, and among clay, so that we are not onely defiled, but wounded and broken grievously; we may be washed soon, but we have need of much dressing ere we be healed; we are washed in Baptism, and thereby is the hand-writing of damnation blotted away; and this grace is given unto us, that lust should not hurt us, if we do not consent unto it; and so the corrupt matter of that old ulcer is removed, when damnation is taken off; and

the answer of death proceedeth from it. But who can endure the itching of that ulcer? be of good chear, that in this also grace will help; and that ye may be assured, ye have the investiture of the Sacrament [note] of the Lord's precious body and blood; for that Sacrament worketh two things in us, it diminisheth the feeling in the smaller sins, and taketh away the consent in the more grievous. If now any of you do not feel so oft so bitter motions of wrath, envy, lechery, and such others, let him give thanks unto the body and blood of our Lord, because the vertue of the Sacrament worketh in him, and he should rejoyce that the wretched ulcer is like to be healed. But what shall we do, seeing so long as we are in this body of sin, and in this evil time, we cannot be without sin? shall we despair? God forbid: Blessed John saith, If we say, we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins, God is faithful to---- In many things we all offend; yet none should despise, or think little of that, for it is impossible to be saved with these, and it is impossible they can be washed away, but by Jesus Christ, and unless he wash them; I say therefore, let none be perniciously careless, and use the words of wickedness to excuse his sins; for (as he said unto Peter) unless Christ shall wash them away, we shall have no part with him: and yet we should not for them be too solicitous, he will forgive as readily, and gladly, if we acknowledge what we are; for in such sins, as inevitable, both immoderate fear, and carelessness, is worthy of blame; hence it is, that he hath taught us to pray dayly for the forgiveness of sins; for as I said of lust, he hath taken away the damnation of it, as the Apostle saith, There is no damnation unto them that are in Christ; nevertheless, for to humble us, he suffereth it to live in us, and to afflict us grievously, that we may know what grace doth unto us, and that we should always run unto him for help; so doth he with us in these lesser sins, by a pious dispensation, that they are not altogether taken away, but by them God will teach us, that seeing we cannot shun these lesser things, we might be sure we do not overcome greater sins by our own strength, and so we should be ever in fear, and watchful, that we lose not his grace, which we see to be so many ways necessary unto us. *Super. Cant. Ser. 13.* Hearken what God saith, My glory I will not give unto another. Lord, what wilt thou give unto us? he saith, Peace I give unto you, peace I leave unto you: It is enough for me, I take it thankfully what thou leavest, and I leave what thou reserveest; so I am content, and I doubt not but it is for my advantage. I do altogether abjure glory, lest if I do usurp what is not given, I do miss that which is offered, and lose it justly; peace I would have, and I desire no more; he who is not content with peace, is not content with thee; for thou art our peace, who hast made both one; this is necessary, this is enough, to be reconciled with thee, and to be reconciled with thy self; for since I became an adversary unto thee, I have been grievous unto my self; and now I am more wary, and I would not be ingrate for the benefit of peace which thou givest, nor a sacrilegious usurper of thy glory: unto thee, Lord, unto thee be glory wholly, happy am I if I have peace. *Serm. 14.* The Law (which never brought any man to perfection) is a yoke that neither they, nor their fathers could ever bear; but the Synagogue is strong, and careth not for a light burthen, nor a sweet yoke, she is whole, & needeth not a physician, and trusteth in the Law. *Ser. 22.* Whosoever being grieved for his sins, hungreth and thirsteth for righteousness, let him believe in thee, who justifiest the ungodly, and being justified by onely faith, he hath peace with God. *Ser. 61.* Confidently will I take what I have need of, out of the bowels of the Lord, they abound in mercy---- the piercing nail is unto me an opening key, that I may see the Lord's will; why should I not see through these holes? the nails cry, the wounds cry, that verily God

was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself--- therefore the mercy of the Lord, is my merit; I shall not have need of merits, so long as he wanteth not merits, and if the mercies of the Lord be manifold, I have merit enough-- Shall I sing of thy righteousness? Lord, I will mention thy righteousness only; for it is also mine, seeing that thou wast made, even of God, to be righteousness unto me: Shall I fear that it be not sufficient for us both? it is not a short mantle--- the righteousness of the Lord endureth for ever: What is longer then eternity? it will cover both thee and me sufficiently, it is a large and eternal righteousness; and indeed in me it will cover a multitude of sins, but in thee, Lord, what will it cover but treasures of piety, and riches of bountifulness. *Ser. 62.* The vine of the Lord, is the Church of them who are predestinated. *Ser. 63.* What is so powerful to heal the wounds of conscience, and to purge the sight of the minde, as the frequent meditation of Christ's wounds? *Ser. 65.* By the vine, I mean her which filleth the earth, whereof we are a portion; that large vine planted by the Lord's hand, redeemed by his blood, watered with his word, propagated by his grace, and made fertile by his Spirit. *Ser. 66.* The Spirit saith manifestly, that in the last days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed unto the spirits of errors, and doctrines of devils--- certainly he speaketh of these men now; for they forbid to marry, and abstain from meat which God hath created; but see now whether this be not properly the craft of the devil, and not of men, as the Spirit hath foretold. Ask the Author of that Sect, they can give you none: What Heresie hath not a principal Author among men? the Manichees, had Manes---- each of these pests had their master, from whom they had their beginning and name; but what name or title will ye give these? none, because that Heresie is not from men; and yet we will not say, that it is by the revelation of Christ, but rather, and without doubt (as the Spirit hath foretold) by the fraud of devils, speaking lyes in hypocrisie, and forbidding to marry: certainly they speak so in hypocrisie, and guile of the fox, faining that they do it for love of chastity, which they have devised to increase and multiply filthiness. The matter is so plain, that I admire how a Christian could ever be perswaded thereunto, except they are so beastly, that they could not perceive, how he that condemneth marriage, looseth the bridle unto all uncleanness; or certainly they are so full of wickedness, and devilish malice, that though they know it, yet they dissemble, and rejoyce in the destruction of men: Take away honorable marriage from the Church, and ye do fill her with whores, incestuous--- and all kinde of uncleanness: choose which of the two, that either all these monsters of men shall be saved, or the number of them that shall be saved, is restrained to the few which are continent. How sparing in the one, and how wide in the other! nothing less becometh the Author of honesty; shall all be condemned, but these few continent persons? this is not to be a Savior: Continence is rare on the earth; nor did he who is fullness, make himself of no reputation for so small advantage, &c. In *Ser. de Triplici Gen. Honor.* he exhorteth to have pity, and to pray for them who are departed, not having perfected their repentance. But in *Lib. Sententiar. c. 9.* he saith, There are three places, heaven, earth, and hell, and these have their own indwellers; heaven hath onely the good, the earth hath of both sorts, and hell the bad onely. And in *cap. 14.* he saith, Place is necessary and profitable unto repentance, to wit, the Church of this present life; in which whosoever neglecteth to repent, while he is in the body, he can finde no remedy of salvation hereafter. In *Epist. 190. contra Abailar.* he saith, Abailard defineth faith to be an opinion; then faith (saith he) is wavering, and our hope is vain; he who saith so, hath not as yet received the holy Ghost. Augustine saith better,

Faith

Faith is not in the heart by ghueffing or trowing, but it is a sure knowledge, the conscience also bearing witness; it is the substance of things hoped for, and not a fantasie of conjecture: by the name *substance*, a thing sure and certain is meant; doubtings belong unto the Academicks, which doubt of all things, and know nothing. Bernard died in the 63. year of his age, Ann. 1153.

13. The same Bernard *De Consider. ad Euge. lib. 3.* teacheth us, that then was a Council held at Rhems, where the Pope was also President; and with Bernards works are many Sermons, which are said certainly not to be his; among these is one, *Sermo cujusdam ad clerum in Concilio Rhemensi congregat.* unto me it seemeth certainly to be Bernard's, seeing the most part of it is *Sup. Cant. Ser. 33.* and also on *Psalm. Qui habitat Ser. 6.* so that either another hath borrowed it from Bernard, or he from another: This Sermon is for the most part historical, I mean, serveth to give knowledge of that time, and therefore I will transcribe it for the use of some, who (possibly) have not that Book. A weighty charge is laid upon me, to teach the Teachers, and instruct the Fathers, especially seeing it is written, *Ask the Fathers, and they will declare unto thee, Deut. 32.* but that Moses commandeth me, whose power is great, and must be obeyed, not by me onely, but by all; and he is greater then Moses, for unto Moses was but one people of Israel committed, and unto this the whole Church; and he is greater then an Angel, for unto which of the Angels hath God said at any time, *Whatsoever thou shalt binde on earth, shall be bound also in heaven? Matth. 16.* I speak in respect of office, and not of merit; if ye except God, none is like unto him in heaven, nor on earth; [*ergo he is Antichrist*] This is Peter, which cast himself into the sea, when all the other disciples did sail unto Jesus, *Job. 21.* every one of you is content with his own little ship, *i.e.* his Arch-Bishoprick, his Abbey, his Provestry, but he casteth himself into all the Arch-Bishopricks, Abbeys, Provestries; this sea is wide, and there the fishes cannot be told. And unto you I say, my Brethren the Bishops, God hath exalted you highly, ye are the salt of the earth, as the Lord saith in the Gospel, *Matth. 5.* ye are the light of the world, *ibid.* I have said ye are gods, and all are the children of the most High; but ye shall die as men, and shall ye not fall as one of the Princes? *Psalm. 81.* Where is the wise man? where is the scribe? where is the Conqueror of this world? *1 Cor. 1.* shall they not die as men? and shall they not fall as one of the Princes? whence shall they fall, and whither? from the side of the Lord into the bottom of hell. Brethren, two great evils are coming, death and judgement; for hard is the condition of death, and therefore few would die; but what preparation is made for death, albeit it be the way of all flesh? alas! whither shall I go from thy Spirit? and whither shall I flee from thy face? *Psalm. 138.* seeing the Apostle saith, We must all appear before the throne of Christ, that every one may receive according to what he hath done in the body, whether good or ill, *2 Cor. 5.* Brethren, I tell you of another Synod, where the Lord God will sit in judgment, and there we all must stand; and there will God judge all the world. Here [*on earth*] unrighteousness is shut up in a bag; but in that judgement, God will judge righteously; and there we must all appear (unless the Apostle hath lyed, which is a sin to say) whether he be a Pope, or a Cardinal, or an Arch-Bishop, or a Bishop, or poor, or rich, learned, or unlearned, that every one may receive according to what he hath done in the body, whether good or ill. And seeing account must be given of those things that every one hath done in the body, alas! what shall become of those things that every one hath done in the body of Christ, which is his Church? [*hear*] The Church of God is committed unto you, and ye are called Pastors, but are robbers.

Rrrr

And

*A Sermon in
the Councell
at Rhems.*

And alas! we have few to feed, but many to excommunicate: and oh that ye were content with the wool, and the milk, but ye thirst after the blood. Nevertheless, four things (I think) are necessary in them, which especially are set over the Church of God; to wit, that they enter by the door; that they keep themselves in humility; that they flee avarice; that they endeavor to cleanness both of heart and body. But what availeth it that they be chosen canonically (which is to enter by the door) if they live not canonically? The Lord said unto the twelve, *Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil? Ioh. 6.* Lord Jesu, seeing that election was in thine hand, and there was none to contradict thee, why didst thou choose a devil to be a Bishop? good Jesus, why didst thou not choose a good, just, and holy man, as Peter was good, just, and holy? or if thou chocest a devil, why talkest thou that thou hast chosen him? Brethren, to day Jesus doth the like, he chooseth many devils to be Bishops. Alas! alas! where shall we finde Bishops, that after they have come to Dignity, keep themselves in humility? yea, pride moveth them to aspire unto so great Dignity, that they will break into the fold of Christ impudently; albeit the Lord hath said in the Psalmist, *A proud man shall not dwell in my house.* But Jesus is in the midst of it, and not in a corner, as he saith *Matth. 18. Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there in the midst of them.* And *Luke 4. Jesus passed through the midst of them.* And *Eccles. 15. In the midst of the Church God openeth his mouth.* And again *Luke. 24. Jesus stood in the midst of his disciples.* Wo unto me Lord Jesu, if I be with thee in thy house, and be not in the midst of thy house. But these are not so, they are indeed with Jesus, but not in the midst of his house; because they love pride, and do the works of pride, exalting their parents, neglecting and oppressing the poor; they live wickedly, and they will have their subjects to live wickedly; therefore are they compared to the apostate Angel, which said in his heart, *I will set my seat in the north, &c. Isa. 14.* What is it that the devil will set his seat in the north, but that he desireth some proud and wicked man to have the Government over others like unto him, far from the heat of love, or light of wisdom? or that such an one keep the Government when he hath gotten it? Such was Absolon over the children of Israel, *2 Reg. 15.* disobedient to his father, and ambitious of Government. Such was Jeroboam, he sinned, and caused others to sin with the golden calves, *2 Reg. 12.* Such were the Scribes and Pharisees, to whom the Lord said, *wo to you, ye shut the Kingdom of Heaven before men; ye enter not, and ye suffer not others to enter, Matth. 23.* Moreover, how can the Bishops of these times flee from avarice? for (which cannot be spoken without sad sighs) the reproaches of Christ, the spits, thongs, nails, spear, cross and death, all these do they melt in the furnace of avarice, and send them abroad to purchase filthy gain, and quickly put up the price of all in their own pockets; differing truly from Judas Iscariot in this onely, that all his gain was reckoned to be some pennies, but they with a greedier voracity of gain, do gather infinite sums: On this do they gape with unsatiable desire; they are afraid to want them, and if they miss them, they are sorry; they do rest in the love of these so far onely, as they have free-will of heaping together, or care to make them more; the decay, or salvation of souls is not thought upon. These certainly are not mothers, seeing albeit they are become very gross, fat, and rich upon the patrimony of him that was crucified, yet they have not pity on Joseph's affliction. The Arch-Priest goeth about his bounds, and to fill his sack, he giveth the blood of the just; for he selleth murders, adulteries, incests, fornications, sacriledges, perjuries, and so he filleth his pockets to the brim. The report of such gain cometh unto the Bishop; the Arch-Priest is sent for; Give me my

part, saith the Bishop. He answereth, I give thee nothing. Then saith the Bishop, If thou wilt not give me my part, I will take all from thee. Then followeth chiding, and discord, through avarice. Yet thereafter, the Arch-Priest considering with himself, that by the authority of the Bishop he hath that power, and without his favor he cannot have it, then (repenting wickedly) he saith, I am sorry, take your part, and also of my part what you please. So they are reconciled alas, as Herod and Pilate were reconciled, and Christ is crucified; yet they are reconciled, and Christ's poor ones are spoiled. Behold these times, so filthy with these works of darkness! wherefore wo unto this generation, for the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy, if it can be called hypocrisy, which now cannot be hid, it is so frequent, and which seeketh not to be hid, it is so shameless. And this rotten Imposthume now, now spreadeth thorow all the body of the Church the broader, the more desperately; and the more inward, the more dangerously: for if an open Heretick were rising, he might be cast forth, and wither; if a violent enemy, one might perhaps hide himself from him; but now, how shall he be cast out? or how can one hide himself? all are friends and enemies; all are familiars, and none peaceable; and all do seek themselves. They are the servants of Christ, and do serve Antichrist; they walk in honor with the goods of the Lord, but give him no honor; And hence is this (which ye see dayly) whorish glittering, stage-habits, royal robes; hence is the gold on the bridles, saddles, and spurs; their spurs are more costly then the altars; hence are their cup-boards so glorious with plates and cups; hence are their surfeits and drunkenness; hence are their harps, flutes and pipes; their full wine-cillers, and garners flowing one into another; hence are their barrels for painting, and full purses. The Provosts, Deans, Bishops, and Arch-Bishops, are and will be such; neither come they by these things through their deserving, but by these works of darkness: It was foretold in former times, and now it is come to pass; *Behold, in peace is my most bitter bitterness, Isa. 21.* Bitter before in the death of Martyrs, more bitter thereafter in the conflict with Hereticks, but now most bitter with the manners of Domesticks; they cannot be put out, they are so strong, and so many without number. The wound of the Church is within, and incurable; and therefore in peace is my bitterness most bitter: But in what peace? peace there is, and no peace; peace from Heathens, peace from Hereticks, but truly no peace from the Children. It was a voice of one, mourning in time of Israel, *I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me, Isa. 1.* They have rebelled, and become strong for their filthy use, their filthy gain, their filthy merchandise, and that business, walking in darkness; there remaineth, but that from the midst of them should appear that noon-dive to deceive, if there be any as yet in Christ, continuing in simplicity, seeing he hath swallowed the floods of the wise, and the rivers of the mighty, and he is confident that Jordan (*i. e.* the humble, and the simple that are in the Church) may flow into his mouth, *Iob 40.* for he is that Antichrist, which falsely saith, that he is not day onely, but the noon-day; and is exalted above that which is worshipped as God, whom the Lord Jesus will kill with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, *2 Thes. 2.* Behold, I have told you what Pastors we have in this way wherein we walk, and not what Pastors they should be. They are all the friends of the Bridegroom, who are now the Bridegrooms of the Church; they are seen to stand round about her. & (as it is commonly said) to stand on her right hand, but few are those that seek not themselves in all things that are dear unto her. They love gifts; nor can they likewise love Christ, because they lift up their hands to mammon. Behold how they walk glancing and attired, clothed

with various colours, as a bride coming out of her chamber; if unawares you saw one of them walking far off, would ye not say, it were a bribe, and not the groom? whence (think ye) can flow this abundance of things, splendor of clothes, prodigality of tables, heaps of gold and silver vessels, but of the brides goods? and in the mean time she is left poor, needy, and naked; in her face, to be pited, rough-haired and pale: this is not to adorn, but to spoil the bride; not to keep, but to destroy her; not to defend, but to cast her out; not to instruct, but to prostitute her; not to feed the flock of Christ, but to kill and devour her; as the Lord saith of them, *Psalm 52. They eat up my people as they eat bread.* And again *Psalm 78. They have devoured Jacob, and laid his land desolate.* And in another Prophet, *Hof. 4. They eat the sins of my people.* As if he had said, They crave the prices of sins, and have no care of the sinners. Whom will ye name among all the Bishops, who is not more careful to empty the peoples purses, then to root up their vices? who is he that will soften his wrath? where is he that preacheth the acceptable year of the Lord? therefore let us leave these, which are not Pastors, but Traitors, and let us follow them, who while they did live, have planted the Church with their blood; and indeed these have come into the place of their Ministry, but not in their zeal; all would be successors, but few are their followers. O that they were vigilant in their charge, as they run gladly into their chair, then they would watch diligently, and take heed unto the Church which is committed unto them; yea, they would take heed unto themselves, lest it be said of them, *My friends and neighbors gathered against me, and stood afar off, Psal. 37.* certainly it was a just complaint, and can be applied to no age more justly then to ours. It is a small thing that our Pastors do not keep us, unless they also destroy; for they being grievously drowned in the sleep of oblivion, are awakened with no thunder of divine threatning, so much as to fear their own danger; hence it is that they save not their people, because they save not themselves, but do kill and perish together. And what shall I say more? the Bishops and Priests of these days, how diligent are they to keep the holiness (without which none shall see God) of chastity both of soul and body? truly the Lord saith in the Gospel, *Luc. 12.* unto Bishops, without doubt in the primitive Church, *Let your loins be girded;* not approving onely, but commanding chastity. The holy Ghost witnesseth also in the Law, *1 Reg. 21. None might eat the shew-bread, but they who were clean, and namely from women:* and therefore Achimelech would not give that bread unto David, craving it for himself and his Soldiers, until he knew that they were clean from women; as David said, If you speak of women, these three days they have been clean; The holy Ghost at that time shewing, that none should come unto Christ's table, and unto that bread of Angels, unless he be pure both in minde and body; lest that which the grace of God hath prepared unto believers for their salvation, be turned into judgement and condemnation unto them that take it unworthily. But how do these keep the badge of chastity, which are given over into a reprobate minde, and commit things not convenient? for it is filthy to speak the things that the Bishops do in secret; therefore I think it better to dissemble this, and delay, rather then to speak that which may offend the innocent; but why should I blush to speak, what they do not blush to do? yea, and what the Apostle spareth not to write and preach? for the excellent Preacher saith, *Rom. 1. Men with men wrought filthiness, and they received the wages of their error.* Brethren, I am unwise, but ye have compelled me. *So far there.* Here were bold rebukes; but what followed thereupon, I have not read in any History: but I observe somewhat from Bernard *De Consider. lib. 3.* where he writeth unto Pope Eugenius, saying,

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Did not thy mouth pronounce these following Articles in the Council at Rhems? who hath kept them? who keepeth them? thou art deceived, if thou think that they are kept; if thou thinkest not, thou hast sinned, either in ordaining what should not be kept, or in dissembling when they are not kept. Thou wilt say, We have commanded that both Bishops, and Clerks, should neither in superfluity, nor in variety of colours, nor in the cutting of their clothes, nor in raising give offence unto beholders (unto whom they should be a pattern) but rather by their actions condemn faults, and by their conversation shew forth the love of innocence, as the dignity of the order of Clerks requireth. And, if being admonished by the Bishops, they do not obey within fourteen days, let them be deprived of their Church-Benefices, by the Authority of the same high Priest. And if the Bishops shall neglect to execute the foresaid punishment (because the faults of inferiors, can be imputed unto none more, then unto the idle and slothful rulers) let them abstain from the Pontifical Office, until they do punish their Clerks, as is now ordained by us. This also we thought good, that none be an Arch-Deacon, or Dean, but a Deacon, or Priest. And the Arch-Deacons, Deans, and Provests, who are under these Orders, if they be negligent to keep in order the disobedient, let them be deprived of their honor. We forbid also that these foresaid honors be confirmed on yong men, or that are below these holy Orders, unless they be remarkable in wisdom, and merit of conversation. Thou didst ordain these things, but what hath been done? as yet yong men, and who are below these holy Orders, are promoted in the Church. As for the first head, prodigality of clothes was forbidden, but it is not restrained; punishment was appointed, but it hath not followed. Now there be four years since we heard that Order given, and we have not lamented for any Clerk deprived of his Benefice, nor from any Bishop suspended from his Office: but it deserveth most bitter sorrow what hath followed; what is that? impunity, the daughter of carelesness, the mother of pride, the root of shamelessness, and the nurse of sin, &c. Mr. Fox in *Act. & Monim.* saith, That in this Council at Rhems, it was ordained, that no Monk should baptise, nor be a witness at baptism, nor hear confessions, nor visit the sick, nor be present at burials. Hence it appeareth, how impudently the Jesuit Duræus did sometime scold with W. Whitaker, for saying, that good men did resist to far as they could, until the mystery of iniquity had overtaken all the Church, and gone through all the parts thereof. Did not Bernard, or whosoever was the Author of that Sermon, say unto the Council, That the Imposthume was spread through all the body of the Church, from the sole to the top, the Bride was spoiled, and even they which were called the Bridegrooms of the Church, were not the friends of the Bridegroom? And did not the Council so far take with this rebuke, that some Acts were made for Reformation, but no Reformation did follow?

14. Before I do leave Bernard, here I do add an History from *P. Soave in Histor. Conc. Triden. lib. 2.* concerning the degrees of the worship which is given unto the Virgin Mary. After the impieties (saith he) of Nestorius, dividing Christ, making two sons, and denying that he, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is God; the Church, desirous to ingraft this Catholique truth in the mindes of believers, thought good to repeat often in the Churches, both of the East and West, these two words, *Μαρια Θεοτοκον*, i. e. Mary the Mother of God: This indeed was appointed for the honor of Christ; but by little and little, it was communicated unto the Mother, and at last referred altogether unto her alone. Upon the same ground, when the use of Images became frequent, they were wont to paint the babe Christ in the arms of his

Mother

Mother the Virgin, to testify the worship which was due unto him even in that age; but quickly they began to worship the Mother, without the Son, and he was added as a pendicle of the picture. Thereafter Writers and Preachers, especially who were given to speculation, being miscarried with the wilfulness of the people (which is powerful in such things) as with a land-flood, did omit the remembring of Christ, and with earnestness strove to devise new praises, epithets, and sorts of religious worship, unto the blessed Virgin: So that about the year 1050. they devised for her honor, the dayly Office, which is distinguished into seven Canonical hours, after the same manner as in former times it was wont to be done to the honor of God. In one hundred years next following, the veneration grew so, that it seemed to have come unto the height, those titles being given unto her, which in the Scriptures are spoken of the Divine wisdom. Among the priviledges then devised, was that of universal freedom from original sin; which opinion had been in the mindes onely of some private persons, but was not yet come among the Ceremonies of the Church, nor into the mindes of the learned. About the year 1136. the Canons of Lions durst first bring it into the Service of the Church; S. Bernard flourishing at that time, for piety and learning, before all the Divines of that age, and so immoderate in the praises of the blessed Virgin, that in some place he calleth her, *The neck of the Church*; as if by her, all grace did flow from the Head: nevertheless, he sharply writeth against these Canons, that without reason, and without example of former times, they had brought in so dangerous a novelty; he confesseth, that they had matter enough to commend the blessed Virgin, but such ambitious novelty (which is the mother of fondness, the sister of superstition, and daughter of levity) could not please her. In that Epistle of Bernard, it is remarkable (which P. Soave toucheth not) that the Canons did alledge, they had a writ of revelation for them. Bernard dispiseth that, saying, Even as if any man could not produce a writ, wherein the Virgin may seem to command, to give the same worship unto her parents, according to the word of God, saying, Honor thy father and mother; I perswade my self easily to give no credit unto such writs, that are not confirmed by reason, nor certain Authority, &c. I say this is remarkable, that Bernard did reject their pretended revelations, as a means whereby they might have been deceived, not in that onely, but in other things; and so I return unto the former History. In the next age (saith P. Soave) the Scholastick Doctors of both Orders, Franciscans and Dominicans, did by their writs refute this opinion, until the year 1300. when *Iohannes Scotus*, a Franciscan, having examined the reasons of this question diligently, did at last flie unto the power of God, and said, God could do, that she was never in sin, or that she was obnoxious unto sin for a moment of time onely, or for a short time; and onely God knoweth which of the three was true, but the first is most probable, unless it be against the Authority of the Church, or Scriptures. The doctrine of this School-man (famous in his time) did all the Franciscan Friars follow for the most part; but in this singular article, they having boldly entered the gate that was opened by this Author, they held it simply and absolutely to be true, that he said, might be, and had propounded it as probable, under a doubt and uncertain condition, unless it be contrary unto Orthodox faith. The Dominicans do fight constantly against it, under the safeguard of Thomas, a famous Doctor of that Order, both for his excellent doctrine, and for the commendation of P. *Iohn* 22. For he, to hold down the Order of the Franciscans, who for the most part, did partake with Lewes the Emperor, after his excommunication, did commend that Doctor, and advance his doctrine [*Behold upon what*
reason

reason the Pope did ground his doctrine.] The shew of piety and Religion did prevail so, that the opinion of the Franciscans did please almost them all; it was accepted by the University of Paris, which in the conceit of excellent doctrine, went before all others; and thereafter by the Council of Basil, after much disputation, was approved; and it was forbidden to preach, or teach the contrary opinion, which had place in these Nations, that did approve that Council. At last Pope Sixtus IV. a Franciscan, did publish two decrees of this point; in the first, *Ann.* 1476. he confirmed a new *Officium*, that was gathered by Leonard Nogarol Protonotary, and Indulgences were granted unto such as did keep that, or did entertain it by their presence. In the other he condemned, as false and erroneous, the assertion of such as say, That the defence of her conception is heretical, or thought that the celebration of that Office was a sin; and all preachers, and all others, were denied of all holy things, who held either this, or the contrary opinion to be heretical, because that controversie was not determined by the Roman Church, and Apostolical See. But here was not an end of the contention, hatred swelling more and more twixt these two Orders, and yearly renewed in the moneth of December; so that Pope Leo X. putting to his helping hand, thought to have ended the strife, and for that cause did write unto many; but the change of Religion in Germany, changed his thoughts unto other weightier things; and, as they are wont in a besieged City, they leave factions, and all joyn together against a common enemy, so it was in the combat of the Friars. The Dominicans did lay the grounds of their opinion on Scripture, and doctrine of the Fathers, and of ancient School-men: And the other party, when they could not finde the least taste of Scripture for maintaing their cause, they have their refuge unto miracles, and consent of the multitude. Against them *F. Iohannes, de Vdine à Dominican*, useth this dilemma, S. Paul, and the Fathers, (said he) either did believe as ye do, that the blessed Virgin was free from the common law of men, or they did not believe; if they did believe it, and spoke not at any time, but universally, without any mention of this exception, why follow not ye their example? but if they did believe the contrary, then your opinion smelleth of novelty. But *F. Ierom Lombardel*, a Franciscan, did affirm, That the Church now, hath no less Authority then the Primitive; and therefore, if by consent of the ancient Church, the Fathers without exception spoke so, we should invite an universal consent unto this exception, from the common condition, which opinion sheweth it self at this time by the celebration of this festivity. So far P. Soave.

15. Peter, Abbot of Cluniac, was in great account with Pope Eugenius II. Bernard wrote many Epistles unto him: In *Epist.* 277. he calleth him a vessel for honor, full of grace and truth, and endued with many gifts. In an Epistle unto Eugenius, he saith, Albeit your person be set over Nations and Kingdoms, to pull up and destroy, to kill and scatter; yet seeing you are neither God, nor are you Jeremiah, unto whom this was said, you may be deceived; you may be deceived by them, who seek not Jesus Christ, but themselves; and lest this be, if there be any faithful Son, he should shew unto his Father faithfully what things he knoweth, and which may be unknown unto you; and he should forewarn, and forearm you, lest they, of whom it is said, the poison of asps is under their tongue, be able to corrupt your sincerety by their poison. Here he professeth unto the Pope himself, that he may err, and be deceived. *Adversus Iuda. lib.* 1. If as you say, and as the Apostle teacheth, all men are condemned, and all die in Adam, then, as the same Apostle teacheth, all are justified in Christ, and all are quickened; for it is true what he saith, As by one man, sin came on all to condemnation; so by one, righteousness

came on all to justification of life--- God by his essential goodness having pity on lost man, and willing to save him, but unless justly, neither willing nor able, while he sought in his eternal counsel, how he might shew pity on the wretched, and save his own justice; this especially he thought most convenient, whereby justice might be saved, and man be delivered, and grace be enlarged, and God be glorified: so God sent his own Son unto the sons of men, that putting on mans nature, and healing mans vices, he should take in the assumed flesh, not sin, but the punishment of sin, even bodily death; and so by his single and temporary death, he should deliver from a two-fold, and that everlasting death; by which dispensation, mercy sheweth mercy, and no prejudice done to justice; when for the everlasting punishment of man, a temporal punishment of God-man is offered; which certainly is of great weight, even in the ballance of justice, that for rightly ordering the sins of the world, the transitory death of the Son of God is more weighty, then the everlasting death of the sons of men--- This is our sacrifice; this is the burnt-offering of the Gospel, of the new people, which was offered once on the Cross by the Son of God and of man, even by God. *Lib. 2. cap. 4.* As before the Law, and under the Law, you see that many are honored with the title of righteousness, even without legal customs, so know thou, that after the Law, not onely many, but all are justified by the onely grace of Christ. *Contra Petrobrus. lib. 1. ep. 2.* When he said, *Do this*, he addeth, *in remembrance of me*; therefore the remembrance of Christ is the cause of the Sacrament--- and therefore lest it be forgotten, which especially should be in our heart, remembrance is tied unto the heart by this suitable sign, as an unsoluble cord, by which strong tie, the redeemed should always think on the price of redemption, and being thankful unto the Redeemer, by faith working by love, he should shew himself no way ungrateful for so great grace--- And the matter is of such worth, that the mindes of men should be stirred up, not dully, but duly to think on it, to love and embrace it. It was expedient and just, that the remembrance of Christ's humanity and death should be preserved, not onely in the ears by hearing, but also unto the eyes by sight--- Therefore to the effect that men might not onely learn by words, but even familiarly feel by deeds, that they die continually while severed from Christ, and that they cannot live perpetually, unless they be conjoynd and united unto Christ; after the similitude of bodily meat and drink, they receive Christ's body, and drink Christ's blood, not given by another, not received from another, but from Christ himself, which will be after this life their food, *i.e.* eternal life and blessedness. *Ibid.* I hear that you say, The Church of God consisteth in the unity of believers gathered together, and this is clear unto us all; unto this Church hath God the Father, by the intercession of his Son, given the holy Ghost, that he may abide with her for ever, to comfort her in this life, and to glorifie her in that to come--- unto all the Churches of Christ, which by their number make up the body of the one and Catholike Church, we do owe honor and love by the bond of charity. *Lib. 5. cap. 16.* Seeing thou art under one shepheard Jesus Christ, seeing thou dwellest in the same fold of the Churches, seeing thou livest in the one faith, and hope of eternal things, as well thou white, as black Monk, why pratest thou foolishly of divers fleeces? why contend ye for no cause, or for so foolish a cause? why for so childish occasion do ye rent the chief garment of charity?--- take heed, lest that name of innocence, whereby ye are called sheep, cause that you be not of the number of these whom the great Shepheard will set on his right hand. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 14.*

16. Peter de Bruis, a Priest of Tolous, preached in sundry places against
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the Popes, and the doctrine of Rome, calling the Pope, *the Prince of Sodom*, and Rome he called *Babylon, the mother of whoredoms and confusion*; he preached against the bodily presence of Christ in the Sacrament, against the sacrifices of the Mass; he condemned the worship of Images, prayers to Saints, the single life of Priests, pilgrimages, multitude of holy days, &c. *Phi. Morna. in Myfter. iniq.* The new named Peter, Abbot of Cluniac, wrote against him, and imputeth these as errors unto him. 1. Altars should be broken down. 2. Sacrifices for the dead are foolishness and impieties. 3. Priests and Monks should have wives, rather then burn in filthiness and whoredom. 4. Crosses should not be worshipped, and should be removed as superstitious. 5. Churches should not be so sumptuous, but seeing they are not necessary; should rather be cast down. 6. God is but mocked with the songs that Monks and Priests do chant in the Churches. 7. The forbidding of meats on certain days, is but superstitious. 8. We should believe onely the Canonical Scriptures, and the writings of the Fathers have not the like Authority. Albeit this Abbot did write bitterly against him, and imputed other things unto him, yet he sheweth not obscurely that wrong was done unto him, and he saith, Because it is not manifest unto me, that he thinketh or preacheth so, I will suspend my answer, until I shall finde undoubted certainty----- I should not rashly assent unto that deceitful monster of report. *Ex lib. 1. Ep. 1. & 2.* He began to preach about the year 1126. After him his disciple Henry, a Monk, continued preaching the same doctrine. Guilerm, an Abbot, writing the life of Bernard, *lib. 3. cap. 5.* saith of this Henry, He denied the grace of baptism unto infants; he dispised the prayers and oblations for the dead; the excommunications of Priests; the pilgrimages of believers; the [sumptuous] buildings of Churches; the idleness of festival days; the consecration of chrisme and oyl; and all the Ordinances of the Church. He sheweth there; that the people sent for Bernard to come against him; but he refused, until Albericus, Bishop of Ostia, was sent Legate against him, and he perswadeth Bernard to go with him unto Tolouse: And then Bernard wrote his 240. Epistle unto Hildefonsus Count of S. Giles, against this Henry; and complaineth, that by that mans preaching, Churches were without people, people without Priests, Priests without reverence, and Christians without Christ; the Churches were accounted Synagogues, Sacraments not holy things, and holy days wanted solemnities; men died in their sins without penance, nor guarded with the holy communion. He writeth against his life, and calleth him an apostate, because, being a Monk, he had returned to the lusts of the flesh, as a dog to his vomit, and a player at dice. It is certain (as the proverb is) Bernard saw not all things; and howbeit he writ bitterly against him, yet he commendeth him as a learned man; and calleth him a wolf under a sheeps fleece; he had then the shew of godliness, yea, and he was so revered, that the people did follow him; and though the man might be truly so blotted in his life, yet we see that some errors were taxed by him, and he was allowed and followed by the people for taxing these errors. Debruis was burnt at Tolouse, and Albericus carried Henry into Italy. Their books were burnt, that we can finde nothing of them, but by the hands of their adversaries, who may be thought to have dealt with them, as the Heathens and Jews dealt with the Primitive Church; that is, bely them.

17. Potho, a Priest of Prumia, wrote *De statu domus Dei*, where are these passages. *Lib. 1.* Liberty of will is lost, and we are brought into captivity. *Lib. 2.* With us is but one word, to wit, the word which was made flesh; and one sacrifice, which was once offered by the Mediator of the New Testament, and doth make perfect for ever them who are sanctified. *Lib. 3.* The

holy Church is built on a rock, and continueth in all adversities with immoveable certainty. And after he hath largely rebuked the hypocrisie, ambition and avarice of the Clergy, he concludeth, saying, Seeing ambition reigneth in them, how can they adorn the profession of Christ by word or works? *Catal. test. ver. lib. 14.*

of the
Waldenses.

18. The poor men of Lions began a new Sect of Monckery, (as Bellarmin speaketh, *De Monach. cap. 4.*) and went to Rome to have their Religion confirmed by Pope Alexander III. but because it was mixed with sundry Heresies (as he speaketh) they were rejected, and their Religion was condemned. The History of these men is worthy of knowledge, as many have written against them, and others for them. About the year 1150. was a rich Merchant at Lions, of good reputation for wealth and prudence, Peter Waldius, or Waldensis, so surnamed from Waldy, a Village in the East borders of France, afterwards called Vandra: It happened on a day, when the elder men of Lions were assembled, that one fell down and died suddenly; this spectacle gave occasion unto this Peter of thinking upon the frailty of this life, and the vanity of mens cares forso brittle a thing, wherefore he resolveth to be more mindeful of that eternal life: First, to this end he purchaseth a Bible, (which in those days was not forbidden, yet very rare in the hands of either Laicks or Clergy) and like the man desirous to buy the jewel, he spent the rest of his days in seeking the water of life; that which he learned, he imparted it unto his family, and catechised them. His maner of instructing was so familiar and effectual, that sundry of his neighbors were desirous to hear him; he was no less willing to teach them, and informed them, not of private fantasies, but expounded the holy Scriptures, and translated some parts thereof into the French Language, *1a. Thuan. ad Ann. 1550.* The Priests were offended, and (like dogs, who neither can eat hay, nor suffer the oxen to eat) they charged him to leave such work, and put not his hand into their harvest, unless he will bring worse upon himself. The man cared more for conscience than their menaces, and followed his course, nor did the people abstain from his company. Some made better progress with him then they had done before, and became his colleagues in teaching others. Wherefore John, Arch-Bishop of Lions, excommunicated him and all his followers, and did confiscate all their goods. So after five years they were scattered, some seeking place of residence in one Countrey, and some in another. Wheresoever they went, they purchased the praise of good conversation, and by way of pity, were called the poor men of Lions, as indeed they were deprived of their goods; and not professors of poverty, as our adversaries speak of them. They were also called Leonistæ, from the same City which by some is called Leon: and they were called Infabbatati, or Inzabbatati, not because they kept not the holy days, nor because they followed the Jewish Sabbath, but from Zabata, or Zabati, which is an up-land shoe, (as *1a. Vsser. de Eccles. statu. cap. 6.* sheweth from *Nic. Eimeric. in par. 2. direct. Inquisit.*) because upon their shoe they had a certain sign, whereby they knew one another. Afterwards other names were given unto them from the places of their abode, as Tolosani, Albigenfes, Caprariefes, &c. and from their Teachers they were called Waldenses, Josephini, Peronistæ, Arnoldistæ; and because they joyned with the hearers of Peter Bruse, they were called Petrobrusiani, Henriciani; and because the Heresie of the Manichees waxed about that time (as was touched in the former Century) in France and Italy, some through malice, and others through ignorance, called them Manichees, Gazari, &c. When they were thus scattered by persecution, the Church of God was gathered; for they were persecuted by the Bishops

Bishops Arelaten. Narbonen. Aquenf. and Albinen. and some suffered constantly, and others fled; so that *Popliner. in Hist. Francor. lib. 1.* (whom *Genebrard in Chronol. lib. 4.* testifieth to have told all things simply according to truth of History) saith of them, About the year 1100. maugre all Christian Princes, they spread their doctrine little differing from the Protestants at this day, not through France onely, but through all the bounds of Europe almost, for the French, Spaniards, English, Scotch, Italians, Dutch, Bohemians, Saxons, Polonians, Lithuanians, and other Nations defended the same stubbornly until this day, saith he. Reynerius (an Italian Inquisitor under Pope Innocent III.) in his Book *Contra Haret. cap. 4.* printed *Ingolstadt. An. 1613.* writeth of them thus, Among all the Sects that ever were, or now are, none is so hurtful to the Church as these poor men of Lions, for three causes. First, Because it continueth longest; for some say, it hath been from the days of Pope Silverster I. and others say, from the days of the Apostles. Secondly, Because it is most general, seeing there is no Nation where it spreadeth not. Thirdly, Whereas all others are conjoynd with blasphemy against God, this Sect of the Leonists hath a great shew of godliness; for they live justly before men, and believe all things concerning God, and all the Articles of the Creed; onely they blaspheme the Roman Church, and hate her, and the multitude is ready to accept such things. This testimony giveth occasion to search deeper for their original. All Historians (almost) agree, that Peter de Waldo lived about the year 1150. and that these were called by those foresaid names; the difference is, *Poplinerius* saith, The Waldenses were about the year 1100. *Sigonius de Regno Ital. lib. 9.* saith, Eriald did persecute the Patareni in Millain about the year 1058. And *Reynerius* saith, No Heresie continued longer time---But from the year 1150. until the year 1215. (when *Reynerius* lived) is not so long a space as some Heresies have waxed; yea, he expressly saith, that some bring their original from the days of the Apostles. Wherefore it may well be said, That some of that profession had been in all ages, to whom the Waldenses did associate themselves. Among them were the Henriciani, Berengarians, Bertram, &c. *Reynerius* speaketh of their number, saying, None durst hinder them, both for the multitude and power of their abettors; I was oft present in the Inquisition, and at their examinations; there were accounted forty Churches defiled with this Heresie; and in one Parish they had ten Schools: So he. *Gretser, a Jesuit, in Prolog. contra Walden.* saith, It may be truly said to have waxed, because scarcely any Countrey hath been free of this pest, and it did so spread it self into sundry Provinces. *Truthem. in Chron. Hirsau.* and after him *P. Mornay in Myster.* say, If any of them had been passing from Coleinto Millain, he did lodge in one of their houses every night; as they marked their houses above the doors, that their own fellows might know them. *Vernerus in Fascic. tempor. at. 6.* sheweth their condition, saying, Of old the Catholique faith was oppugned by mighty Princes, by subtil Philosophers, and sly Hereticks, and other men of note; but in those days it was not a little quelled by contemptible Laicks, and most poor Idiots: to wit, as the Apostle saith, God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise. Again *Vernerus* saith, Yet there were some most subtil persons, who endeavored to maintain the Heresie of the Waldenses. And *Jac. de Rebiria* (cited in *Catal. test. ver. lib. 15.*) saith, Because they who were called Priests and Bishops at that time, were almost ignorant of all things, it was easie unto the Waldenses, being most excellent in learning, to gain the first place among the people; some of them disputed so accurately, that the Priests permitted them to preach publicly. As for the continuance of this Heresie (as the Romanists call it) in following

times, we are informed by testimonies both of Papists and Protestants. *Ort. Gratius in Fascic. rer. expetend.* having inserted the confession of faith, which they sent unto the King of Hungary *An.* 1508. faith, It differeth not much from these things that are now taught by some, [meaning Luther] so that these may seem to have learned from the others. And he admonisheth ingeniously, that the Waldenses may be better known from that confession, then by the Catalogue of Hereticks set forth by Bernard de Lutzenburgh. *John Naucler in Generat.* 47. faith, The Hussites followed the Sects of the Waldenses. *Ja. Thuan ad An.* 1550. writeth more fully, saying, Peter de Valdo, leaving his Countrey, went into Belgio and Picardy, (as it is now called) finding many followers; he passed thence into Germany, abiding a long space in the Cities of Vandalia; and lastly he settled in Bohem, where to this day (faith he) they who embrace that doctrine, are called Picards. His companion Arnold took another course into Aquitania, and abode in Albium, whence were the Albigei, who quickly went among the Tolosates, Ruteni, Cadutci---- King Lewes VIII. would have killed the Albigenes, if he had not been taken away by sudden death; albeit, from that time they were scattered hither and thither, yet always arose some to hold their doctrine on foot; as John Wickliff in England, John Huss, and Jerome of Praga: and in our time, when the doctrine of Luther was received with the applause of many, the residue of them who were scattered every where did gather, and with the name of Luther were encouraged, namely about the Alpes; and when the Waldenses in Merindol and Cabriers, heard of what was done in Germany, they were glad, and sent for some of German Teachers, and then they shew themselves more then they had done before. And after three pages (*Edit. Offenbach. An.* 1609.) he faith, The Caprienses were at that time molested with wars by them of Avenion, and in the common danger, they wrote the sum of their Religion, agreeing almost with the doctrine of Luther, and they presented it unto Francis I. and he sent it unto Ja. Sadolet Bishop of Carpentoraet, who was of a pious and meek disposition, and received the suppliants bountifully---- what things were spread of them besides those heads, he declareth ingeniously to have been forged through envy, and to be meer lyes, as he knew by Inquisition that he had taken of them before. And *Serrarius in Tribares.* faith, Who to day are Calvinists, were anciently Berengarians. *Wendelstin in praesa. in cod. can. & Decret.* printed *An.* 1525. faith, The Lutherans are new Waldenses; and sometimes he calleth them German Waldenses. To come unto the judgement of the Reformed; Bishop Ridley, sometime Bishop of London (who suffered martyrdom *Ann.* 1555.) giveth them this testimony; Those Waldenses were men of far more learning, godliness, soberness, and understanding of God's Word, then I would have thought them to have been in that time, before I did read their books: if such things had been published in our English tongue heretofore, I suppose surely, great good might have come to Christ's Church thereby. The Letters of Martyrs, printed *Ann.* 1564. pag. 78. Hier. Zanchius doubteth not to say, When Religion decayed in the East, God established it in the valley of Angronia and Merindol, *Tom.* 4. co. 720. and having seen their confession, he faith of it, in an Epistle unto Crato, I read attentively and diligently, with much delight, the confession of the Brethren Waldenses, which thou sentest unto me; for I saw not onely all the doctrine agreeable unto the holy Scriptures, but I think also, I see the sincere and truly Christian godliness of their hearts; for they seem to have had this onely scope in their confession, not to destroy all whatsoever is in the Church of Rome, as the Arrians do, but to edifie their Churches according to the true and Apostolical,

and so the saving rule of godliness, casting away what should be cast away, and retaining what is to be retained, which is the right and lawful form of reformation; Oh that we were all prone unto the same study, after the example of these good Brethren. George Abbot *contra* D. Hill, in answer to the first reason, *sect.* 29. saith, For this cause Bellarmin *in præs.* *generali Controversi.* joyneth these together as Hereticks, the Berengarians, Petrobrusians, Waldenses, Albigenes, Wiclifists, Hussites, Lutherans, &c. And Lewes Richcom, another of that Society, in his defence of the Mass against the Lord Plessis, saith, That the Ministers, for confirming their figurative sense in *This is my body*, have none for their Doctors, their Ancients, and their Fathers, but Berengarius, Zuinglius, Calvin, Carolstad, Wicliff, the Albigenes, and the Waldenses. The Waldenses then (saith Abbot) and Albigenes are ours, by confession of our adversaries; and of these were no small company; for as *du Haillan Hist. lib.* 12. in the life of Philip III. King of France, speaketh, being driven from Lions, they withdrew themselves into Lombardie, where they so multiplied, that their doctrine was spread through Italy, and came as far as Sicily. As the same Author writeth, Philippus Augustus came to his Kingdom *An.* 1180. (which is now more then 400. years since) and in his time it was that the Albigenes did so increase in France, that the Pope and Princes were afraid of their number; he who readeth the story of them, shall see that they are reported to have held many gross, wicked and absurd opinions mingled with their true doctrine; but du Haillan, the best and most judicious Chronicler of France, and no partial witness on our behalf, (since his profession touching Religion was such, that he was employed to write that story by Henry III.) had not so little wit, but that he perceived these imputations to be laid on them in *odium*, and of purpose to procure their defamation; see how wisely he speaketh truth, and yet so toucheth it, that his fellows might not justly be offended at his words. Although (saith he) those Albigenes had evil opinions, yet so it is, that those did not stir up the hate of the Pope, and of great Princes against them, so much as their liberty of speech did, wherewith they used to blame the vices and dissoluteness of these Princes and of the Clergy, yea, to tax the vices and actions of the Popes; this was the principal point which brought them into universal hatred, and which charged them with more evil opinions then they had. So far Abbot from Haillan. It cannot therefore be ignorance, so much as perverseness of the Papists, when they glory of the antiquity of their Religion without opposition, and upbraid us with late original; they cannot deny that our Religion is older then Luther; and according to the testimony of the before-named Reynerius, the doctrine of the Waldenses, was even from the days of the Apostles. And for clearing that which du Haillan saith, concerning their taxing the vices of the Clergy, I shall shew out of their Apology (which the Waldenses of Bohem wrote unto their King Ladislaus, about the year 1509.) the occasion of their first separation from the Roman Church; there they say, We with your Majesty knew for what cause we did long ago forsake that Roman crew; truly the execrable wickedness of the Prelates (by the instigation of the Devil, whose work it is to sow discord and contentions among brethren) compelled us to leave them; for they through blinde malice, and insolent pride of the power of darkness, were debauching one against another, and dispised the laws of peace & Ecclesiastical love; and they being void of all humanity, did rattle one against another publikely, not only with scurvy words, but reproachful & contumelious writings, and were shamelesly stirred up one against another like Atheists; they forsook the power of Ecclesiastical keys, wholesome truth, religious worship, gracious piety, sound faith, the gifts of

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the Spirit, and all maner of good works; and moreover in their profane pulpits, when multitude of men were about them, they endeavored to prove both by Authority of Scriptures, and by strong reasons, and by most firm examples and arguments, yea, and by alledging the Canons of the Ancients, that they were Schismatics, Hereticks, sacrilegious, false prophets, ravenous wolves, the beast and whore of the Revelation; they did so prophanely preach one against another, and at that time they did so vex the whole Kingdom, that they fought one against another, and with bloody destruction of men, they dyed both Land and Rivers, and so the gracious and golden peace of ancient times was gone. Wherefore our Ancestors being most desirous of peace, and with sorrowful hearts beholding such calamities in this Kingdom, did lament with deep groans for these miseries, whereof Church-men were the Authors; and did dayly pray unto God most earnestly, that he would have pity on this Kingdom, and send better days: at last, when they saw that no good was to be expected of them, which should have been the leaders and shepherds of Christ's Church, and unto whom the word of reconciliation was committed to have been preached (as beautiful are the feet of these which bring the glad tidings of salvation) they did justly forsake such Prelates as unsavory salt, which did neither clear themselves of these vile imputations, nor purge themselves by publique satisfaction before the people. So far there. And they did offer to prove what they had said by particular instances, if the King would be pleased to hear them. This testimony teacheth what was the condition of the Church at that time, and what moved the people to hearken unto the people of Lions, when they were scattered. As for their Doctrine, it may be partly known by their Confession, which followeth in Century XVI. Part I. Chapter III. Section IX. and partly by the Articles that were imputed unto them by their adversaries, some truly, and some in *odium*, as du Haillan speaketh. *Io. Nauwer. generat. 47.* speaking of the Hussites, saith, They, departing from the Catholique Church, did follow the wicked Sect of Waldenses; the opinions of that pestiferous Sect were, The Roman Bishop is but equal unto other Bishops; no difference should be among Priests; not dignity, but excellency of life maketh one Priest better then another; souls departing out of the bodies, go immediately into everlasting punishment, or attain unto eternal joyes; there is no Purgatory; it is idle to pray for the dead, and a fiction of Priests avarice; the Images of God, and of the Saints, should be thrown away; the hallowing of water, and of palms, is but a scorn; the Religions of begging Monks, is the invention of the Devil; priests should be poor, and content with alms; the preaching of God's word should be free unto all; no deadly sin should be tolerated, even for eschewing never so great ill; who is guilty of mortal sin, is not capable of Secular nor Ecclesiastical Dignity, nor should others obey such; confirmation and extreame unction, are not to be reckoned among Sacraments; auricular confession is but trifling, it is sufficient that every one confess their sin unto God; baptism should be used with water, and not be mixed with hallowed oyl; the custom of Church-yards is devised for gain, and it is to little purpose where bodies be buried; all the world is the Temple of God every where present; they would enclose his Majesty, who build Temples, Monasteries, and Oratories; Priestly vestiments, ornaments of altars, palls, corporals, chalices, platters, and such vessels, are not to be respected; a Priest may administer the Sacrament in any place, and at any time, if people require; it is sufficient if he say onely the Sacramental words; time is vainly wasted in seeking aid from the Saints reigning with Christ, and in singing or saying the canonical hours; men should cease from working on no day,

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but that which is called the Lord's day; the feasts of Saints should be dispised; there is no merit in keeping the fasts that are enjoined by the Church. These are the faults which Naucier, and before him *En. Sylvius in Hist. Bohe. c. 35.* can lay unto their charge, albeit they both despitefully call them, a wicked Sect and damned faction. *Ph. Mornay in Myster. iniq.* reciteth their Articles from *Iac. de Riberia in Collectan. de urbe Tolosa*, thus; 1. Onely the holy Scriptures are to be believed in things belonging to salvation, and no mans writings besides. 2. All things necessary to salvation are contained in them; and nothing is to be admitted in Religion, but what is commanded in God's word. 3. There is but one Mediator, and Saints are not Mediators, nor should be invocated. 4. There is no Purgatory, but all men are either justified unto life in Christ, or without Christ are to be condemned, and beside these is neither third nor fourth place. 5. All Masses, specially these that are said for the dead, are wicked, and to be abrogated. 6. There are but two Sacraments, Baptism and the Communion. 7. All mens traditions are to be rejected, at least not to be reputed necessary unto salvation; therefore all singing, and superstitious chanting in the chancel, should be left off; constrained and set fasts, tied to times and days, difference of meats, such variety of degrees and orders of Priests, Friars, Monks and Nuns, superfluous holy days, so many Benedictions and hallowing of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, with all the Rites and rable of Ceremonies, are to be abolished. 8. The Supremacy of the Pope, usurping over all Churches, and over all Politique Realms and Governments, or to occupy and usurp the jurisdiction of both the Swords, is to be denied; nor is any degree to be retained in the Church, but Priests and Deacons. 9. The Communion under both kinde is necessary unto all the people, according to the institution of Christ. 10. The Church of Rome is the very Babylon mentioned in the Revelation; and the Popes are the fountains of all errors, and the very Antichrist. 11. The marriage of Church-men is lawful, and necessarily to be permitted in the Church. 12. So many as hear the word of God, and have true faith, are the true Church of Christ; and unto this Church the keys are given, to drive away all wolves, to institute true Pastors, to preach the word, and administer the Sacraments. 13. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was ordained to be eaten, and not to be shewed or worshipped; for a memorial, and not a sacrifice; to serve unto present ministration, and not for reservation; to be received at the table, according to the custom of the primitive Church, when they were wont to communicate sitting, and not to be carried out of doors. Now some Papists do object unto us, that albeit some of their doctrines agree with the common Tenets of Protestants, yet in divers other Articles they disagree, and therefore the Churches of the Waldenses cannot be one; and for proof they alledge nine Articles. 1. The Waldenses held, that all carnal lust is lawful. 2. All oaths are unlawful. 3. It is not lawful to punish a Christian to death. 4. The Creed of the Apostles is not to be regarded. 5. Christians should use no prayer but the Lord's prayer. 6. The power of consecrating the Lord's body, and of hearing confessions, is left by Christ not unto Priests onely, but to Laicks also if they be godly. 7. Priests should live onely by alms. 8. The Sacrament should be administred once onely in the year, to wit, on the fifth day of the week before Easter, because Christ suffered that day. 9. For the words of consecration, they should be seven times, Our Father which art, &c. The most part of these are contrary unto the above-named Articles, and unto their confession: and *Ia. Vsser.* (which hath written this History most accurately) sheweth *cap. 7.* particularly and clearly, that these are so many calumnies, and that by testimony of their ad-

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versaries; so that albeit many have written against them, yet their testimonies are contrary. As for the first, He sheweth from *M. Freher in Eochem. ver. Hist.* printed at Hanoue, pag. 231. The Leonists are chaste; and pag. 232. they eschew whatsoever things are filthy. 2. In the same place Freher saith, In their language they are sparing, they eschew lyes, swearing, and all things that are filthy; so that they did forbid all swearing in common talk, or for light causes, which was frequent in these days, saith he there. And *Reynerius in Summa de Cathar. & Leonist.* printed at Paris An. 1548. saith, They dispence with oaths for eschewing death. Hence it appeareth, they granted that in some cases an oath is lawful; but in that he addeth, for eschewing death, it is but a misinterpretation; as is clear by what we have heard from Æn. Silvius and Naucler, that they held, No deadly sin should be tolerated even for eschewing, &c. 3. The above-named History, pag. 222. saith, When an Heresiarch, a Glover in Cheron, was lead unto death, he said, Ye do well to condemn us now; for if our estate were not born down, we would do unto the Clerks and Monks as they do unto us. 4. In pag. 232. it is said, They believe all the Articles of the Creed, but they say, *Ave Maria*, and the Creed, are not prayers. As for the fifth and ninth, in the same page it is said, They pray seven times a day; an elder beginneth the prayer, and maketh it long or short as he thinketh expedient, and the rest follow him. Whence it is clear, that they used other prayers, or were not tied to prescribed or stinted forms. The sixth and eighth are contrary unto the above-named Articles of Æn. Sylvius and Naucler. That the seventh is a calumny, appeareth by that they did condemn the begging of Friars; and Freher, pag. 231. saith, their Teachers are Weavers and Taylors; they heap not up riches, but are content with necessities; and pag. 253. he hath an answer of theirs unto Augustin Olomucen. where they say, we are not ashamed of our Priests, for that they purchase their livings by their handy work, because so the doctrine and Apostolical example teacheth us, &c. And it is clear, that their condition did so require; and they did judge that the truth of the Gospel, and reproaches for Christ, were greater riches than the treasures of Egypt. It is objected also, that Peter Waldo was a Lay-man, and so wanting a call or orders, he could not confer it on others. But *Matth. Parisiensis ad An.* 1223. testifieth, that many Bishops turned unto them; and that they had an Arch-Bishop Bartholomew, who consecrated other Bishops and Ministers. So albeit at the first, the man began to teach his own family onely, yet afterwards, their number increasing, they wanted not lawful teachers. Some object, that they refused Baptism unto Infants; and others say, They despised the Old Testament; but those are contrary unto their confession. It may also be objected, that in their confession they acknowledged seven Sacraments; but consider the description and use of those which they call Sacraments, and the difference shall be found of no great weight; all those things being well weighed, we need not doubt to joyn hands with the Waldenses, as with our elder Brethren; nor can the Papists deny, that our Church is older then Luther; I say, with Brethren, not as Fathers, because their doctrine and ours, is not originally from them, but from Christ and the sacred Scriptures.

The persecu-
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Waldenses.

19. It remaineth to shew, how the Waldenses were persecuted. In the year 1163. Ecbert a Monk had disputed at Colein, August 2. with Arnold Marsilius, and Theodorick, who had come from Flanders; because they would not yield, Arnold, with seven men and two women, were burnt the next day. When they were in the fire, Arnold was heard to say unto his Brethren, Be constant in the faith, *ex Casari. Heisterb. lib. 5. cap. 19.* Theodorick escaped at that time; but afterwards he with some others was burnt at Binna.

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The same year Pope Alexander III. in a Synod at Towers, accurseth them all, without any special mention of their doctrine; and he accurseth all that bought or sold with them. *Ann.* 1170. the same Pope sent a Cardinal unto Tolouse, to persecute them there; at that time two left their profession, and he gave them places of Canons. *Hovedan Annal. par. 2.* testifieth, that Oliverius, and some others which were called good men, were brought into Inquisition in the Province of Tolouse by Peter Arch-Bishop of Narbon. Girald Albien, and others, all the people beholding the spectacle. Their preachers were called in Lombardy *Consolati*; in Germany and France, *Boni homines*. *Ann.* 1178. Peter Cardinal of S. Chrysogono, was sent again to Tolouse, where he, and Lewes King of France, and Henry King of England, against the Albigenſes, but there came little or no speed. *Continuator Rob. Monteu.* and from thence they sent Reginald Bishop of Bathonien, and Henry Abbot of Clareval, in the Diocy of Albia, in the Legate's name, to charge Roger Lord of that Land, to purge his Territories from those Heretiques; because he would not give obedience, nor his presence, they accursed him. *Rog. How. loc. cit.* The next year the same Pope in a Council at Rome accurseth them all; the decree is in *Tom. 4. Concil.* printed at Rome, neither is any mention of their errors in it. After two years, that Abbot being made Bishop of Albanen, and a Cardinal was sent into Gascony, but in vain, saith *Alisiod. Cronol. ad An.* 1181. for so soon as the poor men had liberty, they returned unto their profession. *An.* 1183. in the Village Bituricen. 5000. were killed in one day, whom they called *Catharelli*, or more contemptuously *Ruptarii*. *Guil. Armorica. in Gestis Philippi.* Frumald Bishop of Atrebat, imprisoned Adam and Radulph, with other two; because he was sick, William Bishop of Rhems, came thither with the same Philip, and caused them to be burnt. The next Pope Lucius, in a Council at Verona (where the Emperor Frederik was present) accursd all the Waldentes; so did Urban III. and Clemens III. as witnesseth *Andr. Favyn. in Hist. Navar. lib. 5.* and we will hear more of their persecution hereafter. *1a. Vsser. in Eccles. statu cap. 8. & 10.*

20. Radevic a Canon Frising wrote two Books of the life of the Emperor Frederick I. *lib. 1. cap. 10.* he (speaking of Pope Adrian) saith, Let us hear the beast, that hath a face like a lamb, and speaketh as a dragon.

21. William Arch Bishop of Senon, wrote unto Pope Alexander III. thus, Let your Excellency, most holy Father, hear patiently what we say; for our soul is in bitterness, and so is your devoted son, the most Christian King of France, how all the Church of France is troubled with scandals, flowing in time of your Apostleship from the Apostolical See; Seeing (as our Nation saith) Satan is let loose there to the ruine of all the Church; where Christ is crucified again, and manifestly sacrilegious persons and murderers go free. *Baron. ad An.* 1170. *ex Manuscrip. Vatic.* At the same time *Stephan. Tronac. in epist. 86. ad Ioh. Pictaru.* (which is printed with the Epistles of Gerebert) said, I know not, Father, whether the 1000. years be expired, when Satan should be loosed; but we see his servants so loose, that they binde God's servants. *Vsser. lib. cit. cap. 3.*

22. Peter a Parisian Monk, being of great age, died *Ann.* 1167. in his Book *De Verbo Abbreviat.* he commendeth God's word, and taxeth the idleness and impieties of Priests, the curiosity of School-men, the multitude and abuses of Masses; the multitude of mens traditions, whereby the precepts of God are made void; he calleth Indulgences, a godly deceit: He sheweth how Lucas, a Bishop of Hungary, had excommunicated a Lay-man for a crime; the man ran to Pope Alexander III. and obtained absolution for money; but the Bishop regarded not the Pope's threatnings, but did excom-

municate the man again, and the third time for his obstinacy : wherefore the Pope did excommunicate the Bishop ; but Lucas dispised his curses as unjust, and never sought absolution ; nevertheless, this Bishop was highly accounted after his death, and was called St. Lucas, *Catal. test. ver.*

23. Bernard Clunien. about that time, wrote a large satyr, not sparing the Pope nor Cardinals, of which are here some passages *ex Catal. test. ver. lib. 14.*

*Pontificalia corda carentia corde probavit,
Pontificalia corda pecunia contenebravit
Pontificum status ante fuit ratus, integer ante
Ille statum dabat ; ordine, nunc labat ille, labante.
Qui super hoc mare debuerat dare se quasi pontem
In Ston omnibus est via plebibus in Phlegetontem.
Stat sibi gloria, pompa, superbia divitiarum,
Hoc prope tempore nemo studens fore pons animarum.
Qui stat in agmine primus in ordine Presbyteratus,
Est vitio levis, officio brevis, inguine fractus.*

Then of the Prelates and Clergy, he saith,

*Vos volo credere quod volo dicere, Pseudopphetas,
Nulla feracius ac numerosius hac tulit ætas :
His sacra nomina, sacraque tegmina, corda superba,
Agnus eis patet in tunica, latet anguis in herba.
Quilibet improbus extat episcopus : Abba creatur
Vi, precio, prece : Dignus homo necesse sceptra lucratur.
Nullus ei timor, haudque sui memor, est aliarum
Non sine Simone, sed sine canone dux animarum.*

When he hath hinted at the manifold impieties of the Clergy, he striketh again at the head :

*Per sibi pervia Pastor it ostia, fur aliunde :
Lex mala furibus, his subeuntibus, intrat abunde.
O mala secula ! venditur Insula Pontificalis :
Insula venditur : haud reprehenditur emptio talis,
Venditur annulus, hinc lucra Romulus urget & auget.
Est modo mortua Roma superflua : quando resurget ?
Roma superfluit, arida corrui, affluta, plena
Clamitat & tacet, erigit & jacet, & dat egena
Roma, dat omnibus omnia dantibus : omnia Roma
Cum pretio : quia juris ibi via, jus perit omne.
Fas mihi scribere ; fas mihi dicere, Roma peristi.
Obruta mœnibus, obruta moribus occubisti.
Aurea pectora, castaque pectora jam perierunt ;
Tempora pessima, scilicet ultima jam subierunt.
Stat simulatio, corrui actio Religionis,
Heu sua propria deputat omnia Rex Babylonis.*

Behold ! here he calleth Rome Babylon, and the Pope the King of it.

24. In that Century were many pamphlets and rhimes written in all languages almost, against the errors and vices of Popes, Bishops and Clergy : namely, a book was written having the picture of Christ casting buyers and sellers out of the Temple, and another of the Pope sitting upon his throne ;
above

above each were some rhimes written, shewing the maners of the times; above the Pope thus,

*Curia vult marcas, bursus exhaurit & arcas :
Si bursa parcas, fuge Papas & Patriarchas,
Si dederis marcas, & eis impleveris arcas,
Culpâ solveris, quacunque ligatus eris.
Intus quis ? tu quis ? ego sum. quid quæris ? ut intrem.
Fers aliquid ? non. Sta foris. Fero. Quid ? Satis. Intra.*

25. In *Tom. 2. Concilior.* printed at Colein An. 1551. is a little book with this title, *Opusculum Tripartitum, de negotiis Ecclesiæ.* In the third part thereof are noted many filthy abuses in the Church, and faults of the Clergy, and Prelates are noted. *Cap. 1.* It is commonly heard, how wicked women say, That they have more gain by their sin on one festival day, then in an whole week, or fittēen working days. It is also sure of many other sins, that they be innumerable more committed on festival days, then in other days; and therefore it seemeth, it were more acceptable unto God, that there were fewer festival days in the Church, or at least that workmen might after the hearing of the Service, go about their work, seeing many have not maintenance to themselves and their families, but by their work; and the wealthier sort do waste more on festival days in tap houses, then in other days----- In some Cathedral Churches is a custom, that when some Canons will not pay unto the Clerks what is due, the Clerks suspend them from the Service, and so in these Churches is no Service, and sometimes for a very naughty occasion; it were better that other punishments were laid on these Canons----- In many Cathedral Churches, so few Clerks are present at the Canonical hours, that sometimes they be scarcely four or six, albeit in these Churches a great multitude of them have their entertainment for that Service onely: now all these abuses might be helped---- and especially that men be not compelled unto new festivals. *Cap. 2.* Because no inferior dare speak against the Roman Church, it were very decent that the Lord Pope, and the Lords the Cardinals, would diligently observe what things are to be reformed in the Roman Church; and that they would begin there, to the end the reformation (which belongeth unto them) of others may have the better success; for behold how great mischief and scandal hath flowed through all the world (that I speak not of other things) in so many vacations of Popes that have happened in our days. *Cap. 3.* All the world is offended, and speaketh against the multitude of poor religious men, who are not now called Religious, but *Trutannii*; this turneth to the great contempt of that Religion: Albeit that Order may be called good, and there be some good men among them, yet it seemeth expedient that they be not multiplied, except onely in so far as the world may be able conveniently to bear them---- *Cap. 4.* Seeing bad Prelates are the cause of innumerable evils, there should be greater diligence in their admission, by a prudent trial of the person, by them who are not accustomed to lye. Again, there is so great difficulty in the deposition of Prelates, according to the laws, by the multitude of witnesses which is required, that none of them, how wicked soever they be, is feared for deposition; and therefore innumerable Churches, lying many years under a pestiferous Prelate, are destroyed both temporally and spiritually: therefore it seemeth expedient that a Law were made for removing wicked Prelates more easily; whence a double benefit would follow, to wit, the deliverance of the Churches which perish under them, and a fear in other bad Prelates; It seemeth also that there is not so great reason of keeping this difficulty now, as was of old; because then all

the Prelates (almost) were good men, and their adversaries rose wickedly against them; but now none accuseth a Prelate, but they which are good men, and are moved with the zeal of God against bad Prelates--- There is so great negligence of Prelates in correcting, that seldom any is heard to correct, even they who are reputed to be good men; and seeing many evils follow upon this, some remedy should be provided--- There is so great vanity and prodigality in the families of many Prelates, in their clothes cutted, watered, flowered, and their shoe-ties of gold, and such other many things, that in the Court of any secular Prince or King is not found so great vanity; and it were decent, that in the families of the Successors of the Apostles, stricter discipline were seen in their habit or accoutrement, as was ordained by Laws. *Cap. 6.* Rich Benefices are bestowed (for the most part) on such persons which never reside there; and scarcely will ye finde a Bishop, which dispenseth not easily with their non-residence, to the great damage of souls!--- When a Curate putteth a Vicar in his Parish, there is no respect unto the qualification of his person, for the most part, but onely who will be content with the least wages; and then these Vicars devise many ways to extortion the people-- Parishes are bestowed for the most, not in a godly way, but upon entreaties, and acquaintance, unto persons that are altogether unworthy, and are not able to rule souls: and which is worse, there is great slackness in many Prelates, that they do not chastise Parish-Priests, albeit in their uncleanness, and notorious crimes, they be bad examples, and occasions of perdition unto their Parishioners; or if they do censure them in the purse, they suffer them to continue in their sin. *Cap. 12.* Because many Prelates are lukewarm (alas!) in these things that belong unto God, yea, and are contrary unto all good almost, it seemeth that they are no way expedient--- In late times two Emperors were deposed in Councils, for temporal damage they had done unto the Church--- how then can the Church dissemble, that a Prelate which doth innumerable evils unto the Church, and is altogether unfit for government of souls, should be deposed solemnly? it is greatly to be feared, that for their dissembling and tolerations, the wrath of God will be poured on the Church. The Compiler of the Councils, thinketh this book was written in the twelfth Century, and some of these passages seem to agree. *Catalo. test. ver. lib. 14.*

*An example
of iniquity
revenged.*

26. Henry Arch-Bishop of Mentz, was dilated at Rome for speaking against the tyranny of the Popes: he sent Arnold, one of his Clergy, to make his Apology; and he turned his accuser, and did so by money prevail with two Cardinals, that they were sent to examine the cause. When they came into Germany, and had cited Henry, they would not hear his answer, but deposed him, and put the same Arnold in his See. Then said Henry unto the Cardinals, If I had appealed unto the Apostolical See against their unjust proceedings, the Pope possibly would not have regarded me, and nothing had accrewed unto me, but labor of body, loss of my goods, and grief of minde; therefore I do appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ as the most righteous Judge, and I charge you to answer me there before the highest Judge; for ye have not judged righteously, but as it pleased you, being corrupted by money. They answer, When you go first, we will follow. Not long thereafter Henry dieth, and when the Cardinals heard thereof, the one said to the other merrily, He hath gone, and we will follow in time. Within few days, the one going to ease himself, all his bowels gushed out; and the same day the other began to bite his own fingers, and was choaked. These things were reported abroad, and every one said, Blessed be God, who hath avenged the injury that was done unto the innocent man. Immediately the same Arnold was killed in

an uproar, and lay unburied some days upon the street. *Ibid. ex Conradi Chronico. Mogunt.*

27. Peter Abailard, trusting in Philosophy, spoke and wrote against the Trinity, and against the office of Christ. Bernard in *Epist.* 192. *ad Guido.* Abailard's heresies faith, That in the doctrine of the Trinity, he is an Arrian; of grace, a Pelagian; of the person of Christ a Nestorian. He was summoned to answer in a Council at Soisson; where he did appear, but would not answer; and onely did appeal unto the Court of Rome, and did glory that his books had found acception there. The Bishops did note and condemn his errors; and the sentence against his person they did refer unto the Pope Innocentius. *Ibid. Epist.* 191. His errors are more particularly (though not all) expressed in *Epist.* 190. thus; While he professeth to give a reason of all things, he adventureth above reason, against reason, yea, and against the faith; for what is more against faith, then that he will not believe what he cannot comprehend by reason? and expounding that of *Eccles.* 19. He that is hasty to give credit, is light minded, he saith, To credit hastily, is to give credit before reason; whereas Solomon speaketh it not of faith in God, but of natural credulity among men: for blessed Gregory denieth that to be faith, which hath experience in human reason; and the Apostles are commended, in that they did follow the Redeemer at his simple command; and Mary is commended for preveening reason by faith, as Zacharias was punished, that he would have reason ere he would believe.--- 2. He saith, God the Father is full power, the Son is some power, and the holy Ghost is no power; and that the Son is in respect of the Father, as *species ad genus*, or a man in respect of a living wight, or a brazen seal unto brass. Is he not here worse then an Arrian? who can endure him?--- 3. He saith, All the teachers after the Apostles agree in this, that the divel had power over man, because man of his own accord did yield unto the divel; for say they, If one overcome another, he who is overcome, becometh servant unto his victor; and therefore (said he) as the teachers say, the Son of God became man, that man, which could not be delivered any other way, might be made free again from the divels power by the death of an innocent: But it seemeth unto me (said he) that neither the divel had ever power over man, but as a Gaoler, by the permission of God, nor did the Son of God assume flesh to deliver man--- All men say so, saith he, but I say not so. What then?--- what hath the Law, what have the Prophets, the Apostles, and Apostolical men declared unto us, but that God was made man to deliver men? art thou not ashamed to say, that they all think contrary unto thee, when they all agree together? but though an Angel from Heaven shall teach another Gospel, let him be accursed---- Let him learn then, that the divel not onely had power, but just power over men, that consequently he may see also, that the Son of God came in the flesh to deliver men. And albeit I say, that the power of the divel was just, yet I say not that his will was just; wherefore not the divel invading, nor man deserving, but God delivering is just; for one is said to be just or unjust, not according to his power, but his will; wherefore this power of the divel, albeit it was not justly purchased, but wickedly usurped, yet was permitted justly. And so man was justly held captive, yet so, that justice was not in man, nor in the divel, but in God; and man was justly condemned, but was mercifully delivered; and yet so mercifully, that there wanted not justice even in delivering him; seeing such was the mercy of the Redeemer, that (which was suitable unto the remedy of delivering) he did shew justice rather then power against the invador; For what could man, the servant of sin, and slave of the divel, do of himself to recover righteousness that he had lost? therefore the righteousness of another is imputed

puted unto him, which had it not of his own; and so it is---- But what necessity required, or what reason was there, that seeing the mercy of God could by his onely word have delivered man, yet the Son should assume flesh for our redemption, and suffer so much, even the ignominious death of the Crofs? We answer, The necessity was on our part, even the hard necessity of them who sat in darkness, and in the shadow of death---- And the reason was the good pleasure of him who did it. Who can deny that the Almighty had other ways to redeem; justifie and deliver? but this cannot priviledge the efficacy of this way which he hath chosen; and possibly this is better, by which we in this land of oblivion, and of our fall, are admonished the more powerfully and livelily, of so many and so great grievances of our Redeemer; and albeit we cannot fathom the mystery of God's counsel, yet we may feel the effect of the work, and perceive the fruit of the benefit---- It is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that when we were yet sinners, we were reconciled unto God by the death of his Son---- And he concludeth all his railings and invectives against God; so that he saith, All that God did appear in the flesh for, was our instruction by word and example; and all that he suffered and died for, was the demonstration, and commendation of his love toward us. But what availeth his teaching us, if he hath not restored us? or are we not taught in vain, if the body of sin be not first destroyed in us, that we should not be the servants of sin? If all that Christ hath been profitable unto us, was the shewing a good example, it followeth also that we must say, All the harm that Adam hath done unto us, was the onely shewing of sin; seeing the plaster must be according to the quality of the wound; for as in Adam all do die, so in Christ shall all be made alive; therefore as the one is, so is the other---- Or if we will rest in the Christian faith, and not in the Pelagian Heresie, and confess that the sin of man was propogated by generation, and not by example; we must also confess, that by Christ righteousness is restored, not by example, but by generation, and life by righteousness; that by one sin came upon all men to condemnation, so by the obedience of one, righteousness came on all men unto justification of life. And if it were so, that the purpose and cause of the incarnation (as he saith) was onely the enlightening of the world with the light of knowledge, and the kindling of love, by whom is our redemption and deliverance? ---- God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but in the Crofs of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom is our life, salvation and resurrection. And indeed I look upon three things chiefly in the work of our salvation; the example of humility, when God made himself of no reputation; the measure of his love, extending to the death even of the Crofs; and the mystery of redemption, whereby he destroyed death which he suffered: but the first two, without this last, are as if ye would paint in the air; truly the example of humility is great and very useful, and the example of love is worthy of all acceptance; but they have no foundation, and therefore no standing, if there be not redemption. I would with all my indeavor follow the example of Christ, and I desire to imbrace, with the mutual arms of love, him who hath loved me, and given himself for me; but I must also eat the Paschal Lamb, for unless I eat his flesh, and drink his blood, I shall not have life in me---- There be also many other Articles in his books, and no less evil, &c. As every one may understand, that upon these grounds follow the points of original sin, of free-will, of justification, &c. Pope Innocentius II. did condemn in a Council of Cardinals, at Rome, this Abailard, and all these his perverse Articles, and commanded perpetual silence unto him, as an Heretick; and ordained all who followed his errors, to be excommunicated, as is in his Epistle, which is among the Epistles of Bernard the CXCIV.

28. When Calo. Johannes was Emperor of the Greeks, was a Synod at Constantinople, where Anselm Bishop of Havelbergens. did dispute for the primacy of the Roman Pope, and alledged these reasons; 1. The Synod of Nice saith, Let all men know, and no Catholique should be ignorant, that the Roman Church is not preferred by decrees of Synods, but hath obtained the primacy by the Evangelical voice of our Lord and Savior, when he said unto Peter the blessed Apostle, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys--- 2. Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome. 3. The first See of the Church is Rome, the second is Alexandria, and the third is Antiochia; which three are founded by Peter. 4. Onely the Roman Church hath continued in all ages without heresies, whereas all other Churches have been defiled with heresies. 5. Christ said, I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren. 6. The Church of Constantinople hath been obnoxious unto many heresies, that have begun there, or brought thither, there was Arritus, Macedonius, Eutyches, Eunomius, Eudoxius: therefore all Churches should acknowledge the Roman as their mother. Nechites, a Greek answereth; The Roman Church was the first among the three Sisters; but the Bishop of Rome was never called the first of Priests, nor the first Bishop, but the Bishop of the first See; and he did first receive from Phocas, to be called the head of all Churches. Moreover these three Sisters were united together by some conditions, that neither the Bishop of Rome, nor of Alexandria, nor of Antiochia, might teach any things in their Churches which was different from the faith of the others, and so they all should preach one and the same; for this end it was ordained, that two Legates well learned, and sound in the faith or doctrine, should be sent from the Church of Rome, the one to abide at Alexandria, and the other at Antiochia, who should diligently observe, whether they did continue preaching the analogy of faith; and likewise two should be sent from Alexandria, one to Rome, and the other to Antiochia; and two from Antiochia, the one to Rome, and the other to Alexandria; and so they might aid one another, if any need were; and whatsoever was taught in any of these Churches, should be confirmed by the Authority and testimony of the others; but if any thing were contrary to the faith, and disagreeing from the truth and communion of these Churches, the Legates of the others should by brotherly charity, and humble admonition correct that; or if they could not correct it, and one as temerarious and presumptuous, would contentiously defend his error, by and by it should, by these Legates, be deferred unto the audience of the other Sisters; and if by Letters Canonically written, that Sister could be reduced unto the harmony of wholesome doctrine, it was well, but if not, a general Council might be assembled. 2. The Empire was translated from Rome to the East; and then it was ordained by 150. Bishops assembling in this City, when blessed Nectarius was ordained Bishop of this See, after the condemnation of Maximus Ennius (who was infected with the contagion of Apollinaris) then it was ordained (I say) with consent of the most godly Emperor Theodosius the elder, that as old Rome had obtained from the holy Fathers, in former time, the first place in Ecclesiastical causes, so then new Rome, for the honor of the Empire, should have the Ecclesiastical precedency after her, and should be called as the second Rome, so be called and be the second See; and should preside all the Churches of Asia, Thracia and Pontus, and treat of all Church-affairs, and determine them by her own Authority; And then such Legates, Wardens of the Catholique faith, as were sent to Alexandria and Antiochia, were sent also into this

*A dispute
between the
Latins and
Greeks.*

Royal City, and likewise from hence unto them for the same ministry, that they all might teach the same, and differ in no point of truth. 3. When the Empire was divided, the Bishops were also divided; the decrees of the Roman high Priest, that were established in their Councils without the Greeks, let these Bishops, which belong unto him, look unto them; As for these Councils which in these days they hold, how should we embrace their decrees, which are written against our knowledge? For if the Roman Bishop, sitting in the high throne of his glory, will thunder against us, and as it were from above throw his commands, and will judge of us and our Churches, not with our counsel, but at his own pleasure, yea and will Lord it over us, what brotherhood, or what fatherhood can be in this? who can patiently endure it? for then we might be called the very slaves, and not children of his Church: And if these were necessary, and so grievous a yoke were to be laid on our necks, none other thing followeth, but that the only Roman Church should have that privileged which they hunt after; and she shall make Laws unto all others, and she her self be without Law; and so be not a pious mother of children, but an imperious Lady of slaves: To what purpose then were the knowledge of the Scriptures, the studies of learning, the doctrine and discipline of teachers, and the noble wits of the wise Greeks? the onely authority of the Roman high Priest, which as thou sayest, is above all, turneth all to nothing. Let him be the onely Bishop, the onely Teacher, the onely Commander, and let him onely, as the onely Pastor, answer unto God for all things that are concredited unto him onely; But if he will not have fellow-laborers in the Lord's vineyard, and if he be exalted in keeping his primacy, let him glory in his primacy, but not condemn his brethren, whom the truth of Christ hath begotten in the womb of the Church, not unto bondage, but unto freedom; For as the Apostle saith, We must all stand before the throne of Christ, that every one may receive as he hath done, whether good or ill. He saith, All; though he was an Apostle, he excepteth not himself; he excepteth no mortal: He said, All; he excepteth not the Roman high Priest. Nor is it found in any Creed, that we should believe specially the Roman Church; but rather we are taught every where to believe, that there is one holy Catholique Church. These things speak I of the Roman Church, with your favor, which I do reverence as you do, but will not follow absolutely, nor do I think that she should be followed in all particulars: whose authority thou hast propounded unto us as so excellent, that we must forsake our own customs, and receive her form and change in Sacraments, without examining by reason, and without authority of Scriptures, but we, as blinde men, should follow her leading us, whither she willet by her own spirit; which how safe or honorable it is for us, let both the Latin and Greek Sages judge. 4. Thou sayest, that the Lord said unto Peter alone, and not unto all the Apostles, *whose sins ye forgive----* and, *what thou shalt binde on earth----* But it is believed, that the Lord said that not unto Peter onely, but indifferently unto them all with Peter, or to Peter with them all: Nor did the holy Ghost come down on Peter onely at the Pentecost, but the Lord sent him unto them all in a like gift, and in a like measure as he had promised: therefore we do so acknowledge the power to be given of the Lord, and received by Peter, that we think the Authority of the other Apostles should not be minced, seeing certainly, they all equally, without any prejudice of another, or usurpation, as truly meek and lowly in heart, did receive the same holy Ghost, and by the same holy Ghost, did receive the same power of binding and loosing; nor can we think that the privilege was given unto Peter onely, which is common unto them all by the Lord's gift; therefore we may not take from others, which have

the same power, and ascribe unto one, the Authority which is common to them all: Let Peter, as the twelfth Apostle, be honored, so that the other eleven be not excluded from the Apostleship, which certainly they did receive by an equal, and not different dispensation; not from Peter, but from the Lord himself, even as Peter did. 5. I grant there have been many heresies in Constantinople, but there also were they extinguished; as the heresie of Arius in the days of Constantine; the root of them all was Philosophia, which was planted in Constantinople, and which the learned have abused. So heresies have been condemned in the Churches of Calcedon, Constantinople, Ephesus, Antiochia and Alexandria, and it was commanded, that none should any more plead for these heresies: But now in this City are no heresies. As for Rome, haply no heresies began there, because they were not so witty and subtil, nor were they such searchers of the Scriptures as some here; and as the vain wisdom, wherewith some among us were mis-carried into heresies; is to be condemned; so the rudeness of the Romans is to be commended, whereby they said, neither this, nor that of the faith, but with an unlearned simplicity did hear others; which seemeth to have come either through too much sloth in searching the faith, or through slowness of judgement, or that they were taken up with the multitude and weight of secular affairs. *Catal. test. verit. lib. 15.* The Reader may judge of this reply unto these objections, and by these particulars understand what the Greeks did judge of the particulars that are omitted. It seemeth the Romans would wipe away that jeering blot in the last words, but they have done it wickedly, as will appear hereafter.

29. Gratian an Hetrurian, and Monk of Bononia, did out of the Canons of ancient Synods, and decrees of Popes, and sentences of Fathers, and some forged writings of late Monks compile and amass the volume of the Canon Law, which they call *Decreta* and *Causæ*. These were afterwards augmented by the Popes, adding the *Decretals* and *Extravagants*, and they are commented by the School-men. Gratian took this work in hand in imitation of Lotharius the Emperor, who had caused the Civil Laws to be digested into a method; and he gathered these books so, that by addition, subtraction, or changing of a word, or letter, one or more, he made all to serve the present times. For example, whereas *Augustin de Doctr. Christ. l. 2. c. 8.* saith, *In Canonicis Scripturis, Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurimum auctoritatem sequatur: inter quas sanè ille sunt, quas Apostolica sedes habere, & epistolas accipere meruerunt.* Gratian *Dist. 19. c. In Canonicis*, hath them thus; *Inter quas Scripturas Canonicas sanè illæ sunt quas Apostolica sedes, & ab ea alie accipere meruerunt epistolas.* 2. In the sixth Council at Carthage, the Can. 165. saith, *Ad transmarina qui putaverit appellandum; à nullo intra Africam in communione recipiatur.* This Canon speaketh absolutely, and was made especially against appeals unto Rome. But Gratian repeating it *Caus. 2. qu. 6. c. Placuit*, addeth, *Nisi forte Romanam sedem appellaverit.* 3. Pope Gregory *lib. 9. epist. 41.* saith, *Scriptis mihi tua dilectio piissimum dominum nostrum* [speaking of the Emperor] *reverendissimo fratri meo Iohanni primæ Iustinianæ Episcopo, pro agitudine capitis quam patitur, præcipere succedi.* But Gratian *Caus. 7. qu. 1. c. Scriptis*, repeateth it thus; *Scriptis tua dilectio me reverendissimo fratri Iohanni pi. Iust. epif. præcipere succedi.* 4. That common saying, *Petri successionem non habent, qui Petri fidem non habent*; Gratian considering, that hereby the succession of Peter might be called into question, *De pœnit. dist. 1. c. potest.* saith, *Qui Petri sedem non habent.* Hear what a Papist judgeth of these Decrees. Corn. Agrippa, sometime Doctor *utriusque Iuris*, in his Book *De vanitat. scient. cap. 92.* saith, From the Civil Law hath flowed the Canon Law, which may seem unto many to be very holy; it doth so cover the precepts

of covetousness, and forms of robbing, with the shew of godliness, albeit very few things in it belong unto godliness, religion, or the worship of God; besides that, some things are contrary, and fight against the word of God; and all the rest are nothing but chidings, pleas, prides, pomps, gain or lucre, and the pleasures of Popes, which are not content with the Canons prescribed by the Fathers, unless they do heap up Decrees, Extravagants--- that there is no end of making Canons, such is the ambition & meer pleasure of Popes--- The School of Paris did openly detest and reprove this erroneous & intolerable temerity, I will not say, heresie----- Out of these Canons and Decrees we have learned, that the patrimony of Christ is Kingdoms, donations, foundations, riches and possessions; and that the Priesthood of Christ, and primacy of the Church, is Empire and Kingdom; and that the sword of Christ, is temporal jurisdiction and power; and that the rock, which is the foundation of the Church, is the person of the Pope; and that Bishops are not servants or Ministers of the Church, but heads thereof; and the goods of the Church are not the doctrine of the Gospel, zeal of faith, contempt of the world, but tributes, tithes, offerings, collects, purples, mitres, gold, silver, jewels, lands, beasts, authority; it belongeth unto the Popes to manage battels, break covenants, loose oaths, absolve from obedience, and to make the house of prayer become a den of thieves; so that a Pope may depose a Bishop without a cause; he may dispose of other mens goods; he cannot commit simony; he may dispense against a vow, against an oath, and the law of nature, nor may any man say unto him, What doest thou? yea, and they say, that for a weighty cause, he may dispense against all the new Testament; he may thrust down to hell a third part or more of Christian souls. Agrippa in that place, hath more of the matter and scope of the Canon Law; and for instance, I will name *Dist. 40. c. Si Papa*, If the Pope be found to neglect either his own salvation, or his brethrens, be unprofitable and slack in his office, silent in that which is good, hurtful to himself and all others, yea, though he lead with him innumerable people in troops to the first slave of hell, yet let no mortal presume to finde fault with his doings. And nevertheless in these Decrees we may finde not a few steps of Antiquity, and some part of the doctrine and practise of the primitive Church even then remaining, as I have touched in some places, and more may be added; as *Dist. 39. cap. 8*. If, as the Apostle saith, Christ be the power of God, and the wisdom of God, and he which knoweth not the Scriptures, knoweth not the wisdom and power of God, then the ignorance of the Scriptures, is the ignorance of Christ. *Dist. 9. c.* he saith from Augustine, I have learned to give such fear and honor unto these books of the Scripture onely, which now are called Canonical, that I believe certainly none of their Authors could err in writing; and if I finde any thing in them that seemeth contrary unto truth, I doubt not but there is an escape in the Book, or the Translator hath not attained the right meaning, or that I do not understand it; but I do read other books so, that whatsoever was their holiness or learning, yet I think it not true, because they have thought so, but because they could perswade me by other Authors, or by the Canonical Scriptures, or by probable reasons. And *Dist. 3. cap. Si consuetudinem*, If you do object custom, it is to be observed, that the Lord saith, I am the way, the truth and life; he saith not, I am custom, but I am truth; and truly, to use the words of blessed Cyprian, whatsoever be the custom, how old soever, or common it be, it must not in any respect be preferred unto truth; and use, which is contrary unto truth, must be abolished. *Dist. 16. c. Canones*, These that are called the Canons of the Apostles, are known to be forged in the name of the Apostles by Hereticks; although some good things be in them,

them, yet it is certain, that they are not from Canonical or Apostolical Authority. And *c. Clementis*, All the Fathers do reckon the book of Clemens, that is, the travels of Peter, and the Canons of the Apostles, among the Apocrypha. *Dist. 36. c. Si quis*, These be the two works of the high Priest, to learn from God by reading the Scriptures, and by frequent meditation, and to teach the people; but let him teach these things that he hath learned from God, and not of his own heart, or the mindes of men, but what the holy Ghost teacheth. *Dist. 9. cap. 6*. As the truth of the old Books is to be examined by the Hebrew Books, so the truth of the new craveth the rule of the Greek Language. *Dist. 99. cap. 3*. The Bishop of the first See, should not be called the Prince of Priests, nor the highest Priest, or any such way, but only the Bishop of the first See; but let not even the Bishop of Rome be called universal. *Dist. 95. c. olim*, In old time, he was a Bishop that was a Presbyter, and ere that by instinct of the devil, factions and schisms were in Religion, and it was said among the people, I am Apollo's, and I am Cepha's, the Churches were governed by the Common Counsel of the Presbyters----- so let Bishops know, that by custom, more then by truth of the Lord's dispensation, they are greater then the Presbyters, and that they should govern the Church in common. *Caus. 1. qu. 1. c. Augustinus*, Take the word from the water, and what is it but water? the word is added unto the element, and then it is a Sacrament; whence is this vertue unto the water, that it toucheth the body, and washeth the heart? the word doth it, not because it is spoken, but because it is believed; for in the word it self, the passing sound is one thing, and the abiding vertue is another. *De Consecra. Dist. 2. c. Comperimus*, We have found, that some when they have taken only the portion of the holy body, do abstain from the cup of the holy blood, who without doubt (because I know not by what superstition they are taught to be restrained) should either take the whole Sacrament, or be debarred from all; because the division of one and the same Sacrament, cannot be without great sacriledge. *Ca. prima quidam*; Till this world be finished, the Lord is above, and yet the truth of the Lord is also here with us; for the body in which he arose must be in one place, but his truth is diffused every where. *C. Hoc est*, The bread is after a maner called, the body of Christ, whereas indeed it is the Sacrament of his body; and the offering which is by the hand of the Priest, is called Christ's passion, death, and crucifying, not in truth of the thing, but in a signifying mystery. Where the Gloss saith, The bread, *i. e.* the Sacrament, which truly representeth the flesh of Christ, is called his body, but improperly, that is, it signifieth. *Ca. In Christo*. What do we then? do we not offer every day? yea, but in remembrance of his death; it is done in remembrance thereof what is done. *Ca. Quia corpus*; Because he was to remove his body from our eyes, and carry it above the Stars, it was needful that on the day of the Supper, he should consecrate the Sacrament of his body and blood; to the end it should be always revered in a mystery, which was once offered in payment. Many such passages are in these Decrees, which differing from the doctrine of the Church of Rome now, do prove that the Romish Church now, is not such as it was then. Pope Eugenius did approve all these Decrees, and ordained that these should be read in Schools and Universities, instead of all Canons and Decrees, that so he might the more easily draw them all under one yoke.

30. Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris at the same time, followed the footsteps of Gratian, and gathered the sum of Divinity into four Books of sentences, out of the writings of the Fathers; but (as I said of Gratians Decrees) with adding, mincing, and changing of words and letters, and suitably unto

Some notes
of Lombard's
sentences

his time; and these sentences were authoris'd as the Text in all Schools, to the end, none from thenceforth should search antiquity and truth any more from Fathers or Councils, under no less danger then guiltiness of heresie. Hear what Cor. Agrippa *De vanit. scient. cap. 97.* saith of this Scholastick Theology, It is (saith he) of the kinde of Centaures, a two-fold discipline blown up by the Sorbon of Paris, with a sort of mixtion of Divine oracles, and Philosophical reasonings, written after a new form, and far different from the ancient customs, by questions and lies syllogisms, without all ornament of language, but otherwise full of judgement and understanding, and profitable to convince hereticks----- It cometh to pass, that the faculty of Scholastick Theology is not free from error and wickedness; these cursed hypocrites, and bold Sophists, have brought in so many heresies, which preach Christ not of good will, as Paul saith, but of contention, so that there is more agreement among Philosophers, then among these Divines, who have extinguish'd ancient Divinity with opinions of men, and new errors, &c. Here Barth. Gravius, a Printer at Lovane about the year 1565. giveth us some light; In his Epistle before his Edition of these Sentences, he telleth, that he had a purpose to reduce all the testimonies unto the first fountains in sincerity; but to his great admiration, he was informed by the Masters there; it could not be so, because albeit in other Editions innumerable places were corrected, yet many errors as yet were remaining, and these not little ones; and not a few things, as in the Edition at Paris, were changed, not according to the truth of the old books, but in conjecture, yea and the old words were corrupted oft times, through an immoderate desire of amending, and in not a few places the worse was put for the better; and (saith he) this may not be dissembled, that the genuine reading of the Master in quoting the testimonies of the ancient writers, is very oft changed into the truth of its original, especially no old Copy witnessing, that he had left it so written; for the Master was not so solicitous to repeat all their places wholly, but thought it sufficient to propound the matter briefly, and leave out many lines in the middle; and therefore it were not according to his minde, to fill up what he hath omitted; yea, they have found by sure arguments, that he had transcribed many things not from the very fountains, but from Hugo Victorian, and especially out of the *Glossa Ordinaria*; where these passages are not found in a continued context, as in their own Authors, but maimedly, and sometimes but in broken pieces, as it were out of sundry Books and Chapters, and mixed together as in a hotchpotch; and so if any thing be corrupt in the Master, it must not be reduced unto the first fountains; but rather unto the Books of the *Glossa*, because it was last taken thence; And also he was sometimes deceived in reading it wrong possibly, and lead into error; in which case to amend him according to the square of his Author, were most absurd and madness; they said also, that in quoting the Authors, he erroneously nameth one for another often, &c. By this ingenuoustestimony of the Printer, we may see what account they make now of their ancient Master; and seeing these books have been so oft changed, little credit can be given to any of their late Editions; and thirdly, that even the Master himself had not written soundly, according to the Fathers which he citeth. The Edition of Lombard at Paris *An. 1550.* hath in the end a catalogue of these which they call his errors, *in quibus Magister non tenetur.* I will shew some instances: In the Edition at Lovane *An. 1568. lib. 4. Dist. 2. F.* They who had not hope in the baptism of John, and did believe the Father, Son and holy Ghost, were not baptis'd thereafter, but the Apostles laid hands on them, and then they received the holy Ghost. Here on the margin it is, *Erronea Magistri opinio. Dist. 5. C.* Christ might give unto

unto them [his disciples] power to forgive sins, yet not the same power that he himself had, but a created power, by which a servant may forgive sins, yet not as the author of remission, but as a servant, and yet not without God the Author. On the margin it is added, *Hic Magister non recipitur. Dist. 13.* A. It may be truly said, that the body of Christ is not eaten by the brute beasts, albeit it seem so; what then doth a mouse take and eat? God knoweth. In the margin it is said, *Non probatur hac Magistri opinio. Dist. 17.* B. It may truly be said, that without confession of the mouth, and paying outward punishment, sins are forgiven upon contrition and humility of the heart. In the margin it is added, *Non rectè hic sentit Magister. Dist. 18.* F. Unto the Priests he gave power of binding and loosing, that is, of shewing that they are bound or loosed. In the margin it is, *Gravis Magistri lapsus.* In many other particulars, though they have not put such a censure on him, he is no less adversary unto the doctrine of Rome now; as *lib. 1. Dist. 1.* A. Let the diligent and modest speculation of Divines, take heed to hold the Divine Scripture as the prescribed form in doctrine. *Dist. 2.* C. As Augustin *lib. de Trini.* teacheth, we must first shew, whether faith hold out so according to the authority of holy Scriptures; and then against babling disputers, which are more proud then capable, use Catholique reasons, and fit similitudes, for defence and asserting the faith, that so satisfying curiosity, we may the more fully instruct the modest; or if they cannot finde the truth which they seek, they may complain of their own minde, rather then of the truth, or of our assertion. D. Therefore let us propound the Authority of the old and new Testaments. *Dist. 40.* D. Seeing predestination is the preparation of grace, that is, Divine election, whereby he hath chosen whom he would before the foundation of the world, as the Apostle saith; on the other side, reprobation must be understood the foreknowledge of the iniquity of some, and the preparation of their damnation; for as the effect of predestination is that grace, whereby now we are justified, and helped to live well, and to continue in good, and whereby we are blessed in the future; so the reprobation of God, whereby from eternity, by not electing he hath rejected some, is considered in two particulars; whereof the one he foreseeeth, and prepareth not, that is iniquity; the other he foreseeeth, and prepareth, that is everlasting punishment. Whence Augustin *ad Prosp. & Hilar.* saith, This rule must be held without wavering, that sinners are foreknown in their sins, and not prepared, but that the punishment is prepared; for God in his presence (as Augustin in *lib. de bone persever.*) hath prepared his good things unto whom he would, and unto whomsoever he giveth, certainly he foresaw that he would give them. *Dist. 41.* A. If we seek the merit of obduration and mercy, we finde the merit of obduration, but we finde not the merit of mercy; because there is no merit of mercy, lest grace be made nothing, if it be not given freely, but rendered unto merits. So he sheweth mercy according to grace, which is given freely; but he hardeneth according to judgement, which is rendered unto merits; whence we may understand, that as God's reprobation is, that he will not shew mercy, so God's obduration is, that he sheweth not mercy; so that not any thing proceedeth from him, whereby a man is made worse, but onely it is not given, whereby he may be better. Hence it is clear (saith he) what the Apostle understandeth by mercy and hardening, and because mercy admitteth not merit, but obduration is not without merit; and by the word mercy here, is understood predestination, and especially the effect of predestination; but by the word obduration, is not meant the eternal reprobation of God, (because there is no merit thereof) but the privation or refusing of grace, which is some way the effect of reprobation; yet sometimes repro-

bation is taken for obduration, as predestination for its effect, which is grace given; for grace which is given, is the effect of predestination; therefore seeing there are no merits of grace, which is given to man for justification, and far less of predestination it self, whereby God hath from eternity chosen whom he would; can there be any merits? so nor of reprobation, whereby from eternity he foresaw that some would be evil, and be condemned, as he did chuse Jacob, and denied Esau; which was not for their merits which they had then, because they had none, because themselves were not; nor for the future merits which he could foresee, did he either chuse the one or refuse the other. In the next Section he sheweth, how Augustin once thought, that God had chuse Jacob, because he foresaw that Jacob would be such; and therefore Augustin recanted that error, and he concludeth the Section thus; Augustin *in lib. de predest. sanctor.* saith, Not because he foresaw that we would be such, did he therefore chuse; but that we might be such by the very election of his grace, whereby he hath accepted us in his beloved Son. *Dist.* 46. B. Unto that objection from *Matth.* 23. 37. he answereth, That is not to be understood so, as if the Lord would have gathered the children, and it was not done what he would, because Jerusalem would not, but rather that she would not have her children gathered by him, and yet against her will he gathered her children, even all whom he would; because in heaven and on earth, there be not some things that he would and doeth, and some things that he would, and doeth not, but all whatsoever he would, he hath done; and therefore the meaning is, whomsoever I have gathered by my ever efficacious will, I did against thy will. Behold, it is clear that these words of the Lord, are not contrary unto that is said. *Lib.* 2. *Dist.* 25. G. In man may be observed four estates of free-will; for before sin, nothing hindered him from good, and nothing moved him unto ill; he had not infirmity unto ill, and he had help unto good; then his reason could judge without error, and his will could follow good without difficulty; but after sin, and before reparation by grace, he is burthened and overcome with lust, and he hath infirmity in ill, and hath not grace in good; and therefore he may sin, and he cannot but sin, yea and damnably; but after reparation, and before confirmation, he is burthened with lust, but not overcome; and he hath infirmity in ill, but hath grace in good; so that he may sin, because of infirmity and liberty; and he may not sin to death, because of liberty and helping grace: but he hath not that he can as yet not sin at all, or that he cannot sin, because the infirmity is not perfectly taken away, and grace is not fully perfected; but after confirmation, when infirmity is altogether taken away, and grace is perfected, he cannot be overcome nor burthened, and then shall he have that he cannot sin. *Ibid.* A. That liberty which is from sin, they onely now have, whom the Son by grace maketh free and repaireth; not so that they are altogether free from sin in this mortal flesh, but that in them sin hath not dominion, nor reigneth; and this is true and good liberty, which begetteth a good service, to wit, of righteousness. Whence Augustin in *Ench.* saith, None shall be free to do righteousness, unless he, being delivered from sin, become the servant of righteousness; and that is true liberty, for their joy of the good deed; and also it is godly service, for obedience of the command. Here it is to be noted, that whereas it is said in the line, *propter recti facti latitiam*, these Masters of Lovane have caused it to be printed in the margin, *recte faciendi licentiam*. This little change giveth occasion to consider, whether the licence of doing a thing rightly, or the joy and pleasure of doing well, be more true liberty. They shew that they do judge, a licence of doing well is sufficient; and nevertheless many have licence,

licence, and commandment to do rightly, and do it not, nor have a will to do it; and some do it, and nevertheless are culpable, because they do it not heartily, or with pleasure, but for some compulsion or by-respects, as it followeth there in the line. There is another liberty not true, and conjoynd with evil service, which is to do ill; when reason dissenteth from the will, judging that it should not be done, what the will would do; for to do good reason agreeth with the will; and therefore that is true and pious liberty. Whence it appeareth, that the marginal alteration is far different from the meaning of the Master, if it be not contrary. *Diff. 27. A.* Vertue is (as Augustine saith) a good quality of the minde, whereby men live rightly, and which none doth use evilly, and which onely God worketh in man. Therefore it is onely the work of God, as Augustin teacheth of the vertue of righteousness, upon that place of the Psalmist, I have done judgement and righteousness; saying, Righteousness is an excellent vertue of the minde, which none but God worketh in man. Therefore when the Prophet in the person of the Church saith, I have done righteousness, he understandeth not the vertue itself, which no man doth, but the work of it. Behold (saith he) here it is manifestly taught, that righteousness in man, is not the work of man, but of God; which is likewise to be meant of all other vertues. *B.* For the Apostle, writing unto the Ephesians of the grace of faith, affirmeth likewise, that faith is not of man, but of God onely, saying, *Through grace ye are saved by faith, and that not of your selves, for it is the gift of God.* Which is expounded by the Saints so, This, to wit, faith, is not from the power of our nature, because it is meely the gift of God. Behold, here it is clearly taught, that faith is not from the liberty of will, or of free-will; which agreeth with what is said before, that preveining and working grace is a vertue, which maketh free, and healeth the will of man. Wherefore Augustin in *lib. de Spir. & lit.* saith, We are justified not by free-will, but by the grace of Christ; not that it is without our will, but our will is shewed to be weak by the Law, that grace may heal the will, and the will being made whole may obey the Law. *C---* Here it is clear, that the motion of the minde, whether unto good or ill, is from free-will; and therefore if grace or vertue be a motion of the minde, it is of free-will; but if it be of free-will, even but partly, then God alone without man worketh it not. Therefore some have said, not unlearnedly, that vertue is a good quality, or form of the minde, which informeth the soul; and it is not a motion, or affection of the minde, but free-will is helped by it, that it may be moved and set on good; and so out of vertue and free-will ariseth the good motion or affection of the minde, and thence the good deed proceedeth outwardly; as the earth is watered with rain, that it may bud and bring forth fruit; and the rain is not the earth, nor the bud, nor the fruit; and the earth is not the bud, nor fruit, nor bud of the fruit; So the rain of God's blessing is freely poured on the earth of our minde, that is, on free-will; that is, grace (which onely God doth, and not man with him) is inspired, whereby the will of man is watered, that it may bud and bring forth fruit, that is, the will is healed and prepared, that it may will good, in which respect it is said to work; and it is helped that it may do good, in which respect it is said to cooperate. And that grace is (not without reason) called vertue, because it healeth and helpeth the will of man. Because the Papists do wrest many passages of the Ancients, wherein they finde the word *meritum*, or *meremur*, here we may see how these words are to be expounded, and how Lombard did understand them in the Section E. Good will is both the gift of God, and also the merit of man, or rather of grace, because it is principally of grace, and it is a grace; wherefore Augustin *ad Sixt. Presbyt.* saith, What is

the merit of man before grace, seeing nothing but grace worketh good merits in us? for from grace (as it is said) which preveineth and healeth the will of man, and from that freedom ariseth in the soul of man, the good affection, or the good motion of the minde; and this is the first good merit of man. As for example, from the vertue of faith, and from the freedom of mans will, is begotten in the minde some good motion, and remunerable, to wit, to believe; so from charity & free-will, another good motion proceedeth, to wit, to love; which is a very good one: and so it may be understood of other vertues. And these good motions or affections, are merits, and the gifts of God, whereby we attain (*meremur*) both the increase of them, and other things which consequently are given unto us here or hereafter. Here if we remember what was said before, from *lib. 1. Dist. 41. A.* there is no merit of mercy--- and then consider, how he here defineth merit to be a good motion of the minde, and remunerable; it is plain, that he thinketh not, man deserveth a reward, nor that the reward is given for the work, but that God of his mercy giveth more grace, and other things here and hereafter, unto them which being healed by grace, have good motions of minde. And this is the large and improper use of the word, which is not seldom among the writings of the Ancients since, and in the time of Pelagius. And in the Section G. he hath these words out of Augustine, When God doth crown our merits, he crowneth nothing but his own gifts; wherefore eternal life, which God rendereth unto preceeding merits, because even these merits whereunto it is rendered, are not of us, but wrought in us by grace; even that life is rightly called grace, because it is given freely or graciously; neither is it therefore graciously, because it is not given unto merits, but because even these merits are given by grace, unto whom it is given. But if the word merit be taken properly, it is a work not owed, for which a proportionable reward is given---- and in this sense, neither Lombard, nor any of the meer Ancients, did use that word, howbeit he useth it oft in that larger sense. *Dist. 32. B.* Behold, he (Augustin) sheweth clearly, that sin is dimitted in baptism; not that it abideth not after baptism, but because its guiltiness is abolished in baptism: and he sheweth also, that it is dimitted the same way, because by the grace of baptism, concupiscence it self is tamed and minished. *Lib. 3. Dist. 25. A.* That is sound faith, whereby we believe that no man, whether of riper or less age, can be freed from the contagion of death, and obligation of sin which he hath contracted in his first birth, but by the one Mediator between God and men Jesus Christ; by the most wholesome faith of which man (and the same being God) the righteous were saved, which did believe that he was to come in the flesh; for their faith and ours is one and the same; therefore seeing all the righteous before the incarnation, or after it, did not live, nor do live but by faith of the incarnation of Christ, certainly that which is written, *There is no other name under heaven by which we must be saved*, was powerful to save mankind from that time in which it was defiled in Adam. In *lib. 4.* he speaketh much of the conversion of the bread and wine in the Sacrament. And *Dist. 11.* he saith, But if you ask, what sort of conversion it is? whether formal, or substantial, or of any other sort, I am not able to define it; and I acknowledge it is not formal, because the kindes of things that were before do continue, both taste and weight. C. If you ask the way, how it can be? I answer shortly, the mystery of faith may be safely believed, but not safely searched. In Lombard's time transubstantiation was not an Article of faith. *Dist. 12.* It is asked, Whether that that the Priest doth, is properly a sacrifice? or if Christ be sacrificed dayly? or if he was once onely sacrificed? It may be answered shortly, That which is offered and consecrated by the Priest, is called a sacrifice and oblation, because

because it is the remembrance and representation of the true sacrifice, and holy offering that was made upon the altar of the Cross; and Christ died once on the Cross, and there was offered in himself; but he is dayly offered in the Sacrament, because in the Sacrament is a remembrance of that which was once done. Wherefore Augustin saith, We hold it sure, that Christ rising from death, dieth not now; and nevertheless, lest we forget what was done, it is kept in our remembrance every year, to wit, so oft as the Pascha is celebrated. Is Christ killed so oft? but onely a yearly remembrance representeth what was once done, and so maketh us to be moved, as if we saw the Lord on the Cross. Here we may observe, that where it is said, *sed tantum anniversaria recordatio* --- the Masters of Lovane have turned that, *tantum* into *tamen*, the one is exclusive, but that they love not. In *lib. 3. Dist. 22. D.* It is asked, whether it may be said conveniently, that the Son of man, or that man came down from heaven, or be every where, as the Son of God, or God is said to have come from heaven, and to be every where? To this we say, if the meaning of that sentence be referred unto the unity of his person, it may be safely said; but if to the distinction of natures, it can be granted no way. *Dist. 27. F.* That command [*Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart*] is not at all fulfilled by man in this life, but in part, and not wholly, because we love in part, as we know but in part. Therefore Lombard did not believe perfection of mans obedience, nor works of supererogation. In many other particulars he is contrary to the Canons of Trent. It is true, he was the first that hath named seven Sacraments: the Fathers in former times took the name in a large sense; as Augustin calleth the sign of the Cross, a Sacrament, *contra Faust. lib. 19. cap. 14.* and on *Psal. 106.* he calleth the several mystical or allegorical sentences, Sacraments: and after this, the Gloss on Gratian; *Dist. 100. c. Siquis*, calleth the consecration of the altar, a Sacrament; and *Dist. 26. c. Acutus*, it saith, The Bishop is a Sacrament: and *Tho. Aquinas Sum. par. 3. q. 6* giveth the name to sundry other things. If then we will reckon all that were called Sacraments, they will draw nearer the number of seventy then seven. But when the ancients speak more properly of the Sacraments of the New Testament, they do name but two, as I have noted in some already. But then first did Lombard make this reckoning, *Lib. 4. Dist. 2.* The Sacraments of the new Law, are baptism, confirmation, the bread of blessing, that is, the Eucharist, penance, extreame unction, order, marriage; whereof some give remedy against sin, and bestow helping grace; others are onely for remedy, as marriage; some do support with grace and vertue, as the Eucharist. And in the margin it is said, *Nec hic recte sentit Magister.* And there is no small controvertise among their School-men for five of them, to wit, who was the Author of them? in what part of the Scriptures have they any ground? what is their sign? Nevertheless the Council of Trent hath accursed all men, who hold that there be more or fewer then seven. *Ses. 7. ca. 1.* Likewise Lombard *lib. 4. Dist. 21.* hath the question, Whether sin can be forgiven after this life? and he speaketh of a fire of transitory tribulation, through which (he thinketh) some must pass; but he speaketh not of the place, nor time of continuance there, nor of sacrifice for the soules there, nor of any mans power to deliver soules out of it.

The number
of the Sa-
craments.

31. The Apostle Paul professed, that he knew not Christ according to the flesh; but in this Century they began to desire the sight of Christ's sepulchre, and frequent peregrinations thither, some in penance by injunction of Priests, and some of their carnal accord. Whence arose three Orders of religious Knights. 1. *Hospitallarii*, who received the pilgrims in lodging, and defended them from the Infidels. 2. *Naucles* in generall. 39. writeth, that Raymund

Three orders
of religious
Knights.

their Master did many ways injure the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and other Prelates; for whosoever was accursed, or excommunicated by the Patriarch or others, Raymund did receive them into communion, and when they were dying, he gave them the Sacrament, and did many other things contrary unto the privileges of the Church; and when the Patriarch did complain, there arose a sedition among the Citizens, and they ran furiously into the Church of the Grave against the Patriarch: The Church of Rome (saith he) seemeth to have given the occasion of so great confusion; for she did exempt that Order from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch. Afterwards they left their hospitality, and became soldiers against the Turks, under the title of Knights of S. John, and then of the Knights of Rhodos, where they dwelt until the year 1523. when the Turks expelled them; and then they come to Malta, whence they now have their name. 2. *Templararii*, which was instituted by Fulco King of Jerusalem; and from them were named the Temple Land, that were dedicated unto them throughout Christendom, as they had their name from the Temple of Jerusalem; they were cut off for the most part, about the year 1305. and their means were given to the Knights of S. John. *Platin. in Clemen.* 5. of them we shall have occasion to speak again. 3. *Teutonici*, so named from their Nation; they professed both hospitality and warfar: when they were expelled out of Jerusalem, they abode at Ptolemais in Egypt, *Pol. Virg. de inven. rer. lib. 7. cap. 5.* and from thence they come into Prussia, as followeth. In this time began many sorts of Friers.

Conversion
of some
Nations.

32. Some Nations were then turned from Paganism, as some in Pomerania, about the year 1106. and they returned to it again, until the year 1124. when Boleslaus, Prince of Poland, compelled Wartislaus, Prince of Pomer, and all his subjects to receive the faith; these were a sort of Wandals in Poritz, Stetine, Wolin, &c. Wencelm Bishop of Bamberg went thither, and was called, The Apostle of Pomer, *Crantz. in Saxo. lib. 5. cap. 44, & 45.* he preached among them thirty years. After his death, their Duke Pribislaus forsook the faith: and within six years Henry (surnamed the proud) Duke of Saxony, compelled them to receive the Gospel again: thereafter he continued in profession, but was little careful of the people, who continued in their Idolatry, until Woldemar, King of the Danes, did threaten them, that he would never cease from wars, until they would embrace Christianity. Norway received the Christian faith by the preaching of Hadrian, an English man, which thereafter was Pope Hadrian IV. The before named Boleslaus subdued the Pruteni, or Borussians, and compelled them to receive Christianity: yet thereafter they forsook it, until the Knights *Teutonici* conquered their Land, about the year 1317. There was also a new plantation of *Rugani* *An.* 1168. Jaremar their Duke went before the people, yea, and he preached the word unto them. *10. Papp. in Histo. convers. Gent.* About that time, a ship of Lubert, going unto Livonia, the Merchants, took with them a Monk, Meinhard; when he saw the miserable blindness of the people, he caused a little cottage to be set up for him, and dwelt there until he learned their language; and then he taught them the grounds of Religion: thereafter he had great authority among them, and was the first Bishop of Riga. Berthold, a Monk of St. Paul's at Breme, was sent thither after him, by the Arch-Bishop of Breme; he found many Pagans still there; and because they would not believe the word, he thought to daunt them with the sword; as *Alb. Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 7. cap. 13.* saith, He sought from Pope Celestin, a Bull of remission of sins unto all Soldiers, which would go and fight against the Infidels of Livonia; and he was killed in the first fight, in the year 1198. Then Albert went through Saxony and Vandalia, and preached remission of sins

to fight under the sign of the Cross, against the Infidels of Livonia: Many went with him, and bought that Land with their blood. At that time began a new Order of *Fratres Crucegladiatores*; and they did agree with the Church-men, that they should have the third part of the Land; this is called *Conversio Vandalica*: but afterwards they would be Lords of the whole Land, scarcely leaving the third part unto the Church. At that time the Danes conquered the City Revel, and the Bishop thereof was subordinate unto the Metropolitan of Denmark. When the Teutonick Knights came and possessed Prussia, the *Crucegladiatores* of Livonia joyned with them; but their Successors did repent it, for the Teutonicks made conquest of all, and that name did fail.

CENTURY XII.

CHAP. IV.

OF BRITANNY.

1. **HENRY I.** the third Son of William the Conqueror, began to reign in the year 1100. for his knowledge of the Liberal Arts, he was called, The Clerk. He paid Peter-pence unto the Pope; but he would not suffer his Subjects to appeal unto Rome, because the Popes have not continued in the steps of Peter (said he) and hunt after earthly lucre; they have not his power, seeing (as all may now see) they follow not his holiness. And when Pope Paschalis did challenge him, he returned answer, saying, Let your Holiness know, that while I live, by God's grace, the Prerogative and Customs of the Kingdom of England shall not be empaired; and though I would so far abuse my self (which God forbid) my Nobles, yea, all the Commons in England would not suffer it. Wherefore, most dear Father, let your bountifulness be so moderate toward us, that you do not inforce me (which I shall unwillingly do) to depart from your obedience. *Matth. Parisien.* And contrary to the Roman Canons, and without licence of the Pope, he married Maude (Daughter to Malcolm Cammore) being then a Nun in Winchester. In the year 1125, John, Bishop of Cremona, was sent from Rome, and in a Synod at London, he did urge the single life of the Clergy, and said, It is a vile crime, that a man rising from the side of his concubine, should consecrate the body of Christ: The same night he was taken with a whore; It was so notorious, that it could not be denied, saith the same Author.

Henry I.
opposes the
Pope.

2. **DAVID** (the third Son of Malcolm Cammore) did erect four Bishopricks, and seven Abbeys, and other religious places (as they called them) and repaired sundry decayed Monasteries; therefore the Clergy called him, Saint David: but his Successor called him, a good Saint to the Church, and an ill Saint to the Crown. The fruit of so large donations (saith *Buchan. Hist. lib. 7.*) was, As the use of the members failed in them, who stuff their bellies with too much meat, so from thenceforth the small sparks of wit being oppressed with luxury, did dayly decay, the study of learning failed, piety was turned into a formality and superstition, and as in untilld land, the seeds of all weeds and vices sprang up; And the Prelates shook off the care of preaching, as a work not becoming their Dignity; and because the Monks had the favor of the people for preaching, the Prelates gave unto them liberty above the Parish Priests, to the end, that the Monks might the more recommend them in their preachings.

Alterations
in the Church
of Scotland.

Appeals to
Rome

3. When HENRY I. King of England died, without a Son, Steven, Earl of Bolonia, and his Sisters Son, usurpeth the Crown about the year 1135. His Brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, procured the first Law that ever was in England, for appellations to Rome; (*1a. Vsser. de stat. & succes. eccle. cap. 8. ex Hen. Hunting. Hist.*) but Steven reserveth to himself the right and power of bestowing Benefices, and investing Prelates. In the beginning of his reign, William, Dean of London, Ralph Longford, Richard Belmeys, and others of the Chapter, did elect a Bishop without the King's recommendation; wherefore he causeth to be imprisoned (not their persons, but) their wives, until they had satisfied for their contempt. *1o. Bale ex Rad. de Dicet.* Whence it appeareth, that as yet the Priests had wives, notwithstanding all former Acts. Thereafter Albericus, Bishop of Ostia, was sent by Pope Innocentius II. and in a Synod at Westminster, condemned the marriage of Priests again; and ordained that Christ's body (as they spoke) should not be kept above eight days, lest it become hoary and rot. At that time Robert Pully deserved commendation, for restoring, or creating the University of Oxford, and was Rector thereof.

is forbidden.

4. HENRY II. (Nephew of Henry I. by his Daughter Maude) disclaimed all the Authority of the Pope, refused to pay Peter-pence, and interdicted all appealation to Rome. At that time Philip de Brok, a Canon of Bedford; was questioned for murder; he used reproachful speeches to the King's Justices, for which he was censured; and the Judges complained unto the King, that there were many robberies, and rapes, and murders, to the number of an hundred, committed within the Realm by Church-men. The King commanded that justice should be executed upon all men alike in his Courts. But Thomas Becket, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, would have the Clergy (so offending) judged in the Spiritual Court, and by men of their own coat; who if they were convicted, should at first be deprived of their Benefice; and if they were found guilty again, they should be judged at the King's pleasure. The King stood for the ancient Laws and Customs; and in a general Assembly at Clarendon, in the year 1164. with consent of the Arch-Bishop, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons and great men, was a rehearsal and acknowledgement of some ancient Customs and Laws: among which that were authorised (being sixteen in number) were these; 1. If between a Lay-man and a Clark were any strife for Church-goods, the plea should be in the King's Court. 2. No Bishop nor Clark should go forth of the Realm without the King's licence; and then he shall swear upon the Book, that he shall procure no hurt to the King, nor any of his Subjects. 3. None who holdeth of the King in chief, or in service, shall be accursed without the King's licence. 4. All the Bishopricks and Abbeyes, when they be vacant, should be in the King's hands until a Prelate be chosen; and he should be chosen out of the King's Chappels; and before he be confirmed, he should do his homage unto the King. 5. If any plea were brought to the Consistory, a party might appeal unto the Arch-Deacon, and from him to the Bishops Court, and thence unto the Arch-Bishop, and from him to the King, and no further. 6. All debts that were owing of truth-plight, should not be pleaded in Spiritual, but Temporal Courts. 7. The Peter-pence which were gathered for the Pope, should be collected for the King. 8. If any Clark were taken for felony, and it were so proved, he shall first be degraded, and then after judgement, be hanged; or if he were a traitor, he shall be drawn in funder. They did all swear, and by word of mouth faithfully promise to observe these Laws unto the King and his Heirs, simply and without fraud. *Mat. Paris.* calleth them, wicked and detestable Acts: But Tho. Becket's testimony is the

Ancient
Laws are
restored.

the stronger, *de facto*. Tho. Becket sent unto the Court of Rome, to signifye the grief of the Church and his own, for consenting unto these Laws, and asked absolution from the bond which he had unwisely entered into; and he obtained it. The same year the King required to have punishment of some misdoings among the Clergy: The Arch-Bishop would not permit; and when he saw (in his judgement) the liberties of the Church troden under foot, he, without the King's knowledge, took ship, and intended toward Rome, but by a contrary winde he was brought back: Then he was called to account for his receipts, that came to his hand while he was high Chancellor: He appealeth to the See of Rome; and under pain of excommunication forbad both Bishops and Nobles to give sentence against him, seeing he was both their Father and their Judge: Nevertheless they, without his confession, gave sentence against him. Then he, seeing himself forsaken of all the other Bishops, listeth the cross which he held in his hand aloft, and went away from the Court; and the next day got him over into Flanders, and so to the Pope. *Matth. Parisien.* hath many Letters betwixt the Pope and this King, and the King of France, and sundry Bishops of France and England, for reconciliation betwixt the King and this proud Prelate; but all to no purpose, till Henry of his own accord did cause his Son (Henry III.) to be crowned, and then he (being in Normandy) was content, by the mediation of the French King, to accept the Prelate. Thomas, returning into England, excommunicateth all the Bishops which had been at the Coronation of the young King, because it appertained unto him (forsooth) to inaugurate the King. The King sent unto him, and required to absolve them, seeing what was done unto them, was done for his cause. The Prelate refuseth. On Christmas day he solemnly excommunicateth two Gentlemen, for cutting his horse tail. On the fifth day four Gentlemen did kill him, in the year 1171. At Easter Pope Alexander canonized him as a Saint, and would have excommunicated the King for his death; but the King by his Ambassadors purged himself, that he knew not of his death: yet because he did carry grudge at him, he was forced to renounce the investiture of Bishops, and thereby his Kingdom became more slavish then before. And the Pope, in token of his victory, to the shame of the King, and credit of the Clergy, did pretend some miracles as done by this Thomas after his death, and commanded his feast to be kept throughout the Kingdom; and the Cathedral which before was called Christ's Church, was after that called St. Thomas Becker's: and to the end the King might suffer this infamy the more patiently, and also to make Ireland the more subject unto the See of Rome, Pope Alexander confirmed again unto King Henry the Lordship of Ireland; and ordained that the Bishops there, should obey the Laws of England. For in the year 1155. Murchard (or as some call him Dermot mac Morrog) King of Leinster, being exiled by O. Roricy King of Midia, sought aid from Henry II. he sent Richard Strongbow, Earl of Penbrok, (who had married the onely Daughter of Murchard) with a considerable Army into Ireland; and within a short space he restored his father in law, and conquered other Lands, so that Henry was jealous of his power, and commanded by open Proclamation, him and all his Army to return under pain of forfeiture. In obedience, Richard gave into the King's hand all his purchase, and his wives inheritance, and again received (as his vassal) Weisford, Ossoria, Carterlogia, &c. But in the year 1172 Henry went personally into Ireland, and the most part submitted themselves unto him, as unto their onely and lawful Sovereign, whereas in former times, that Nation was divided into four petty Kingdoms, and several Dukedoms, and one of them was chosen Monarch. The same Henry did claim

*The Bishops
of Scotland
will not sub-
mit to the
Primate of
York.*

the Lands of Northumberland, and----- from the Scots; Malcolm the maiden, and his Brother William, at two several times went to London, and did acknowledge the King for these Lands, whereas in former times the Heir of the Crown did onely perform that ceremony. But then Henry would have more, that all the Bishops of Scotland should be under the yoke of the Arch-Bishop of York as their Metropolitan. At the first meeting at Norham, the Scots put it off, but with slender delays. The next year Hugo, Cardinal de S. Angelo (sent into England) was for Henry in this purpose, and did cite the Bishops of Scotland to compear before him in Northampton; they went thither, and the Cardinal had a speech of humility and obedience, all to perswade the Scotch Bishops to submit themselves unto the Primate of York, who was a Prelate of great respect, and whose credit in the Court of Rome might serve them to good use. A yong Clerk stood up, and spake in name of the others; his speech is written diversly; I shall shew it, as I have copied it out of an old Register of Dunkel (by the favor of Bishop Alexander Lindsay) It is true, English Nation, thou mightest have been noble, and more noble then some other Nations, if thou hadst not craftily turned the power of thy Nobility, and the strength of thy fearful might, into the presumption of tyranny, and thy knowledge of Liberal Science, into the shifting Glosses of Sophistry; but thou disposdest not thy purposes as if thou wert lead with reason, and being puffed up with thy strong Armies, and trusting in thy great wealth, thou attemptest, in thy wretched ambition, and lust of domineering, to bring under thy jurisdiction thy neighbor Provinces and Nations, more noble, I will not say in multitude or power, but in lineage and antiquity; unto whom, if thou wilt consider ancient records, thou shouldest rather have been humbly obedient, or at least, laying aside thy rancor, have reigned together in perpetual love; and now with all wickedness of pride that thou shewest, without any reason or law, but in thy ambitious power, thou seekest to oppress thy mother the Church of Scotland, which from the beginning hath been Catholique and free, and which brought thee, when thou wast straying in the wilderness of heathenism, into the safe-guard of the true faith, and way unto life, even unto Jesus Christ, the Author of eternal rest; she did wash thy Kings and Princes, and people, in the laver of holy Baptism; she taught thee the commandments of God, and instructed thee in moral duties; she did accept many of thy Nobles, and others of meaner rank, when they were desirous to learn to read, and gladly gave them dayly entertainment without price, books also to read, and instruction freely; she did also appoint, ordain and consecrate thy Bishops and Priests; by the space of thirty years and above, she maintained the primacy and pontifical dignity within thee on the North side of Thames, as Beda witnesseth: And now, I pray, what recompence renderest thou unto her, that hath bestowed so many benefits on thee? is it bondage? or such as Judea rendered unto Christ, evil for good? it seemeth no other thing. Thou unkinde vine, how art thou turned into bitterness? we looked for grapes, and thou bringest forth wilde grapes; for judgement, and behold iniquity and crying. If thou couldest do as thou wouldest, thou wouldest draw thy mother the Church of Scotland, whom thou shouldest honor with all reverence, into the basest and most wretchedst bondage. Fie for shame! what is more base, when thou wilt do no good, to continue in doing wrong? even the serpents will not do harm to their own, albeit they cast forth to the hurt of others; the vice of ingratitude hath not so much moderation; an ungrateful man doth wrack and massacre himself, and he despiseth and minceth the benefits for which he should be thankful, but multiplieth and enlargeth injuries. It was a true saying of Seneca, (I see) The

more

more some do owe, they hate the more; a small debt maketh a grievous enemy. What sayest thou, David? it is true, They rendered me evil for good, and hatred for my love. It is a wretched thing (saith Gregory) to serve a Lord, who cannot be appeased with whatsoever obeysance. Therefore thou Church of England, dost as becomes thee not; thou thinkest to carry what thou cravest, and to take what is not granted; seek what is just, if thou wilt have pleasure in what thou seekest. And to the end I do not weary others with my words, albeit I have no charge to speak for the liberty of the Church of Scotland, and albeit all the Clergy of Scotland would think otherwise, yet I dissent from subjecting her, and I do appeal unto the Apostolical Lord, unto whom immediately she is subject; and if it were needful for me to die in the cause, here I am ready to lay down my neck unto the sword: nor do I think it expedient to advise any more with my Lords the Prelates, nor if they will do otherwise, do I consent unto them; for it is more honest to deny quickly what is demanded unjustly, then to drive off time by delays, seeing he is the less deceived who is refused betimes. When Gilbert had so made an end, some English, both Prelates and Nobles, commend the yong Clerk, that he had spoken so boldly for his Nation, without flattering, and not abashed at the gravity of such Authority; but others, because he spoke contrary unto their minde, said, A Scot is naturally violent, and *In naso Scotti piper*. But Roger, Arch Bishop of York, which principally had moved this business, to bring the Church of Scotland unto his See, uttered a groan, and then with a merry countenance laid his hand on Gilbert's head, saying; *Ex tua phareta non exit illa sagitta*; as if he had said, When ye stand in a good cause, do not forethink what ye shall say, for in that hour it shall be given unto you. This Gilbert was much respected at home after that. And Pope Celestin put an end unto this debate, for he sent his Bull unto King William, granting that neither in Ecclesiastical nor Civil affairs, the Nation should answer unto any forain Judge whatsoever, except onely unto the Pope, or his Legate specially constituted. So far in that Register of Dunkel.

5. The above named Henry II. was so admired through the world for his prudence and prowess, that Manuel Emperor of the Greeks, Frederick Emperor of Germany, the French King, with many other famous Princes, sent unto him, as a School-Master of justice, for determination of obscure doubts. Alfonso King of Castile, and Saucius King of Navar, being at variance for some possessions, did of their own accord submit themselves unto his judgement, and he found an overture to both their good liking. This is to be marked, because the worshippers of Becker call him a vitious Prince. In the year 1181. the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Master of the Templars, having no King, and being distressed by Saladin, did profer unto the same Henry the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and brought unto him the keys of their Cities. He refused, because of his weighty affairs at home. They were oppressed by the Infidels; and he had no more prosperity; for his Son would have the Government, as well as the Title of the Kingdom; and the Father did the service of a Steward unto his Son; yea, and more disdainfully did the Son entreat his Father, till he was taken away by death; and his Brother Richard was also a grief unto his Father, and so was the third Brother, John. The true cause of all his woes, may be thought the oppression of some professors of truth; for *Pol. Virgil, in Hist. Anglor. lib. 13.* testifieth, that about the year 1160. thirty teachers came from Germany into England, and taught the right use of Baptism, of the Lord's Supper, &c. and were put to death. It is true, Virgil calleth them worshippers of Divels; but we shall hear anon, how all professors of truth were reviled; and John of Sarisbun, at the same

Henry II.
prudent and
unfortunate.

time, wrote, saying, He who speaketh for the truth of faith, or sincerity of manners, according to the Law of God, is called superstitious, envious, and which is capital, an enemy of the King. After four years, others which were (in contempt) called Publicans and Waldenses, taught in England, that the Roman Church had left the faith of Christ, and was become the whore of Babel, the barren fig-tree; no obedience should be given unto the Pope, or his Bishops; Monks were dead carion; their vows frivolous; their characters were the mark of the Beast. *10. Bale. Cent. 2. §. 96. in Appen.* And in the year 1166, the same Henry drew some professors unto judgement at Oxford, because they were said to dissent from the doctrine of the Roman Church; he caused them to be burnt with an hot iron, and banished them. *1. Fox in Act. & Mon.*

*Married
Clerks.*

6. At that time were many married Priests in Brittany. Ephleg left his Son Cedda to be his Successor in the Priesthood at Plinmouth. Arnold Dunprust left his Son Robert likewise, in the same County; unto Robert did his Son succeed. In Norfolk Wulkerel dimitted his Priest-hood at Dyssa, unto his lawful Son William. Hugh Howet in Sarisbury, John in Excheester, and Oliver in Nottingham, all succeeded unto their Fathers. *10. Bale Cent. 3. §. 10. in Appen.* In Ireland fifteen Bishops of Ilesmore succeeded lineally and hereditarily, for the space of 200. years, and of them eight Sons succeeded unto their fathers (*Bernard. in Vita Malac.*) until the year 1121. when the Bishop Celsus, having no Son, did (as by testament) name Malachias Bishop of Connereth, to be his Successor; and his friends, as heirs, did resist for five years. Malachias had correspondence with Bernard of Claraval, and had two Monks sent from that Abbey, to begin an Abbey of that Order in Ireland; but they returned against the Bishops will; wherefore Bernard wrote unto him his 317. Epistle, exhorting that he would not leave off the purpose, but rather be more vigilant in that new place and Land, so unaccustomed with Monastical life; and excusing the Monks, that their returning was occasioned by the untowardness of these brethren, living in a Land without discipline, and especially not accustomed to submit unto such counsels. This Malchias did urge the single life of Priests in Ireland. He went to Rome, and became Legate, but died in the way beside Bernard.

*John Bishop
of Sarisbury.*

7. John of Sarisbury, Bishop of Carnotum, was familiar with his Countryman Pope Hadrian IV. when they were alone in a chamber at Benevento, Hadrian asked him, what the world thought and spake of him and of the Church? After a little form of excuse, he said, I will tell what I hear spoken every where; they say, The Church of Rome, which is the Mother of all Churches, is become a stepdame unto them; and the Pope is called, a cross and grief unto all men, and intolerable for pride; as the zeal of their Fathers had erected Churches, so now they do decay; and the Pope was glorious not onely in purple, but in glancing gold; the Cardinals and Bishops are called Scribes and Pharisees, laying heavy burthens on mens shoulders, which themselves will not touch with their finger; their Palaces are glorious, and the Churches of Christ are polluted by their hands; they spoil the Nations, as if they would scrape together the treasures of Croesus: But the most High dealeth most wisely with them, for they become often a prey unto others; and I think, so long as they stray out of the way, they shall never want a scourge from God. Then said the Pope, What thinkest thou? He answered There is danger on every side: I fear the blame of flattering or lying, if I alone do speak contrary unto the world; and I fear, lose Majesty, lest it seem that I deserve the gibbet, as opening my mouth against the heaven; nevertheless, because Wido Cardinal of St. Potentiana beareth witness with the people,

people, I dare not altogether contradict them; for he saith, There is a root of duplicity in the Roman Church: and I do ingenuously profess, I never saw more honest Clergy-men, then in the Church of Rome: but seeing you press and command me, and it is not lawful to lye unto the holy Ghost, I profess ye are not altogether to be followed in your works; for he who dissenteth from the truth, is a Schismatick and Heretick; but of the mercies of God, there be some who will not follow all our works; but I fear, lest while you continue asking these things, as you are pleased, you hear from your foolish friend, things that will not please you: Why is it Father, that you search other mens lives, and search not your own? all men rejoyce with you; you are called the father and Lord of all men, and all the oyl for sinners is poured on your head: If you be a Father, why cravest thou gifts from thy children? or if thou be a Lord, why causest thou not the Romans to stand in awe of thee? and having brided their presumption, bringest them not again into the faith? But thou wilt preserve the City unto the Church by thy gifts; did Pope Sylvester so conquer it? thou art a Father in the by-ways, and not in the right ways; it is to be conserved by such means as it was purchased, &c. The Pope told him the fable, of the members grumbling against the womb; and the same (said he) would befall unto Christendom, if they should not resort unto Rome their head. And then the Pope, smiling at the mans boldness, did require him, that how oft he heard any thing spoken amiss of him, he would presently advertise him. Without doubt this Bishop had more things in his minde, which he uttered not. *P. Morn. in Myst. ex Io. Sarisbur. in Policrat. lib. 6. cap. 24.* In the same work, *lib. 6. cap. 16.* he saith, The Roman Legates do so rage, as if Satan were come forth from the face of the Lord to oppress the Church; oft do they harm, and herein they are like the devil, that they are called good, when they do not evil; with them judgement is nothing but a publick reward; they do account gain to be godliness; they do justify the wicked for gifts, and vex the afflicted souls; they adorn their tables with silver and gold, and rejoyce in the worst things; seeing they eat the sins of the people, they are clothed with them, and in them do they riot many ways, whereas true worshippers should adore the Father in the Spirit; if any do dissent from them, he is judged a Schismatick or Heretick. O that Christ would manifest himself, and openly shew the way wherein men should walk! *Lib. 7. cap. 10.* We should be servants unto the Scriptures, and not domineer over them, unless one will think himself worthy to rule over Angels. *Cap. 17.* One cometh into the Church trusting in the multitude of his riches, and followeth Simon, nor findeth he any that saith, thy money perish with thee. Another feareth to come unto Peter with his gifts, yet privily Jupiter slideth in a shower of gold into Danae's bosome, and the incestuous wooer entereth so into the bosome of the Church. The Author of *Catal. test. ver. lib. 14.* sheweth, *ex Petro Paris. Cantor. in Abbreviat. Verbo*, how this John did oppose the Pope and the Cardinals, when they would enjoin some new Rites, and said, ye should be so far from enjoying new Rites, that ye should rather take away some ancient ones, albeit they were profitable; for Christians are much burthened with the multitude of these useful traditions; ye should rather endeavor, that the word of Christ may be kept; for now it may be objected unto us, that the commandments of God are made of no effect, in respect of mens traditions.

8. Edmond Rich Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, about the year 1181. was wont to say, By gifts that are given on the one side, and taken on the other, Christianity is already corrupted, and it will fall ere they be aware, unless they be so wise, as to cure themselves from this pest. By these gifts, some do under-

*The cause of
the ruine of
the Church.*

stand not so much what was given by Intrants, as what the Popes and Bishops gave to stop the mouths of such as spoke against their vices and errors, to divert their reproofs. *Catal. test. ver.*

9. Petrus Blefenis, once Chancellor of Canterbury, and then Bishop of Rotomagum, for his learning and honesty of life, was in great favor with Princes and Prelates, saith Trithem. He did very sharply rebuke the manners of the Clergy, especially that they did abuse the power of the keys to satisfy their avarice. In Epistle 25. unto a friend, who was an official of a Bishop, he saith, Because I love thee affectionately in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I have decreed to exhort thee with wholesome admonitions, to come timely out of Ur of the Chaldees, and from the midst of Babylon, and forsake the ministry of that damnable stewardship; I know covetousness hath subverted thy heart, in so far as thou art become an official unto a Bishop; I think officials have their name, not from the nown *officium*, but from the verb *officio*; all the business of the official is in lieu of the Bishop, to strip and excoriate the silly sheep which are concredited unto him; these are the Bishops blood-suckers, spuing out other folks blood after they have drunk it; the riches which the wicked hath gathered, he shall spue it out, and God shall draw it out of his belly; these are as a sponge in the hand of a strainer--- what he hath gathered by oppressing the poor, goeth unto the Bishop's pleasures, but to the official's torment; as the bees gather honey not for themselves, but for others; so ye gather riches not for your selves, but for others: these are the privy doors, by which the servants of Bell do thievishly carry away the sacrifices which the King had laid on the table; so the Bishop taketh away other mens goods with long hands, and layeth the blame of the crime and infamy on the official; they have their eye on the reward, but look not to the fatherless and widow---- what is done under pretence of counterfeited Religion and justice, availeth not unto life, nor edifieth unto salvation. Saul did spare the fattest of Amaleks flocks, as if he would sacrifice unto God, and he did provoke God unto wrath--- I could the more patiently endure that damnable office, if thou wert not eminent in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures; these causes and judgements wherein thou hast entangled thy self imprudently, I will not say impudently, are fitter for a secular man; a learned and ecclesiastical man, should not meddle with secular affairs---- I wish that thou wouldest forsake these noisome things of the world, that the Prince of this world may not finde any thing that is his in thee, &c. He did oft call the Clergy, Syria, Edom, the calves of Bethel, Idols of Egypt, Priests of Baal, &c. In his other Epistles he saith, If thou hadst once tasted the sweetness of wisdom (*i.e.* of the holy Scripture) thou wouldest loath all other things in comparison; for this giveth abundantly the incomparable treasures of pleasure, and the grace of all gifts. And again, It is necessary to read the Scriptures, for that is the table of the tabernacle---- that is the food by which we breath and live. Certainly Christ did use the onely testimony of the word, against all the temptations of Satan in the wilderness; if therefore an host should come against you, guard yourself with the buckler of a good conscience, and with the sword of the Spirit. Again, The exhortation of man, without the grace of God, is but as sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal; he onely can give a mouth and wisdom, which saith, Without me you can do nothing---- Lord, take thou away my stony heart, and give a new, humble, contrite, and a heart of flesh. In the last of his Epistles, he reckoneth the Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Esdras III. and IV. Judesth, Tobias, Maccabees, among the Apocrypha. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 14.*

10. Richard de St. Victor, a Scot, was held for a learned and good man, about

about the year 1140. He wrote much. On *Cant. c. 2.* The reading and meditation of the Scriptures do strengthen the minde, and weaken the enemy; so long as they keep this in minde, and do it, they are hereby most expert to encounter with the enemy. *De statu. hom. inter cap. 12.* How justly is free-will said to be dead, seeing by it self it is never moved unto any good? for what good can it do of it self, seeing it cannot say, Jesus is the Lord, but by the holy Ghost? and indeed it is often moved unto good, but never accept by the holy Ghost. *De sacrif. Abrah. & Maria.* If the grace and protection of God be withheld, man is thrown down at every suggestion of the enemy, and into whatsoever evil, and being once thrown down, he can never rise by his own power--- A man can bring forth no bud of good work of himself, without working grace; and when he hath begun to work, he can no way continue without its cooperation. *Par. 2. in explanat. aliquot locor. Apost.* The Law teacheth onely what we should do, and addeth not how we may obey; and therefore it can justifie none: the Gospel teacheth what should be done, how it may be done, and how that which is not done may be supplied. In *Apocal. lib. 3.* Onely that prayer is acceptable in heaven, which the Son offereth unto the Father. *Catol. test. ver. lib. 15.* He was the first which taught that the Virgin Mary was born without original sin, *10. Maior in gest. Scot. lib. 3. cap. 12.*

11. Malcolm IV. King of Scots, did command Roger Arch-Bishop of York, and Roman Legate, to depart out of the Realm, and said, It was not reason that the Land should be oppressed by ungodly men, bearing glorious names. *He. Boet. Hist. lib. 13.* Again in the year 1188. Pope Clement sent another, and he had not better success, for all did refuse him, except John Bishop of St. Andrews; and therefore he was banished: and he had refuge unto the Pope, who by and by sent unto Henry King of England, and gave unto him the right of the Crown of Scotland, *10. Bale. Cent. 3. §. 26. in Appen.*

12. It is recorded, that one Fulco came and said unto the English King Richard, with great boldness, O King, thou hast three very bad daughters; take good heed unto them, and provide unto them good husbands, lest by inconvenient bestowing of them, thou run not into damage onely, but utter perdition unto thy self. The King said, Thou art mad, foolish hypocrite, I have no daughter. Fulco replieth, I do not lye, O mighty King, for you have three daughters continually in your Court, and wholly possess your person; and such whores are they, that the like hath not been heard; I mean, mischievous pride, greedy covetousness, and filthy lechery; therefore I say again, beware of them, and out of hand provide marriages for them. The King then took his words in good part, & by and by calling his Nobles, declared unto them them the words of Fulco, whose counsel (said he) I intend to follow, not doubting of your consents, my Lords, thereunto: wherefore, here before you all, I give my eldest daughter, swelling pride, to wife unto the proud Templars; my greedy daughter, avarice, unto the Cister-tian Monks; and filthy luxury, unto the riotous Prelates of the Church; so severally agreeing with all their natures, that the like match is not to be found unto them. This was about the year 1198. saith *1. Fox in Act.*

13. Here it shall not be amiss to remember the example of Simon Thurvey, an English man of Cornwall, for a warning to temerarious Students; He was a subtil Logician, and expert in all Liberal Sciences; he left his own Country, and was a Doctor in Paris many years; and trusting to his Philosophy, he vaunted that he knew all Christ's Law, and by force of disputation, he could disprove it all: on a suddain he became forgetful of all learning, and could not say the Lord's Prayer, nor knew the a, b, c. *Mat. Paris.*

reporteth, that when he was writing his History, *Nicola. epi. Danelm.* told him this, and had seen this Simon learning to read from his own bastard son, as if he had been a childe of six years onely.

14. King William went into England to congratulate the safe arrival of Richard from Judea, in the year 1199. at that time Harald Earl of Orkney, and Cairnes, took the Bishop of the Countrey prisoner (because he had stopped some suit he had demanded of the King) and bereft him of his eyes and tongue. William at his returning would revenge this inhumanity, and Harald would defend himself by force; but his forces were scattered, and he was apprehended; it was done unto him by the hangman, as he had unto the Bishop, and then strangled: all his male-children were gelded; and many of his friends (as accessories) were fined in money, *Buchan. lib. 7.* When this was reported unto Pope Innocentius III. he sent his Legate John Cardinal *de monte Celio*, with a sword richly set with precious stones, a purple hat in form of a diadem, and a Bull of large priviledges, exempting the Church of Scotland from all censures, except onely of the Pope, or Legate sent by the Conclave; the Bull was dated in the year 1209. *H. Boeth. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 8.*

THE FOURTH AGE Of the CHURCH,

O R

The History of the Church lurking, and of Anti-
Christ reigning, containing the space of 300. years, from
the year of our Lord 1000. until the year 1300.

CENTURY XIII.

CHAP. I.

Of P O P E S.



Begin this Century at the Popes, because the times are changed, and I must change with the times; in the former Century the Popes were first exalted above the Emperors.

1. INNOCENTIUS the III. being thirty yearsold, was chosen Pope Jan. 3. 1198. In his time the Empire was weak, and a great Schism in Germany, as followeth; whereupon the Pope made his advantage; and the Authority of the Papal Chair, and errors in doctrine waxed then wonderously. Frederick was young; Kings and Princes every where were at variance, so that there was none to stay the ambition of Innocentius. From the Empire he took Romandiola, Ravenna and other Lands, pretending that these did belong unto St. Peter. *Io. Naucler.* At that time he obtained two Decrees, which did much serve unto the advancement of the man of sin; one, So oft as Princes are at variance, or shall endamage one another, the cognisance of their cause shall appertain unto the high Priest of Rome. Another, So oft as the suffrages of whatsoever Electors shall be equal, and no greater agreement intervening, the Pope may determine as he pleaseth. These two were registred in the Decretals, *lib. 1. tit. 6. de elect. c. Venerabilem.* The former was made upon occasion of variance betwixt France and England, and the other in favor of Otho, Duke of Brunswick. *P. Mornay in Myster.* Unto these a third may well be joyned; When the Imperial seat is vacant, the Roman high Priest shall have the administration, and exercise the Imperial power until another Emperor be chosen. *Clement. Pastoral. de sent. & re judic.* near the end. Out of these the Canonists do conclude, that the Pope is Lord of Christendom. But the Jesuits say, Not so; for the Pope succeedeth not into the Empire in all things, but only in discerning in such causes as appertain unto the Emperor, and may not be delayed, *Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 5.* The works and writings of Innocentius, shew yet more of his pride. In his first Sermon on the feast of

More advantages for
the Pope.

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St. Sil-

St. Silvester, he saith, The Roman high Priest, in token of Empire, weareth a Globe, and in token of Priesthood, a Mitre; but he weareth the Mitre at all times, and every where, but not so the Globe, because the Priestly Dignity is first, and worthiest, and largest; for the Priesthood went before the Kingdom among the people of God, as Aaron was before Saul. God speaking of Priests and Kings, calleth the Priests, gods, and the Kings, Princes, saying, *Thou shalt not rail on the gods, nor speak evil of the ruler of the people, Exod. 22.* And whereas he saith of the King, Be subject unto all ordinance of man, whether the King, &c. he saith of Priests unto Jeremiah, I have set thee over Nations and Kingdoms, to pull up and to cast down, to plant and to build; and unto Peter in the singular number, Thou art Cephas; that is, Thou art the HEAD, in which are all the senses. The deep Sea, of which Christ said to Peter, Launch into the Sea, is Rome, which had and hath the primacy of all the world; as if he had said, Go to Rome. On the anniversary day of his Coronation, Sermon III. speaking on these, He is the Bridegroom who hath the Bride; and speaking unto his Cardinals, saith, Am not I the Bridegroom, and each one of you the Bridegroom's friend? certainly I am the Bridegroom, for I have a noble, rich, high, comely, chaste, lovely and sacred Bride, the Roman Church; which, as God hath ordained, is the Mother and Mistress of all believers: She is older then Sara, wiser then Rebeca, more fertile then Lea, more aimable then Rachel, more devout then Anna, more chaste then Susanna, more couragions then Judith, and fairer then Edissa; many daughters have purchased riches, but she surmounteth them all; with her is my sacramental marriage-----Have ye not read, that Abraham had a wife Sara, and she brought in her maid Agar unto him? nor did he for that commit adultery, but discharged his duty: so the Pope hath his wife, the Roman Church, which bringeth unto him other Churches that are subject unto her, that they may receive from him due provision, because how much is paid, the more is owed; but this is done in the spirit, and the other was done in the flesh; because the spirit quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing, &c. In another place he saith, The Church of Rome should give the debt of reverence unto none, but unto the Priest of Rome, who under God hath none above him [Behold the Beast, and the Roman distinguished] The high Priest of Rome hath the Roman Church for his Spouse, who bringeth unto him other Churches, that are subject unto her. Thus of all the Popes, Innocentius would be the first corrival of Christ. Bellarmin would excuse this blasphemy, by a distinction of the principal, and the subaltern husband. *De Ro. Pon. lib. 2. cap. 31.* But he considered not what Thomas de Corfellis (as Æ. Sylvius reporteth *de Concil. Basil.*) said publicly in that Council, We call the Church the Spouse of Christ, and the Pope his Vicar; but none appointeth such a Vicar, that he will subject his Spouse unto his Vicar. And the Author of the Book, *De squalore Ro. Curie* [Oræus calleth him Lurgius] printed with *Petrus de Alliaco* at Basil An. 1551. saith, The Church hath not two heads, but one, and this is Christ; and not his Vicar; whom Christ hath appointed to be an attendant on his Spouse, and not the husband. *Vsser. de Eccles. statu. cap. 9.* Behold yet the novations of his doctrine: In the year 1215. he assembled a Council at Lateran; there were (as Garanza saith) the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, Metropolitans 70, Bishops 400, Abbots 12, Priors 800, the Ambassadors of the Greek and Roman Empires, Orators of Spain, England and Cyprus: Here the Pope intended to establish many particulars, some good, and some bad; but (saith Platina) nothing could be openly established, because when the Canons were read, some called them tolerable, and others called them grievous. *Mat. Parisien.* (who was living

at that time) faith, The general Council, which at the first had great shew after the Papal maner, ended in laughter and derision, and all that came thither were deluded. These Canons were inserted among the Decrees of the five Books of Decretals, after they had been reformed by himself, as Jo. Cocheleus testifieth in his Epistle before the Acts of this Council; he collected them, and first sent them to be printed by P. Quintel *An.* 1537. as if they had been the Acts of the Council; but there he sheweth, that these Acts were framed, or at least reformed after the Council; which (saith he) any man of judgement may perceive by the XXIX, XXXIII, and LXI Chapters, where is a reference unto the Lateran Council. We have seen, that under Pope Nicolaus the II. it was decreed, that the body of Christ is corporally present in the Sacrament. Whence it was questioned, Whether the bread evacuateth, or the substance of it be changed into Christ's body? Lombard could not define the question, and sheweth the different opinions of others. *Lib.* 4. *Dist.* 11. Innocentius setteth it as an Article of faith, that the bread and wine are transubstantiated into Christ's body and blood, *cap.* 1. In *cap.* 2. the doctrine of Joachim is condemned, but not himself. In *cap.* 3. all men are cursed, who hold not the faith which is in *cap.* 1. and they are ordained to be punished by the Magistrate; and if they be Laicks, their goods shall be confiscated; or if they be Clerks, their goods should return to the Church where they had their Benefice. He ordained, that all Magistrates should swear at their admission, to banish all who are discerned Hereticks by the Church; which if they be slack to do, they should be accursed; and if after excommunication, any shall continue a year, the Metropolitan should give notice unto the Pope, who shall absolve all the subjects from obedience, and give his Land unto others who will expel the Hereticks. Item, He who is declared an Heretick, should not be admitted unto the Sacrament, nor unto Christian burial; nor should alms nor oblations be received from such. Item, All Bishops should twice, or at least once in the year, visit all their Diocies, where is any suspicion of heresie, and cause three or more men of best account, or if need require, all of the bounds should be compelled to swear, whether they know any Hereticks there, or if there be any privy meetings, or any persons different in maners from the common conversation of others. *Cap.* 10. Because the food of God's word is necessary unto Christian people, and Bishops are hindered by many occasions from teaching their people, therefore they should employ sufficient men to preach and visit, and they should provide necessities unto such. This was a safe-guard unto unqualified and non-resident Bishops. *Cap.* 13. There should be no more religions or society of Monks, because there are too many already; if any will be a Monk, let him go to one of those sorts that are approved: and if any will found a new Monastery, let him take one of the former rules. *Cap.* 19. We will not let this pass without correction, that some of the Clergy adorn the Churches with their own and other mens goods, that they are more like to Laicks houses, then to the Churches of God. *Ca.* 21. All believers, when they come to the years of discretion, should confess all their sins unto his own Priest once a year, and accomplish the penance that shall be enjoined; and should communicate at least at Easter, unless his own Priest think good that he should abstain--- Neither may a Priest reveal unto others, what hath been confessed. These private confessions were in use before, but then made necessary; as also here it appeareth, that before were no confessaries but the Priests, until afterwards the Monks obtained this priviledge. *Ca.* 22. Because when one is sick, and the Physician biddeth send for a Priest, the patient often despaireth of health, and so falleth into greater danger, therefore the Physician shall at

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the first bid send for the Physician of the soul. *Ca. 29.* Plurality of Benefices is forbidden, unless the Pope think good to dispense with some persons, who are to be honored. *Ca. 31.* Because Patrons detain the Church-revenues, so that in these Countreys scarcely is found any Parish-Priest that hath but the least knowledge of letters; therefore we ordain, that a sufficient portion be assigned unto the Parish-Priest, who should serve not by a Vicar, but personally, &c. *Ca. 42.* As we would not that Laicks usurp the power of Clerks, so we will that Clerks usurp not the power of Laicks. *Ca. 46.* Magistrates should not exact taxations from the Clergy, unless the Clerks will willingly contribute, when they see the necessity of common burthens, and even then not without the advice of the Pope. *Ca. 50.* The prohibition of marriage should not exceed the fourth degree of blood, or alliance, because there are but four humors in mans body, or it consisteth of four elements. This is a fair pretence; but it was a remedy (saith *Po. Virg. de inven. lib. 5. cap. 5.*) against the Decree of Pope Julius, who had ordained, that marriage should not be within the seventh degree; by which severity it came to pass, that men could not finde marriage within their City; and this Decree is observed, saith he; but he might have added, unless men will pay for a dispensation; and so no degree hindereth marriage, as I have touched elsewhere, and experience sheweth. Likewise Pope Celestin the III. gave a judicial sentence, If a married person fall into heresie, the other spouse may marry another. But this Innocentius ordained contrarily, that heresie should not be a cause of divorce, *Extra. de divor. c. Quanto.* The election of the Pope was restrained unto the Cardinals, by Pope Celestin the II. and this Innocentius confirmed that Act; and added, that the holy Colledge of Cardinals should have jurisdiction in all places, and have authority over all men, and power of judging the causes of all Princes, and of bringing them into their Kingdoms, or depriving them. *Cum Ventura in Thefor. Politic. pag. 388.* printed at Frankford *An. 1610.* Peter King of Arragon, made his Realms of Arragon and Sardinia, tributary unto the Chair of St. Peter, for the salvation of his soul (forsooth) in the days of this Innocentius. He sat eighteen years and seven moneths. After his death he appeared unto Ludgardis; when she saw him compassed with so great fire, she asked, Who he was? He answered, I am Innocentius. She groaned and said, How is it, that our common father is so tormented? He answered, I am so tormented for three causes, which most justly had condemned me unto eternal punishment, if by the intercession of the most holy Mother of God, I had not repented at the last gasp; I have indeed escaped eternal death, but until the day of judgement I am tormented with most cruel punishments: and that I could come unto thee to seek thy prayers, the Mother of mercy hath obtained it from her Son: And having spoken so, he vanished. The Nun declared his necessity unto her sisters, that they would help him; and lamenting his case, she afflicted her self wonderously. Let the reader understand (saith my Author) that I am not ignorant of those three causes, which Ludgardis told me, but for reverence of so great an high Priest, I will not report them. *Bellar. de gemitu. col. lib. 2. cap. 9. ex Suri. in vita Ludgar.*

2. HONORIUS the III. confirmed the Order of Dominicks, and gave them priviledge of preaching, and hearing confessions, albeit they had not cure of souls, or parishes. He confirmed also the Orders of Franciscans, Augustinenses and Carmelites. He ordained, that every one should bow their knee at the lifting up of the bread of the Mass; and that the Eucharist should be carried with lighted candls unto the sick. *De celebrat. Miss. lib. 3. tit. 41. c. Sanè.* It followeth to speak of his pride. He sat eleven years.

3. GREGORY

3. GREGORY the IX. (so soon as he was set in his Chair) sent a Nuntio, Steven, into England, to crave the tenth part of all movables, both of the Nobility and Clergy, for maintenance of his wars against the Emperor, but under the name of wars against the Infidels. Because they refused, he excommunicateth them all, until they obeyed. *P. Mornay in Myster.* The next year he sent his Legates through Europe, who by preachings, entreatings, and excommunications, purchased great sums of money, as if it had been for aid of the holy Land; but it could not be known into what gulf so vast sums were hid; but the care of the holy Land was forgot, and the charity of men grew cold, *Mat. Paris.* Behold the issue; it was to repress the Emperor Frederick; who is more execrable (said the Pope) then Pharaoh, Nero, or any Tyrant. He sent his Legate, Albert Beham, into Germany, to deprive all Bishops, and to excommunicate all Laicks adhering unto the Emperor, or who wished him well. But at that time none of the Bishops, nor Abbots, regarded that commission; and being assembled, they openly protested, That the Priest of Rome had no power in Germany, without consent of the Bishops there: Let the Priest of Rome feed his Italians, said they; we who are the dogs of this flock, will beat away the wolves lurking under lambs skins; what he will do to others, ye may know, seeing this disguised Vicar so dealeth with us. The Pope accursed Frederick Duke of Austria, as the chief of that Assembly; and Eberhard Bishop of Salzburgh presently absolved him. And all the Bishops, with one consent, accursed the Pope, as the enemy of Christian peace, a most damnable Arch-Heretic, and more pestiferous then the Turks, Jews or Tartars, seeing he doth such things, as those had never done the like. *Mornay in Myster. ex Avent. lib. 7. Annal. Boio.* Then Gregory sent unto the Canons and Monks, charging them to choose other Prelates. They would not. Therefore he charged some of them to compare before him for their rebellion. They contemned his summons. Then the Princes and Clergy of Germany assembled again: but the Pope died. This opposition had he abroad; neither wanted he enemies at home; for in his first year was so great variance between him and the Citizens, that he fled out of Rome about Easter to Viterbio, and then to Pirusio; and having no other means of revenge, he excommunicated them all. The cause of this sedition was, the Citizens claimed an ancient custome and law, that the Pope should not excommunicate any of them, nor suspend the City with any interdiction for any excess. He answered, The Pope is less then God, but greater then any man, consequently greater then a Citizen, yea, greater is he then any Emperor; and seeing he is their spiritual father, he may chastise his children, and reduce them so oft as they go astray. Moreover the Romans alledged, that their Bishops were tied to pay unto the Senate yearly tribute, both by ancient and late laws, of which they have been in use and possession until these days. Gregory replied, Albeit in time of persecution, the Church for her defence and cause of peace, had gratified the heads of the City with kindly rewards, yet that should not now be pleaded as a debt. This strife was not soon ended. *Mat. Paris. ad An. 1234.* It would seem incredible (almost) to read how vast sums of money this Pope did rake together by exactions, voluntary offerings, confirmations of Bishopricks, removing variances betwixt Bishops and Magistrates, and other Church-men, and especially for dispensing with oaths: by all which, what inconveniences did arise, it cannot be told, saith *Matth. Parisien. ibid.* for as there was nothing so hard or absurd, wherewith the Pope could dispense for money; so the people, trusting to dispensations, did little regard how great evil they did; As for example, Henry King of England, being desirous of a taxation, did swear in Parliament,

that he would ratifie some ancient Liberties which they were suing; and after the tax was granted, he past from his oath by a dispensation. At another time the same Henry did sign himself with the cross, pretending and swearing that he would go into the holy Land against the Infidels; when the money was amassed for his journey, he gave over his journey, being assured that the Pope would acquit him for 100. or 200. pounds. From this sink of dispensations, did more and more abound the plurality of Benefices in one mans person; Bishopricks were bestowed on men without literature; children were made Parsons; kinsfolks were married within degrees; in a word, what kinde of iniquity was not committed under sure confidence of dispensations? *Matth. Parisien.* This Gregory made truce with the Emperor *An. 1240.* and within a few moneths he calleth for the Cardinals, John de Columna and Raymond, and said, I am ashamed of the truce made with the enemy of the Church; go therefore unto the Emperor, thou John who wast mediator betwixt us, and shew him, that I will not accept the articles, and that I am his enemy. John answereth, Far be that inconstancy from such an one; I will not consent unto this counsel, yea I earnestly contradict it. Gregory saith, Then from this forth, I will not hold thee for a Cardinal. John answereth, Nor will I have thee for a Pope. Thus they were parted with mutual defiance. *Ibid.* When the King of France heard of this, he commandeth to hold up all the moneys that the Legate had amassed, under the name of relief for the holy Land; and then the Pope was content to keep the truce. *Ibid.* He was the Author of that hymn, *Salve Regina, &c.* in which he giveth unto the blessed Virgin the proper worship of Christ. In his name were published the Books of Decretals, that were collected by Raymond a Dominican. He sat fourteen years, and died *An. 1241.* When the Cardinals came together for election, Robert Somersset, an English Cardinal, was likely to have carried it, and in the mean time he, and some others who did incline that way, were poisoned, to the great infamy of the Roman Clergy, saith *Mat. Paris.*

4. CELESTIN the IV. a very old man, attaineth the Chair by promises. He sat eighteen days, and was poisoned. Then the See was vacant twenty and one moneths, because the Emperor had some Cardinals under arrest; whom at last he dismissed by intercession of Baldwin Greek Emperor, and Raymund Earl of Tolouse.

5. Here it shall not be amiss to insert the comparison of these former Popes with others following, as it is in *Io. Bale Catal.* From Silvester the II. until this year 1242. (that is, for the space of 240. years) Antichrist did reign in the Roman Church like some accursed Lucifer; for in all deceiving, tyranny, fraud, and oppression of truth (I will not speak of their filthiness more then Sodomitish) did these high Priests employ their times; so that then Rome did deserve to be called the synagogue of Satan, or seat of the Devil; and justly might be reputed, the habitation of foul spirits, and the sink of all uncleanness, *Revel. 2, & 18.* Wherefore when they went to their general Councils, or their Legates were sent unto the Nations, under colour of reconciliation and reformation, it may seem, that so oft did Satan come out from the presence of the Lord to smite Job; for whatsoever he is said in the Scriptures to have done, the same did these his hooded Vicars; nor did their hellish madness spare the most puissant Princes----- but hereafter shall the Kingdom of Abaddon (which is the King of Locusts, or Friars of the begging Order) by their sophistry, lay waste and destroy all things, until Pope Julius the II. that is, the space of 260. years; but that the Lord will have sparks of honesty to be seen here and there.

6. So many Cardinals were poisoned at the last election, that they which were

A parallel of
preceding
and following
Popes.

were alive would not convene, until the Emperor did charge them to go on with the election, with certification, that if they would not, he would cause his Soldiers to plunder their Lands, Cities and houses; and until the French King told them, that he would choose a Pope for the Church of his own Kingdom, *Mat. Paris.* INNOCENTIUS the IV. was then chosen; he was one of these whom the Emperor had under arrest, and had been familiar with him; but now he forgot his kindeness, and without delay did confirm the sentence of Pope Gregory against the Emperor; so the wars did continue. He proffered the Kingdom of Italy unto Edmund for a certain sum of money; but his father Henry, King of England, was scant of money (saith *Mat. Par.*) that he could not perform what was required, because he had foolishly tied his Kingdom unto the Popish Merchants. In the Council at Lions (which Bellarmin calleth the thirtieth general Council) he would not delay his curse three days against the Emperor, albeit he understood that the Emperor was upon his journey to come before him and satisfy. He ordained the feast *Octava festivitatis Marie*. And that Cardinals should ride with foot-mantles, and red hats, and red clokes, for honor of their Order, saith Platina; or in imitation of the Jewish Priests, saith *Po. Vig. de inven. rer. lib. 4. cap. 9.* Or rather it came to pass, that the prophecy might be fulfilled, and the Beast be clothed in scarlet, *Revel. 17. 3.* He added unto the Decretals; and honored the Dominicks with apostatical (they say Apostolical) honors and privileges, and advanced them unto Bishopricks; and in favor of Curates, he discharged all begging Friars, to exercise any of their function. *Mortuous Appeal lib. 5. cap. 4. §. 6. ex Azor. Iesui.* Thus he did ramverse the privilege granted by Pope Honorius the III. After the Council, when he heard that the Imperial forces did prevail in sundry places, he, like a lion robbed of his whelps, rageth, and leaveth no means untried to cut off the Emperor; especially he enticeth some of his domesticks, Theobald Francis, James de Mora, Pandulf de Fasanellis, and William de S. Severino to lie in wait for his life, either by poison secretly, or by weapons violently; it was made known unto the Emperor, and yet he could not be so watchful, but he was poisoned in Pulia, as appeareth by his Letters unto his Brother in law Henry the III. King of England. The doers of this fact (saith he) being accompanied with a number of Friars Minorites, do openly avow, that they are about the affairs of the Mother Church of Rome; and that they are signed by Apostolical Letters against us; and the Pope is the Author of our death and disinheriting, *Matth. Paris. sen.* So soon as the Pope heard of the Emperor's death, he taketh his journey into Italy; when he went from Lions, the Bishop and other chief men of the City did accompany him; and unto them he said, I have done much good in this City since I came into it: At that time were but three or four Stews in it, & now is but one, howbeit a large one, from the East-gate to the West-gate. *Idem. ad An. 1251.* He coming into Italy, ceased not to draw the Cities cleaving unto the Emperor, from his Son Conrade; yea, at the same time, when Lewes the French King and his Navy were in great peril of the Turks in Syria, he caused to proclaim greater pardon unto all who would fight against Conrade, then he or any Pope had proffered to fight against the Turks; for he caused it to be preached in all the pulpits of Italy, If any will fight against Conrade, both the signed (that is, the fighter under the sign of the Cross) and his father and mother, shall have pardon of all their sins. When he heard of Conrades death, he laughed loudly, and said, I am glad, and let all the Church of Rome rejoyce, for now our two greatest enemies are out of the way, Conrade King of Siciles, and Robert Bishop of Lincoln. And immediately he went unto Naples, to take possession of that Kingdom. Not long thereafter he directeth

Cardinals
must have
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ments.

Letters into England, to take up the dead body of the before named Robert, and cause him to be proclaimed an Heathen: the same night after this direction, he thought that the same Robert did smite him on the side, and for his impiety did threaten him with the judgement of God; the next day his side was very sore, and within few days he died. *Matth. Paris.*

7. ALEXANDER the IV. was chosen at Naples, when the See had been vacant two years. His first exploit was, to follow the wars moved by his Predecessors against Manfred, then King of both Sicilies; to this effect he sent his locusts the Friars to preach, that every one should send Subsidy unto the holy wars, against the enemy of the Church. Some did see the Pope's insatiable greediness, and others were perswaded, and so all Italy was in an uproar. He rewarded his Friars with red hats, and cornered caps. He gave the Kingdoms of Sicily and Pulia unto Edmund, Son of Henry III. King of England, for the conquering; and for this effect, he sent Legate Roiland to collect all the tenths of England and Scotland (against Manfred, still prevailing not onely in Naples, but in Hetruria and Lombardie) and many abominable things (saith *Matth. Paris.*) did flow from the sulphurous fount of the Roman Church (fie for sorrow!) to the dammage of many. Such an exaction was not heard, as the Pope craved at that time. Roiland said in the Assembly at London, All the Churches belong unto my Master the Pope. One Leonard in name of the Bishops, said, It is true, for defence, but not for possession nor dissipation, as all things belong unto the King. In a word, at three several meetings he received a universal *nolumus*. Therefore the Pope sent two Minorites, Arlotus and Mansuetus, with some Bishops, and with full power to exact tenths of Benefices, to absolve for money all perjured persons, all convicted of adultery, sodomy, &c. Whereupon an old woman, in the Church of St. Alban, is said to have seen a fearful vision; and heard a voice crying thrice, Wo, wo unto the inhabitants of the earth. *Matth. Paris. ad An.* 1259. saith, This was not a dream, but a fearful threatening from heaven. This Alexander added unto the Decretals; and turned the ancient Temple of Bacchus, to the service of St. Constantia. He sat seven years.

8. URBAN the IV. (Patriarch of Jerusalem, a French man) never entered into Rome, because of factions. Because the Ancestors of Conradin King of Sicilies, had been adversaries unto former Popes, he sent unto Lewes King of France, requiring to send his brother Charles, Duke of Anjou, with an Army to expel Manfred and his pupil Conradin; and he will give him and his heirs to the fourth generation both Sicilies in fee, as the inheritance of the Church. Lewes prepareth an Army, but Urban saw it not. He ordaineth the feast of the Rood or Cross, *Pol. Virg. de inven. rer. lib. 6. cap. 8.* as also the feast of *Corp. Christi* upon this occasion, as Onuphrius writeth, A Priest was saying Mass in *urbe vetere* (where Urban was residing) and doubted of the transubstantiation, as he was holding the hostie in his hand, hot blood dropped down and coloureth the *Corporale*; Urban taketh this as a true miracle, and ordaineth the second Thursday after Whitsunday to be kept holy, for confirmation of transubstantiation; as also he commandeth the bread should be adored, and the *Corporale* should be carried in the procession that day. It is no wonder to see men believe lyes, and deceive others. Onuphrius testifieth in the same place, that a Nun Eva did bleed in that Mass; he saith, It was a common report, and calleth it a fable. *Jo. Bale (ex Arnol. Bost. & po. premonstrat.)* sheweth, how Urban appointed that feast at the request of a Nun Eva, which had been acquainted with him, and did alledge that she had seen a vision for institution of such a feast. And the same Bale hath an Epistle of Urban unto her concerning that feast, both long and impious.

What-

The feasts
of the
Cross, and
Corp. Christi.

Whatsoever was the occasion, we may say with *Po. Virg. lo. cap. 1.* feasts were heaped upon feasts for very small causes, and we scarcely know whether it was profitable, seeing it is manifest, the manners of Christians are become such, that if it was profitable unto Religion in former times to appoint them, it is now more profitable to abolish them. Urban sat three years.

9. CLEMENS the IV. of a Lawyer in the Court of France, was made Bishop of Podio, and at last Pope. In his time Charles Duke of Anjou, overthrew Manfred and Conradin, as followeth; and at Rome was Crowned King of both Sicilies and Jerusalem, upon these conditions. 1. He shall pay yearly four thousand crowns to St. Peter. 2. He shall never accept the Empire, although it were offered unto him, unless he be pressed by the Pope. Whereby the intention of the Conclave is manifest, that they sought by all means to bring the Empire low, to the end they might the more easily lift up their heads. The Guelphs then did insult over the Gibelines. Clemens sat three years, and died in Viterbio, and had given order to bury him in a Cloister of the black Friars; and so would many of his Successors, for the honor of that Order. The Cardinals could not agree in the election for the space of two years and nine moneths: many strove for it; and so great was their pertinacy (saith *Naucler.*) that neither the fear of God, nor prayers of men could move them: at last, by procurement of Princes, especially of Philip King of France, they agree to choose one not as yet named. So Theobald Viscount of Placentia, and Bishop of Leodium (being then Legate with Edward Longshanks in Syria) was chosen; upon advertisement, he made haste into Italy. This was

10. GREGORY the X. who never saw Rome. In his first year he summoneth a Council (which they call, the XIV. general Council) at Lions, and was held *An. 1274.* He calleth four Bishops from Germany, four from France, four from England, two from Spain; from Sicily, the Kingdom of the Church, Hungary, Dacia, Bohem, Poland, Suionia, Norway and Scotland, from each of these one. Bishop Spotswood in *Hist. lib. 2. (ex Scot. lib. 10. cap. 34.)* saith, There were two Patriarchs; Cardinals 15, Bishops 500, and 1000 mitred Prelates, besides the King of France, the Emperor of Greece, and many other Princes. The first proposition was for the holy war; and for it they decree, that a tenth part of all Benefices in Christendom (the privileged Churches not excepted) should be paid for six years; that all Penitentiaries or Confessors, should urge offenders to assist that holy business with their wealth and riches; and that every Christian, without exception of sex or quality, should pay a penny yearly during that space, under pain of excommunication. 2. For remedying abuses in the Church, it was ordained, 1. That no procurations to Bishops nor Arch-Deacons, unless they do visit the Churches in their own persons. Here is still a postern for the Bishops. 2. No Church-man should possess more Benefices then one, and should reside at the Church he retaineth. 3. None of the Clergy shall without the Pope's licence, answer the impositions which shall be laid upon them by any Prince or State. 4. The Mendicant Friars shall be reduced to four Orders, the Minorites, Predicants, Carmelites, and Hermites of St. Augustin, who shall continue in their present estate, until the Pope shall otherwise think good. 5. A prohibiton was made, to advise or admit any new order, besides these named. Some other Acts of less moment were passed, whereof the extract under the hands of the publick Notaries, were sent unto this Church, saith he; but all these Statutes, turned in a short time into smoke; pluralities being of new dispensed, with the clause of *Non obstante*, which then first came in use. The Orders of Friars and Monks were restored one by one; the Cisterians

redeemed their liberty by payment of 500000 marks; the Bernardines paid 600000 crowns; and other Orders made their composition. Whereby it appeareth, that the Statutes which were enacted, were onely devised to raise sums of money, and not of any purpose to redress these abuses. They did profess at that time, that upon these charges alone they would redeem Asia, and Africa, from the Turks, Saracens, and Barbarians; and for this effect, the Emperor Rodulph gave unto the Pope Bononia, and the revenue of Romandiola, which paid yearly 700000 drach. of gold. Howbeit Gregory died the next year, yet these taxes were paid. In that Council also Canons were prescribed for the maner of electing the Pope; especially, that the Cardinals should continue in a chamber, and not come forth, nor have a dish of meat but one, until they agree. But neither were these observed. He advanced the Dominicans to high Dignities, even to red hats.

11. INNOCENTIUS the V. was the first Pope of the Order of Dominicans; for Gregory had advanced so many of them, that then the locusts had power to choose their own King. He procured peace betwixt the Hetrurians and Pisanes, and absolved them from the curse of Pope Gregory. He had a purpose to abrogate the Canons of the election of the Pope, but he died in the fifth month.

12. HADRIAN the V. in his short Papacy of forty days, sent Letters unto the Emperor Rodulph, enviting him to come into Italy, and take the Kingdom of both Sicilies from Charles Duke of Anjou.

13. JOHN (some call him XX. some say XXI. and others XXII. as appeareth by what is said before of the Johns) sat but eight moneths, and did many things smelling of folly and levity, saith Platina; to wit, he made these Articles against the begging Friars; 1. Christ, as he was man on earth, by lapse of time, had proper and immediate right of garments, shoes, and other things, partly by donation of believers, and partly he bought them. 2. Christ never commanded his disciples to renounce their right and possession of temporal things. 3. Christ gave no other law of life to his Apostles, then to his other disciples. 4. Christ commanded not his Apostles simply, that they should possess neither silver nor gold, except onely in that journey, when they were going to preach, and thereafter they might have these things again. 5. The Apostles had their own propriety and right of clothes, shoes and swords; and after the holy Ghost was sent on them, these words, *We have left all things*, are not to be understood, as if they renounced their propriety, save onely in affection. 6. The Apostles might have had their particular dominion of Castles, or Villages, or any other temporal goods. 7. The Apostles, notwithstanding their Evangelical perfection, might have had immoveable goods in common, as Lands; but they had no such things in Judea, because in the Spirit they foresaw, that they must go among the Nations. 8. The Apostles never made a vow to renounce temporal things. *Catal. rest. ver. lib. 17.* These Articles were against the profession of the Friars; but experience sheweth whether they were against their affection. He revoketh the constitutions of Pope Gregory concerning the chamber; and after him the election went not in that maner, but was more weighed by the purse, until Pope Celestin the V. renewed the same Canons. He canonized Lewes Bishop of Tolouse, and Son of Charles King of France; and Thomas Aquinas the black Frier. He dreamed of long life, and said, he knew so by the stars; but as he was walking under a vault (which he had made for his pleasure at Viterbio) it fell upon him, and the next day he was found among the rubbish. *Platina.*

14. NICOLAUS the III. a Roman, of the family of Ursini, was
of

of as great authority as any Pope before him Pope. Clemens had given the government of Rome unto Charles Duke of Anjou, under the Title of Senator; and Nicolaus took this office unto himself; and he inciteth Peter King of Arragon, to claim the right of both Sicilies (because he had married Constantia, the onely childe of Manfred) and take that Kingdom. He was the Author of that famous Decretal in 6. *in c. Fundamenta. tit. de Election. & electi potestate*; to wit, God hath assumed Peter into the society of individual unity; the Lord would have him to be called that that he was himself, saying, *Thou art Peter*; that from him as the head, he might pour his gifts on his body the Church. Thus they became more arrogant and blasphemous. He took in Bononia, Flaminia, and other Cities into the Papal Sec. He made a Law, that no King, nor Kings Son, should be Senator of Rome. He began to talk of making two Kings of his own kindred, one of Hetruria, and another of Lombardie; but he was prevented by death. Platina saith, He is reported to have loved his kinsfolks too much; and to have robbed from others to give unto them, without all reason. He had a Park for hares at Rome; and fat almost four years.

15. MARTINE the IV. a French man, restoreth (contrary to the Law of Nicolaus) Charles to his office of Senator of Rome, and government of Hetruria. Whereas many Popes had their ordinary residence at Viterbio, he was forced to flee (because of sedition betwixt the Italian and French Cardinals) and be Crowned at *Vrbe Vetere*, or *Orvieto*. Now Charles thought to have subdued Michael Paleologus, Emperor of the East; but Michael and Peter of Arragon had secret correspondence, and levy an Army upon common charges. The Pope understanding this, sent unto Peter, asking, Why he was amassing such an Army? Peter answered, If I knew my shirt were privy to my intention, I would burn it. So Peter passeth over with his Army unto the coast of Africa; there he took some prey, and returned into Sardinia, awaiting his opportunity to come into Sicily. The Sicilians hated the French, and they all conspired, that on Easter day, when the bell was tolling to the evening Mass, they should kill all the French; it came so to pass, that they spared not a woman with childe: That night was thereafter *Vigilia Sicula*. Then John Prochyta, the chief author of that conspiracy, advertiseth Peter, and brought him in. Charles was in Italy; and then were continual wars betwixt the two Sicilies, until Charles died: and Peter took his Son, and held him captive. The Pope sent his Legate unto Naples, to hold that Kingdom in name of the captive Charles; and he excommunicated Peter for sacrilege, and gave his Kingdoms of Castil and Arragon, unto any who would enter and occupy them: Behold the contrariety of the Popes! Peter was not afraid of the vain curse of the pretended Peter, who died in sorrow in the third year of his Papacy. Martin gave unto the begging Friars, liberty to hear confessions, and administer the Sacraments.

*Vigilia
Sicula.*

16. HONORIUS the IV. was elected at Perusio, when his Brother Pandolf was Roman Senator. He made haste to Rome, and dwelt on the hill Aventine. He ratified the excommunication of Peter. In his time was wars betwixt Peter and Charles, betwixt the Genoways and Venetians, and betwixt the Pope and Guido Feltrenus, for the Province of Flaminia. Then sickness was so rife, that so many Cardinals died, that the remanent said, God was against the election; therefore it was delayed ten moneths.

17. NICOLAUS the IV. hired Soldiers to go unto the defense of Ptolemais, which onely remained of all the late Conquest; when they came thither, they did no less dammage to the Christians then to the Saracens: by dissention, or rather ambition of these Papalines, Ptolemais was lost 196. years

after the first Conquest. Contrary unto Pope John XXII. did Nicolaus teach, that Christ both by word and example, had taught his Apostles perfect poverty; that is, to renounce and forsake all goods, and reserve no right either in common or personal; and that such poverty is holy and meritorious. *Bellarmin de Ro. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 14.* He abode at Reate, because of factions at Rome. He had been a Dominican; but then preferred he no Order to another (*Platin.*) and made Cardinals of all sorts, and gave them equal privileges. When he was sick, he called all the Cardinals together, and discharged them of all power and authority, that they all should live a private life. They said, he was phrenetick, and left him. Then he sent for a certain number of Minorites, and gave them all red hats, in sign that they were all Cardinals; and he caused them all to swear, that after his death they should suffer none to be chosen Pope, but one of their own Order. He sat four years. *P. Morn. in Myst.* Then was such competition, that the Cardinals could not agree the space of two years and three months. At last Peter an Eremitic, and Father of the Celestines, or

18. CELESTIN the V. was preferred for conceit of his godliness. It was so great a wonder, that a man was preferred for conceit of godliness, that 200000 persons went to Perugia, to see his coronation. His residence was at Aquileia, *Platin.* In his first Consistory he began to reform the Clergy of Rome; and he said, he would make it a pattern unto other Churches. Hereby he procured such hatred of his Clergy, that they sought to depose him; and he was willing to renounce his seat. The Princes were earnest that he would not quit his Chair; and Charles King of Sicilies conveyed him to Naples, and exhorted him that he would abhor so great indignity, seeing the people every where were so prone towards him, *Platin.* But the Cardinals, especially Benedict Caietan, caused it to be broached, that the Pope was a doating old man, and unfit for such a place; and caused some of his own chamber to tell him, that he would lose his life, if he did not renounce the Papacy: also Benedict spake thorow a reed into his chamber, as if it had been a voice from heaven, telling him, that he should forsake the Papacy, as being too weighty a burthen for him. So when he had sat six months, by the craft of Benedict (who deceived the holy man, saith *Platin.*) he was persuaded to dimit, if it were lawful. Then they made an Act, that it was lawful for the Pope to renounce his place: this Act was by his Successor inserted into the Decretals, *ca. Quoniam.* Then Benedict left nothing undone, by ambition and fraud, to advance himself, saith *Platin.* and was called

19. BONIFACE the VIII. and by some others NERO the II. So soon as he was Crowned, he said, he would prevent sedition, lest a Schism be made, and some take Celestin for their head, who was returning into his Eremitish life; so he thrust the old man into the Castle of Fano of Henrici. Celestin was sensible of the fraud, and said unto Boniface, Thou hast entered like a fox, thou wilt reign like a lion, and shalt die as a dog. The old man died in sorrow; and was canonized under the name of Peter the Confessor, by Pope Clemens the V. and his feast is kept *Iunii 17. Platin.* Boniface took part with the Minorites, and gave them special authority (without licence of Bishop or Priest) to preach, hear confessions of all whosoever would come unto them, *nihil obstante.* He did first of all the Popes bear two swords; and endeavored to move fear, more then piety, unto Emperors, Kings, and Nations; to give or take away Kingdoms; to banish men, and bring them home again at his pleasure. *Idem.* He excommunicated Philip King of France, because he would not obey his command, in the complaint of Edward King of England, and Guido Earl of Flanders. Then the King would suffer no

money

A reformation is attempred by a Pope.

The Pope hath two swords.

money to be carried out of France. Boniface curseth him and his seed to the fourth generation. The Emperor Albert sought confirmation twice or thrice; but Boniface said, He was unworthy of the Crown, who had killed his Lord. Then having set a diadem on his own head, and a sword by his side, he said, I am Cæsar. Nevertheless, thereafter he did confirm Albert, but on condition to take arms against France. *I. Nauclet.* Of all others, he was the greatest fire-brand betwixt the Gibelines (which were called Albi) and the Gwelfs (or Nigri) and destroyed all the Gibelines so far as he could. He augmented unto the Decretals with another book, where are these constitutions; The high Priest of Rome should be reproved by none, albeit he cast down innumerable souls to hell. Another, We declare, pronounce and define, that upon necessity of salvation, all humane creatures should be under the Pope of Rome. *Extrav. c. unam sanctam, de Maior. & obed. Bellar. de Ro. Pon. l. 1. c. 9.* confesseth that this is contrary unto the order of the primitive Church, seeing at that time all the Apostles, and first Teachers, had equal power. And *lib. 2. cap. 12.* he saith, The Church, which is but one, should at all times keep one and the same government. Therefore Boniface brought into the Church a strange and grievous innovation. He proclaimed the first Jubilee to be kept *An. 1300.* and promised full remission both of sin and punishment, unto all who came that year to visit the Churches of the Apostles; in solemnising of which, he shewed himself one day in his Pontificals, and according to his promise, he gave remission unto all who came that year; the next day he came forth in the Imperial ornaments, and caused a naked sword to be carried before, and the Herald cried, Behold two swords. *Bellar. de Ro. Pon. lib. 5. ca. 5.* teacheth, that in these words, Behold two swords, and in the answer of Christ, It is enough, is no syllable of spiritual nor temporal power; but onely that Christ forewarneth his disciples, that in the time of his passion they were to be in such fear, as they who sell their coat to buy a sword: this he writeth not of his own invention, but according to the ancients. Albert Crantzius commendeth the Popes every where almost; but in *Saxo. lib. 8. cap. 35.* when he is writing of this pomp of Boniface, he cannot contain himself from crying, Behold, Peter, thy Successor! and thou, Savior, behold thy Vicar! behold whither the pride of the Servant of servants hath climbed! *Pol. Virgil. de inven. rer. lib. 8. cap. 1.* saith, This feast was in imitation of the Jewish Jubilee, or to draw away the people from remembering the ancient heathenish secular Plays. Whatsoever was the pretext, it appeareth the aim was to bring gain unto Rome, and glory unto the Pope. In the year 1301. he sent Boniface Bishop of Apamea, or of Openham, unto Philip King of France, requiring him to go into the holy Land: when the Bishop saw no appearance of obedience, he threatened the King, that the Pope would deprive him of his Kingdom. Wherefore the Bishop was charged of arrogance and treason, and cast into prison. The Pope sent another, and commanded the King to set the Bishop at liberty, and to take voyage into the East against the Infidels, and not to meddle with the tenths of the Clergy. Philip answered, His difficulties at home did both hinder him from going into the East, and brought a necessity of Subsidy from the Clergy; and he was willing to dismiss the Bishop. The Legate said, You know not the Pope's authority, which is not onely the Father of all Christian souls, but Lord and Prince in temporal things; and therefore by that authority I do excommunicate thee, and I declare thee unworthy to reign, and thy Realm forfeited unto the Church of Rome. And he did acquit all French from their oath of obedience unto Philip; and he disannulled all indulgences, grants and priviledges, that had

*The first
Jubilee at
Rome.*

been granted by any of his Predecessors unto any King of France. *I. de Secres.* Then Philip by advice of his Council, did cause it to be proclaimed, That none of his subjects go unto Rome, nor send money thither; and he bestowed vacant Benefices without leave of the Pope. Wherefore the Pope wrote unto him thus; Boniface the Servant of God's servants---- fear God, and keep his commandments. We will thee to understand, that thou art subject unto us in spiritual and temporal things; and that no gift of Prebends or Benefices belongeth unto thee; if thou hast the custody of any Prebend, keep it unto the use of the Intrans; if thou hast presented any, we discern that gift null, and do revoke all that hath been done by thee; and whosoever thinketh otherwise, we judge him to be blockish. Philip conveneth the Peers and Bishops at Paris, and by their advice replieth in this manner; Philip by the grace of God King of France, unto him who is called Boniface, and is not such indeed, little friendship or none. Let thy blockishness know, that in temporal things we are subject unto no man; and that the gift of Prebends and Benefices (being void) belongeth unto us by our royal prerogative, the which we will defend with the sword; and we think them fools and mad who judge otherwise. *Io. Secres.* Thereafter the King had another meeting of his Nobles and Clergy at Paris, where sundry persons of both states gave in their grievances, accusing the Pope of many crimes, as heresie, simony, and others, saith *Io. Naucler.* And others write, they undertook to prove, that the Pope was an usurer, incestuous, having known two of his Nieces, a Simoniack, an Heretick, that he had a familiar spirit, he denied the resurrection, &c. And that these things may be the better qualified, they propound that a general Council may be called. There a National Assembly against the Pope, and calleth for a general Council as his superior. When Boniface heard these things, he gave the Kingdom of France unto the Emperor Albert. Philip levieth an Army in Naples (which was then under the French) under the conduct of Siarra Columna (an Hetrurian, whom with all his kinred the Pope had excommunicated, and razed their Castles and houses for writing against him) and sent William Nogaret (a French Gentleman, and one of the Albigenses) to publish the foresaid appellation at Rome. They came to the gates of Aruagio (Platina calleth it Anagnia) with the assistance of some Gibelines. The Pope hid himself, with his Nephew a Marquess, and two Cardinals; these two escape by a privy door; the Marquess rendered himself in hope of favor; they rush in, and gave the Pope in option, whether he will presently quit his life or Papacy? He said, he would never renounce his Papacy. Wherefore Siarra would have killed him; but Nogaret said, they had not that commission. They carried him to Rome, where grief turned him into madness, and he died on the thirty fifth day thereafter, in the eighth year of his Papacy, and *An. 1304.* Platina addeth this exhortation (it seemeth from *Fasc. tempo.*) By his example, let all Princes, both of Church and Commonwealths, learn to rule their people and Clergy not arrogantly and contumeliously, as he of whom we are speaking did, but holily and modestly, as Christ our King, and his disciples and true followers; and let them endeavor to be loved rather than feared; which is the cause of the fall of many Tyrants. In his days were many and fearful earthquakes, that many houses fell; and the Pope with all his Court was once afraid, and dwelt in a spacious meadow under pavilions, about Andersmes.

CENTURY XIII.

CHAP. II.

Of EMPERORS.

1. **F**REDERICK the II. was very yong, and the Empire could not be vacant so long time, for many evils that might ensue; therefore the Princes moved PHILIP of Suevia to accept the Crown, until his Nephew came to age. He sought not confirmation of the Pope; and therefore Innocentius said, Either the Pope shall take the Crown and Kingdom from Philip, or Philip shall take the Apostolical ornaments from the Pope. Then Innocentius went about by all means to keep the Empire from Frederick; and to this end (among other his tricks) he absolveth all the Electors from their oath, and raiseth slanders against Philip; and enticeth Barthold Duke of Zaringia, to usurp the Empire. He would not. Then he perswadeth Otho Duke of Brunswike, and Brother of the Duke of Saxony. So wars were betwixt Philip and Otho. Notentius excommunicateth the Emperor. Nevertheless Otho at last was put to flight, and glad to seek peace. Philip was not unwilling, and gave him his Daughter in marriage. Not long thereafter, Philip had a meeting with the Pope's Legate and Otho, and was murdered by them in his chamber in the tenth year of his Empire. *P. Mexia.*

2. **O**THO the V. was elected, and quickly confirmed by the Pope; but their concord continued not; for on the day of Coronation, a tumult arose between the Romans and Germans, for the gifts which the Emperor had bestowed; 1100. were slain, and no fewer were wounded. The Emperor took it ill, and required satisfaction from the Romans; they refused: and the Pope was suspected to be the cause of the first tumult. Likewise the Pope had caused him to swear at his Coronation, that he should with all his might maintain and preserve the Imperial liberties, and recover that which was given away and lost. *Matth. Paris. in Iohan.* Innocentius did require this in despite of Frederick. Then Otho seeing that he was slighted, went hastily from the City, and wasted Tuscia, Marchia, Anconitana, all Romandiola, Capua, and he intended to enter into the bounds of Naples. The Pope then requireth him to restore the patrimony of the Church, and the sued Land, under pain of his curse. Otho did not regard his menaces, and said, He was doing according to the oath of his Coronation. The Pope excommunicateth him at Rome, *Matth. Paris. loc. ci.* and he sent unto Sifrid Bishop of Mentz, commanding him to publish the sentence of the Roman Consistory against Otho throughout all Germany, and charge all the Cities that they do not acknowledge him. Sifrid delayed notime. But immediately Henry Count Palatine of Rhene, the Duke of Brabant, and other Princes and Barons, levy an Army against Sifrid, and forced him to leave his Bishoprick, and hide himself in Thuringia, where the Count did as yet cleave unto the Pope. When Otho understood of this stir in Germany, he did return quickly, and notwithstanding the Pope's curse, was received as Emperor; and calleth a Diet at Norinberg *An. 1212.* about Whitfunday, where he declareth the manifold fraud of Innocentius, and how unjustly he had accursed him; and then said, Be of courage, you Princes, unto you belongeth the charge of this Kingdom, and the administration thereof; I say, unto you belongeth every disposition of the Teutonick Kingdom, and to provide for every thing therein; it is in your power, and not in the power of the Pope, to create or forsake an Emperor; it is your part to calm the troubles, if any shall arise within the Empire; therefore, ye Princes and Nobles, maintain your rights, and shew

your power for your Nation and Imperial Laws; lest if ye do it not, ye be deprived of Empire and patrimony, &c. By these and such other words, they resolve to levy immediately an Army, and first to invade Thuringia. *Io. Naucler. gener.* 41. In the year 1214. Innocentius causeth Frederick to be elected (which now had been well bred in literature) and Otho thought to have hindered the election; but the Princes (some for envy of his puissance, and some for affection to the former Emperor, and some addicted unto the Pope) fell from him; therefore he retired into Saxony, until he gathered a new Army; he made some attempts, but in vain, and died *An.* 1220.

3. FREDERICK the II. left Germany in peace, and went to be confirmed at Rome. He gave unto Pope Honorius the County of Funda, and other great gifts, even a rod to break his own head; and he confirmed the Act, Whosoever continued a year under excommunication, shall be guilty of proscription, and shall not be absolved, until he make satisfaction unto the Pope. In recompence of these gratuities and obeysance, when two Counts in Tuscany, Thomas and Richard, did rebel against the Emperor, the Pope maintained them, and absolved them from their allegiance; and because Frederick did expostulate Honorius, the Pope thundereth a curse against him. Some Bishops conspired with the rebels, and the Emperor accused and pursued them for treason. They run to Honorius. He sent a Nuntio unto the Emperor, and commandeth to restore the Bishops, and dischargeth him that he meddle not with Church-men. The Emperor could not endure such imperiousness, and said, How long will the Bishop of Rome abuse my patience? when will his covetous heart be satisfied? go tell him, that I have as great prerogatives as my Father Henry, and Frederick my Grand-father; and that I will rather hazard my Crown, then suffer him to impair my authority, seeing every Prince in France, Spain, England, &c. hath the nomination of their own Prelates. *Pe. Mexia.* But Platina saith, The cause of this excommunication was, when his Mother died (which held him within bounds) he began to vex the Church Lands. But it is certain by sundry Histories, that his Mother died in the beginning of Innocentius. In his time came John de Bregna King of Jerusalem into Italy, for aid against the Turks; he made reconciliation betwixt the Pope and Emperor; and gave his onely Daughter Jole unto the Emperor (then a widower) with the Title, King of Jerusalem: for this cause the Kings of Sicily, were called Kings of Jerusalem for a long space. Then Frederick did intend to go into Asia; yet because he delayed (*Pe. Mexia* saith, the truce which John had made with the Sultan for ten years, was not yet expired) the Pope did intend some great thing against him, but was taken away by death. When Gregory was installed, Jole was brought to Rome to be married; and when the Pope held out his right foot unto the Emperor to kiss it, he scarcely touched his knee, but would not bow unto the foot. *P. Mexia.* The Pope was not well pleased; he dissembleth for a time, but intendeth to revenge: So after some moneths, he chargeth the Emperor to go into Asia, according to his vow, but intendeth to deprive him of the Empire. Frederick suspecteth it, and delayeth the longer, till he heard that the Christians in Asia were utterly distressed; then he assembleth his Nobles at Cremona, and causeth his Son Henry to be created Cæsar, and sent him to perswade the Princes, to send aid unto his expedition. *An.* 1226. At this time the Lombards had made a league with other Cities of Italy, by suggestion of Pope (as is believed, saith *Naucler.*) Honorius, against the Emperor; which league continued many years, to the great prejudice of the Empire, and manifest hindering of the expedition. *An.* 1227. Pope Gregory again chargeth the Emperor to go into Asia. Frederick writeth unto his Son, to conven

conveen the Princes again, and nameth the time when they should make their rendezvous at Brundusio. The Emperor becometh sickly; nevertheless he sailed with his Army into Creta; and there being hindered by sickness, he sent his Army forward, and returned himself into Pulia. Then the Pope excommunicateth him; the Papalines say, because he had murthered Jole, and others speak of other pretexts; but P. Mexia and Blondus say, that Jole died after this curse. Immediately Frederick sent to Rome, offering to clear himself; but his Ambassade was not admitted. Therefore the Emperor sent Letters throughout the Empire, and to other Princes, shewing how wonderfully he was excommunicated, and how presumptuous and covetous the Church of Rome was become, even the mother of all mischief. Unto Otho Duke of Bavier he wrote thus; The high Priests of Rome do now affect not onely dominion, but God-head, for they will have all men to fear them more then God; and it is sure, that there be many Antichrists among them; neither hath Christian Religion any such adversary----- that man which is called the Pope, abounding in wealth to the great prejudice of piety, thinketh (after the maner of Tyrants) that he may do as he listeth, and is answerable to none, as if he were God; what is proper unto God, he vaunteth of himself, that he cannot err; he requireth both impudently and imperiously all men to believe, that he cannot be guilty of a lye. *Avent. Annal. lib. 7.* And unto Henry the III. King of England, he wrote; The Church of Rome is become so avaricious, that they are not content with the goods of the Church, but they will have the inheritance of Emperors, Kings and Princes, and make them all tributaries, as Henry hath experience, and the Earl of Tolouse, whom the Popes binde with excommunication, till they bring them into bondage; they have words softer then oyl, and are insatiable blood-suckers; they say, The Church of Rome is the mother of all; but she is the root of all evil, and sheweth the pranks of a step-dame, &c. *Matth. Parisien.* But Frederick must go into Palestina; and *An. 1228.* the Calipha of Babylon was pestered with civil broils, and the Emperor the more easily recovered Jerusalem without blood, and was Crowned in it, and began to fortifie. The Sultan did fear his power, and sought truce for ten years. The Emperor sent unto the Pope, certifying him of his happy success, and craving absolution, seeing he had performed his promise; and he expected congratulation. But the Pope did cause the messengers to be killed, that they should not publish such news; and he said, the Letters were sent to advertise of the Emperor's death; for he thought the Cities of Pulia would submit themselves unto his See. And to the end the Emperor might not return, he sent unto John Patriarch of Jerusalem, and unto the Templaries, that they would not acknowledge the Emperor; But they did more think upon their own danger: Yet as *Matth. Parisien.* hath *ad An. 1229.* the Templarii wrote unto the Soldan, that the Emperor was to be at such a time at that part of Jordan where John baptized Christ, and there he might have occasion to kill him. When the Soldan had read the Letter, he said, There the fidelity of Christians! and he sent the Letter unto the Emperor. But the Emperor was informed (as the truth was) that the Pope had created John de Bregna Exarch of Ravenna; and had incited him to invade the Empire on the one part, and the Lombards on the other. Thomas, an Earl, whom the Emperor had intrusted to be one of his Deputies, did certifie him, and told him, that his friends and Clergy of the Empire, did admire how the Pope could do such things. *Ibid.* Neither did the malice of this Pope stay, until he had stirred up Henry against his Father. The Emperor understanding all these things, returneth quietly into Sicily; he levieith an Army; many came gladly unto him; and by the help of God, he recovereth all the holds

that they had taken in his absence. After all these things, the Emperor seeketh peace of the Pope, and albeit he sent eight of the chief Dukes and Bishops within the Empire, offering himself and his life to be censured by the Church, yet in the space of a year he could not obtain peace; at last *An. 1230.* by frequent intercessions, and after the payment of 120000. ounces of gold, the Emperor was restored. Some write, that the Pope was a good Merchant, who could reap so much money for an excommunication; which power he had received freely, if he had received that power from Christ. Then Frederick went into Germany, to curb his two Sons Henry and Frederick; they did submit themselves. Then he turneth to revenge himself of the Lombards. And now Pope Gregory excommunicateth him again, as a Tyrant and Heretick; and he calleth him, that warlike beast coming out of the sea; and he threatneth all them of the Empire, that they should not wish well to Frederick. Then the Emperor sent Letters unto sundry Countreys, shewing his liberality unto the Pope; and on the other side, the pride and avarice of the Pope; whom he calleth, the red dragon that deceiveth the world; the Antichrist; the typified Balaam, who was hired for wages to curse God's servants; the Prince of darkness, who bewitcheth the Prophets; the counterfeit Vicar of Peter, setting forth his own imaginations, and hath turned *pontificium in maleficium*; a wrestler of the word into his own gain. In the end, he entreateth all them of true wisdom, to despise the roaring of such an enemy. Then he proclaimed a Diet at Ægra; where did assemble Cæsar Henry, the Dukes of Saxony, Brandeburgh, Misnia, Turingia, the Bishop of Mentz, and the Nobles of Brabant, and a little thereafter Frederick, the Emperor's second Son; all cleaving unto the Emperor, notwithstanding all the Pope's curses on the one side, and promises on the other. So the Emperor marched toward Hetruria, and to Rome. In the mean time the Pope forgiveth the payment of tenths for a time, giveth Church livings that were vacant, and promiseth eternal life unto all who would fight against Frederick, and marked them with the Cross; and he himself goeth unto the siege of Ferrara, where he allureth the Governor unto a parley, and taketh him captive, and then the City, contrary to his faithful promise. The Popish flatterers call this falshood a stratagem. The Emperor said, It was strange, that Christians were marked with the Cross against him, as an Infidel or Mahumatist. Nevertheless he passeth from City to City subduing his adversaries, till he came into his own inheritance; there he levieth an Army, and hireth Saracen Soldiers, for fear that in the end, the Pope's curses might change the mindes of the Italians, as in the days of Barbarossa, and Henry the IV. He took some Gwelph Cities; then having intelligence, how the Pope had deceived Bohem, and Prince Palatine, he sent unto them, shewing (in sum) how the estate both of the Church and Commonwealth was subverted by this Pope; and he promiseth that himself, as the chief member of the Commonwealth, would endeavor to remove him, who pretending to be the shepherd of the flock, is a very wolf, to the end a faithful shepherd might be placed in Christ's Church; and he entreateth that they would not retard his purpose, as they tendered the good of the Empire. The King of Bohem was so moved with this Letter, that immediately he procureth a meeting of the Empire at Ægra, to aid the Emperor. The Pope was no less busie, partly by means of Otho Duke of Bavier to stay them, and partly an Assembly at Rome from France and England, to deprive Frederick. The Emperor hearing of such a Council, stoppeth all passages by Sea and Land; and had a great prey of the Pope's Legates (whom the Pisanes, in the Emperor's name, took by Sea) and great victories at Ticino and Faventia. *P. Mexia.* And such was his respect unto the

the quietness of the Commonwealth, that he again sendeth for peace; and in the mean time the Tartars came into Poland, Misnia, Bohem, Hungarie, and the Princes were forced to send unto the Emperor for aid, promising obedience unto him in all time coming. He advertiseth the Pope of the calamity of Christendom, and craveth peace, that he may resist the Infidels. But the Pope would the Infidels did oppress, rather then the Emperor should stand; therefore he labored that his confederates might meet at Libussa, to the election of another Emperor. When he could not work out his point, he died for very anger. The Emperor now hopeth for peace at home, and marcheth with all speed into Hungarie. The Tartars hearing of him, fled away and left Europe. Innocentius the IV. though he had been very familiar with the Emperor, yet was not more peaceable then others had been. In a Synod at Lions *An. 1245.* he excommunicateth the Emperor for perjury, in not performing his promises, and for heresie; but no particular is named, either in the citation or sentence. The Emperor made haste to answer at Lions, if by any means he might enjoy peace; but being within three days journey, he heard how peremptory the Pope was against him, and also the Gwelphs had taken some of his Towns in Italy, whereby he knew it would be to no purpose, though he went forward, and therefore he wheeleth about, and layeth siege to Parma. Innocentius causeth to elect Henry Landtsgrave of Thuringia to be Emperor; and he directeth Letters unto the Soldan of Babylon, craving peace, at least truce betwixt the Christians and the Saracens, as some say (saith *Mat. Paris.*) but others write, to break the truce betwixt him and the Emperor; but the matter of the Letter is understood by the Soldan's answer. We have heard (saith he) thy Nuntio talking much of Christ----- we know more of this Christ then you know; and we magnifie him more then you magnifie him: whereas you say, you desire peace and quietness among men, so do we always; but there is mutual love betwixt us and the Emperor since the days of my Father, but betwixt you and the Emperor it is as you know: but it is not lawful unto us to treat with the Christians, without his counsel and consent. We have written unto our Ambassador at the Emperor's Court, shewing him the heads of your message; he will come unto you and tell you, and report again unto us. *Matth. Parisien.* saith, there was suspicion that this Letter was forged, by information of the Emperor, but he judgeth otherwise. And *Alb. Crantz in Saxo. lib. 8. cap. 4.* saith, The Pope was so wrathful against Frederick, that he would have turned away not onely Christians, but the Infidels also. And it may appear what the Pope was seeking, seeing in the mean time he was exacting tenths and twentieths through France, England, &c. as for maintaining the wars against the Infidels, and sent the money into Germany and Italy against the Emperor. In Germany Conrade the Son of Frederick, led an Army against Henry, and overthrew him in the second fight, *An. 1247.* and he died before he was Crowned. *Matth. Parisien.* Then the Pope did proffer the Imperial Crown unto Richard, Brother of Henry the III. King of England: He refused simply. Then unto Haco King of Norway: He answered, He would fight against the enemies of the Church, but not against all the enemies of the Pope. At last he caused to be elected William Count of Holland, which was Crowned; but the foresaid Conrade pursued him; and he retired into Holland, and then did renounce his Title of Emperor. The more God did prosper Frederick, Innocentius was the madder; and the more mad was he, when heard that Entius, the Emperor's bastard Son, had obtained victories against the Gwelphs, and other Gibeline Captains prevailed in other places. When the Emperor lay at Parma, he (as secure) went one day a hunting, and left his Army not sufficiently provided; the Citizens came out

*A Soldan's
Letter unto
the Pope.*

and took his pavilions, which they called victory. So the Emperor turned to Domnio, and thence into Pulia, bringing many Cities into his obedience. And then *An. 1249.* he sendeth unto Lions, professing his innocency in all that had happened, and shewing the wrongs that he had sustained by the former Popes; and withal, that howbeit the Pope by custom (as he alledgeth) had the confirmation of the Emperor, yet he had not power to depose him, no more then other Prelates in other Realms, who anoint their Kings; and nevertheless, I earnestly crave that I may have peace. The Pope hearing of this submission, became the more haughty, and would not consent to a treaty: so that many great men were offended, and did detest so great pride, and did return unto the Emperor. Great were the schisms in Germany and Italy; nothing in safety to any, each party by violence robbing the other. Now Otho Duke of Bavier, and others more forsook the Pope; wherefore the Pope caused to assemble another Synod at Mildorf, and summoned Otho to compare, and answer for his rebellion against the Pope. He appeareth, and said unto the Commissioners, I cannot marvel enough at your inconstancy; ye know how ye drew me from the Pope, and ye your selves called him the Antichrist; and ye perswaded me to take part with the Emperor: so there is great inconstancy both in your deeds and words, calling that wicked and violent wrong, which lately ye called just and right: But ye are overcome with expectation of honors and pleasures, more then led with honesty and godliness, according to your office. As for me, I will obey God and my Prince. I believe in Christ, and trust in his mercy; and perswade my self, that those whom ye do curse and give to the divel, are in the greater favor with God. They could give no reasonable reply; yet they accounted him as bad as the worst, and accursed him. *Avent. Annal. lib. 7.* All these are but a taste of the Popes innumerable inventions against the Emperor. And here you may please to see the verses which Frederick sent unto Pope Innocentius the IV.

*Esse si membrum, non te Caput Urbis & Orbis
Iactares, cum sis Urbis & Orbis onus.
Nunc membrum non es, sed putre cadaver & hulus,
Ense residendum, ridiculumque caput.
A Daniele Βδελυγμα nefasque caputque malorum,
Diceris, à Paulo filius exitii
Nō solum Christum nostrum Caput esse; malorum
Orbis totius te caput esse facis.
At caput est unum, quod Paulus dicit ubique:
Tu vecors, balatro, dic mihi quale caput?
Corporis ergo caput monstrosi es, monstra parisque:
Monstra paris Monachos: scorta nefanda foves.
Est tua religio, stuprum, ira, superbia, cades,
Error, delicia, fulmina, turpe lucrum.
Ex his ergo liquet Christum te spernere, Christo
Hostem esse invisum, dedecorique Deo.
Rex tandem veniet cælo delapsus ab alto:
Tunc non defendent te sacra missa, cruces
Non in sublimi surgentes vertice crista;
Non diploma potens, non tua sacra cohors;
Non diadema triplex, nec sedes sanguine parta
Nullus honos solii, purpura nulla tui.
Triginta argenteis Christum vendebat Iudas:
Tu Christi vendis corpora plura tui.
Corpora tu vendis Christi parvo are, polumque,
Cælestes genios sidera, jura, Deos.*

At last the Emperor heard that his Son Entius was taken captive, and his enemies waxed strong in Germany; wherefore he intendeth to go into Germany, but was poisoned, as is touched before, and became sick at Florence *An.* 1250. and there divided his lands and goods unto his children; and then set his heart on meditation of the promised blessedness. The Papalines write, that after a little space he began to recover somewhat, and was stifled by his bastard Son Manfred with a pillow, *Crantz. in Saxo.lib.8 cap 18.* The writers testifie, that he was endued with excellent gifts, albeit the Pope pursued him as an enemy of the Church. And they say, when they consider the life of Christ, and his command to forgive seventy times in a day, with the practises of the Popes against the Emperor, they are perswaded to think with Æneas Sylvius, that there hath not been a greater calamity in the Church or Commonwealth these many years, whereof the Bishops of Rome have not been the Authors; and they call this Frederick, another Charls the Great. He could talk in Arabick, Greek, Latin, French and Dutch languages. On his Tomb it was written thus;

*Si probitas, sensus, virtutes, gratia, census,
Nobilitas orti, possent obsistere morti,
Non foret extinctus Fredericus, qui jacet intus.*

Jo. Bale saith, he may not in this cause believe Blondus, Platina, Stella or Sabellicus, for they report nothing but what was written by the flatterers of the Popes, that (if it had been possible) they might provoke all the world against him; but who desireth to know the truth, let them read the sixth Book of the Epistles of Petrus de Vineis, Hæc Marius, saith he.

4. In the Greek Empire was a great alteration about that time; the History thereof I will set down together for the more clearness. Isaacius the Emperor had redeemed his Brother Alexius from the Scythians, and advanced him to so great authority, that all the affairs of the Empire were at the command of Alexius. Here *Nicetas Choniates. in Annal.* lamenteth the condition of that people, saying, Truth and holiness had failed, and because of manifold iniquity, love was become cold, so that the people left whole Cities, and went in colonies into the Lands of the Babarians, where they might live more securely; for a sober kinde of life was banished by frequent tyrannies, and the most part of the Emperors were robbers, neither thinking nor doing any thing moderately----- O glorious Empire of the Romans (saith he) and majesty which all Nations did admire and adore! what Tyrants hast thou endured! with what injuries hast thou been afflicted! how many have burnt in love of thee! what men hast thou embraced, and prostituted thy self unto! what sort of men hast thou honored with a diadem and purple shoes! &c. By the way observe here, that the Greeks do always call themselves Romans; and they called all the western people, Latins. When the Empire was in this condition, Alexius usurpeth the Crown; he pulleth out his Brother's eyes, and shutteth him in prison *An.* 1190. Alexius, Son of Isaacius, fleeth unto Philip Duke of Suevia (afterwads Emperor) who had married his Sister Irene; and he sendeth him at last unto the Pope for help to be restored. There this Alexius conformeth himself unto Rome, and he promiseth (saith Nicetas) to change the institutions of the ancient Romans, into the corrupt Religion of the Latins. The Pope recommendeth him unto certain Princes, which then were assembling at Venice to go into Syria, to wit, Baldwin Earl of Flanders, and his Brother Henry, Boniface Marques of Monferrate, Lewes Prince of Savoy, and others more. The Venetians also had an old quarrel

*The Greek
Empire is
changed.*

against the Greeks, and were glad of this occasion. Likewise the yong man did swear unto them, that he would give them what they did demand, even (which were impossible) oceans of money, saith Nicetas. Though the Emperor Alexius understood of this preparation, he made nothing for resistance. So the Latins arrived at Jadara, and then came to Epidamnus; and they call yong Alexius Emperor, to the end the people may the more willingly accept them; then they came to Constantinople. Theodorus Lascaris, Son in law of Alexius, made some resistance; but Alexius fled, and the Italians enter the Town; and after nine years imprisonment, Isaacius is set upon his throne, and his Son Alexius with him. Within few days the chief of the Italians sat with them, as being saviors of the Commonwealth; then the Soldiers plundered the Town, sparing neither private houses nor Churches, nor the Flemings, nor the Pisanes, nor the Venetians dwelling there. The old Alexius had been deceived by a false response, that the East and West should be conjoynd in his time; and now the Monks (execrable men, and hated of God, saith *Nicet.*) made him believe, that God would restore him sight, and give him the Monarchy of the world; thus he had no other thought but to eat and drink with these Monks. And the yong man kept company with the Latins, was for the most part in their ships, playing at dice, carowing, &c. From July 18. till January 25. the people were so grievously oppressed, that they began to talk of choosing another Emperor; the wiser sort said, It was not time to attempt the like: but the people were so impatient of their oppression, that there must needs be another Emperor, and they name Nicolaus Canabus, who was very unwilling. But Ducas Alexius (called the proud) taketh him prisoner, killeth yong Alexius, imprisoneth the old man, and taketh the Scepter; the people were contented. He beginneth to treat with the Venetians, and other Latins; their demands were so high, that the Greeks could not or would not assent; wherefore they possess themselves of the Town, put Ducas to flight, and do more harm then the Saracens did at their entering into Jerusalem, saith *Nicet.* Then they made fifteen Electors, and choose Baldwin Emperor, and Thomas a Venetian to be Patriarch, who was sent to Rome, to get all these things confirmed by the Pope; and he reporteth Imperial badges to Baldwin, in whose Successors that Empire continued sixty years. At that time Creta and Euboea, or Nigrepont, was given unto the Venetians; Boniface was made King of Macedonia; and other rewards were given to others. All the Greek Empire was subject unto Baldwin, except Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Hadrianople, and in them several Greeks had the dominion; especially Lascaris about Hadrianople, and kept the title of Emperor of Constantinople. The Bulgarians invade Thracia, and took Baldwin captive, and sent him in fetters into Mysia. His Brother Henry succeedeth, and gave his onely Daughter unto Peter Earl of Altisiodore, which succeeded in the Empire at that time when Otho the V. was deposed; he was confirmed by Pope Honorius shortly after his election. So soon as he returned from Rome, he entered in wars with Lascaris; and they conclude a peace: then he was entrapped in Constantinople, and died in prison in the third year of his reign. His wife Jole causeth his Son Robert to be received Emperor. He fell in love with a yong damsel, betrothed unto a Burgonian Knight (who had done good service in that Empire) and by consent of her mother, brought her to his palace. The Knight dissembleth for a time, and then made an horrible revenge; to wit, he gathereth his friends, and a number of Greeks, haters of Robert, and cometh by night into the Palace, he cutteth off the nose of the yong Empress, and throweth her mother out at a window into the sea. Robert could not revenge it; for at that time he must go to

Rome

Rome for confirmation, and in his returning, he died at Macedonia. His Brother Baldwin was received Emperor; and because he was yong, the Pope sent John de Bregna to be Governor there. He contracteth Baldwin with his second Daughter; governeth the Empire six years, and leaveth it in peace unto his Son in law. John Duca married the onely Daughter of Lascaris, and did reign thirty and three years, but dwelt at Nice in Bithynia: He was peaceable; and dischargeth his subjects from wearing any clothes but what their own Countrey did afford; and he caused them to be industrious in husbandry; by which two means (as Nic. Gregoras witnesseth) his subjects became very wealthy, and amassed plenty of Silver and Gold from their neighbors round about, which at that time were necessitated to come and buy victuals from them. Unto John succeeded Theodor Lascaris; he put Baldwin to such stress, that he went unto his Brother in law Frederick the II. for aid, when Innocentius the IV. was chosen. Then Lascaris died, and Baldwin returned, but had not long peace; for Michael Palæologus, the Nephew of Alexius, was first chosen Governor of the Empire, and then Crowned Emperor, for the time of his pupil John (the Son of Lascaris) his minority; he would be Lord of the whole Empire. Cæsar, Brother of Michael, was sent against Epirus; by the way he came near Constantinople with eight hundred men, without his expectation, the Greeks (being wearied with the Government of the Latins) envite him to come in. Baldwin was not able to resist, and fled; so that Empire returned unto the Greeks *An. 1260.* but fore weakened, and after that it decayed also.

5. WILLIAM Earl of Flanders, and CONRADE the Son of Frederick, now strove for the Empire of Germany; the one was confirmed by the Pope, and Conrade was aided by the Gibelines; so that Italy and Germany had not peace for many years. At last Conrade considering the difficulty of holding Germany, and that the Kingdom of both Sicilies were more sure, appertaining unto him by his Grand-mother Constantia, he left Suevia, and such Cities of Germany (as had accepted him) under the tuition of his Father in law, the Duke of Bavaria, and went into Italy, still keeping the title of Emperor. He was received in Verona, and being accompanied with Enceline, Captain of the Gibelines, he was made welcome in sundry places on the coast of the Golf; and passing by Romandiola, he sailed into Pulia, where he was heartily received by all, except the Cities of Naples and Capua; he besiegeth them, and took them, and punisheth them severely. Not long thereafter he dieth at Naples, and left his Son Conradine Heir of both Sicilies and Suevia, under the protection of his wife and some German Princes. But Manfred (the bastard Son of Frederick) behaving himself at first as one of the Tutores, endeavoreth by all means to possess himself of both Sicilies. Pope Innocentius the IV. and his Successor did alledge, that Kingdom appertained unto the Church of Rome, because Frederick and Conrade had died under excommunication. But Manfred (with the help of the Gibelines) prevaieth, so that he was Crowned King of Sicilies, (his Nephew living in Suevia) and did invest Bishops, and Arch-Bishops, without consent of the Pope; and they all, contemning the Papal prohibition, gave obedience unto their King. *Matth. Parisien. ad An. 1258.* William then was onely Emperor, and they which had adhered unto Conrade, sought his peace. He thought to be Crowned at Rome, but being in a Diet at Colein (saith Naucler) he heard that the Frisons had rebelled, and invaded Holland; this rumor made him stay his journey. He went against them; as he with one or two went to spie a place to encamp, his horse fell thorow the ice, and he was so pestered, that he could not come out; some Frisons perceiving him, and not knowing who

he was, slew him, and drowned him. After him not any Emperor was of such authority as the former had been.

6. The Princes could not agree in the election; at last three choose Alphonso King of Castile; three were for Richard Earl of Cornwall, Brother of Henry King of England; and the King of Bohem was for himself. Alphonso was glad, but could not come into Germany, because of his business with the Moors in Spain; and to keep the Pope's favor, he gave him some Cities upon the river Po; he gave what he never had, and in so doing he did deplume the Eagle, saith *Crantz. in Saxo. lib. 8. cap. 21*. Richard had the assistance of his Brother, and was Crowned at Aken: Some Towns received him; others wait for Alphonso; and many were neutral, usurping liberty; so miserable Germany was kindled again with Civil wars. Richard died after he had remained in Germany seventeen years. If Alphonso had come then, he might have been Emperor. But the Gibelines in Italy, do invite Conradine Duke of Suevia (now about eighteen years of age, and of good expectation) to come, and they would aid him in recovering his Father's inheritance from Charles Duke of Anjou. Pope Clemens the IV. hearing of his preparation, declareth Charles King of Sicilies, to be Vicar of the Empire; and wrote unto all the Nations, that they should not aid Conradine against Charles; and that the German Electors should not name him to be King of the Romans. On the other side Conradine publisheth a deploring declaration, shewing how injuriously Innocentius the IV. had dealt with him, being at that time very innocent; for his Father Conrade had recommended him unto the tutory of the Roman Church especially, and Innocentius, as one of his Tutors, had taken possession of the Kingdom of Sicilies, and then divided it among his own friends. 2. When Manfred had in his name recovered that Kingdom, Pope Alexander did stir up other men to invade that Kingdom. 3. Pope Urban had dealt unmannerly with him; for first, he would have confirmed that Kingdom unto Manfred and his Heirs; and then he inviteth Charles to take it. 4. Pope Clemens now dealeth unclemently with him, in establishing a King within that Kingdom against him; and as if that were not enough, he thundereth a process against him, and hath declared Charles to be Vicar of the Empire throughout all Italy, to the end he may have the more power against him; and he concludeth, that upon these grounds he taketh arms against Charles. *Naucler. gener. 43*. About that time Henry (who was banished out of Castile by his own Brother, King Alphonso, and having insinuated himself into favor with the Romans, was created Senator of Rome, and had great authority there) sent unto Conradine, and promised him aid, not for recovering his Kingdom onely, but to attain the Imperial Crown. Conradine with all haste marcheth into Italy, and was accepted as Emperor by them of Sena, Pisa, and the Gibelines of Lombardie and Romandiola: He overthrew Charles his Marshal at Aretio; and he had gotten possession of all Hetruria, if at the call of the forenamed Henry he had not made such haste toward Rome, where he was accepted by the Senator and many Romans, and lodged in the Capitole. Thence he and Henry went into Pulia, where they were taken captive by Charles; and after a year, by the unclement instigation of Pope Clemens, Conradine was beheaded, contrary unto the Law of Arms. Many French men did speak against it; but when they saw that the Pope's will must be obeyed, these French appointed a certain man to be in readiness to kill the Burreo (immediately after the beheading of Conradine) lest he vaunt, that he had shed the blood of a Prince: And the Duke of Flanders, with his own hand, slew him which had given out the sentence. All Christendom abhorred the fact; especially Peter King

of Arragon, by Letter, upbraided the Pope, saying, Thou art a worse Nero then Nero himself, and more cruel then any Turk. God suffered neither of the two to rejoyce long time; for Clemens died within a moneth; and albeit Charles lived some years, yet he had continual wrestlings and misfortunes, and died in sorrow. *P. Morn. in Myster.* After this the house of Suevia failed, and that through the malice of the Popes; and many of their Cities became free. The Princes Electors convene at Frankford, but could not agree in three years; in the end, they all confer their suffrages on Lewes Count Palatine to name one; he nameth

7. RODULPH Earl of Habsburgh, which had lately conquered Austria from the Crown of Bohem. Germany was all glad, because they had suffered much, enduring this inter-reign the space of twenty and two years. Rodulph was Crowned at Aken; but would not go to Rome, pretending unto the Pope the difficulties in Germany; but unto others he said, as the fox unto the lion, *Omnia te advorsum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.* He contented himself with Germany, and that the Cities in Italy paid unto his Deputies: but many did usurp; and some bought their liberty: and he gave unto Pope Nicolaus Ravenna, and some other Cities. He had wars with Othocurus King of Bohem, who was killed in battel; and Rodulph did agree with his Son Wenceslaus, and gave him his Daughter in marriage. He was held in singular estimation, because he, finding the Empire troublesome, had procured peace, and left it in peace *An. 1291.*

8. When Baldwin was chased out of Constantinople, he had his refuge unto Charles King of Naples, and contracteth his Daughter with his Son; in stead of dowry, he promisseth Constantinople, if by the aid of Charles he can be able to recover it. Charles thought by this means to attain unto the Monarchy of Julius Cæsar and Augustus; he was informed of the weakness of Constantinople, and of the aid that he might have from the Italians and Germans remaining in Greece since the last conquest, &c. so he prepared to invade. Michael Emperor of Constantinople is afraid of him, and to hold him at home, he perswadeth the King of Sicily, and the Venetians, to invade the Kingdom of Naples; and he sent unto the Pope for his furtherance. The Pope refuseth to assist him by any means, unless he will come into agreement with the Church of old Rome; whereunto Michael assenteth, and sendeth Ambassadors to treat of the Articles; which were comprised into three.

1. That in the Litanies mention should be of the Pope and four Patriarchs.
2. That it should be lawful unto any Greek to appeal unto old Rome, as the older and more perfect Court.
3. That in all things superiority should be given unto Rome. At this time no mention was of the word *filioque* in the Creed. Joseph Patriarch of Constantinople, hearing of this concord, left his See, and entered into a Monastery. The greatest number of Presbyters preached against it, and exhorted the people to suffer martyrdom, rather then to accept such articles; so that a great stir was among the people; and the Emperor was in greater fear of his people at home, then of his foreign enemy, knowing that dangers at home are most perilous; and he was brought into this strait by many of his Nobles, either to perswade them of his assent, or then avow them as enemies: And first he calleth them together, and sheweth unto them, that he had attempted this concord with the Western Church not for desire of novelty, but to prevent the present difficulty, and it is wisdom to decline the greatest evil; for if the enemy come against them, the broken walls which now are begun to be repaired shall suffer greater evils, and themselves with wives and children shall be slaves, neither able to retain their ancient Laws nor Religion; and therefore he had chosen to yield in lesser

things for a greater commodity; with these words, some were moved, and many were not; wherefore he shewed violence: some were clapt in prison for disobedience, some were banished, and all means were used whereby mens mindes could be tried; they who had knowledge (who were but few) suffered all extremities couragiously, others wandered into Peloponnesus, Achaia, Thessalie, Colchis, or wheresoever they heard of Christians, *Niceph. Gregor. lib. 5.* After this he went to the Councel at Lions, but his doings there were so ungracious unto his Countrey, that he had no quietness; and when he died, his Son Andronicus, though he loved and revered his Father, yet because he had gone from the right doctrine of the Church, would not suffer his body to be buried, no not in a common place of burial; onely he commanded that a few should cover it in the earth, a little space from the leager where he died, lest the body of an Emperor be torn of beasts, *Ibid.* Immediately Andronicus sent his Edicts every where, proclaiming the liberty of the Church again, and restoring all who were banished or imprisoned, or robbed for the cause of Religion; and Becus the Patriarch left his seat privily, and hid himself in a Monastery, fearing still when and where the people would crush him; and Joseph, who was forced before to dimit, is now restored. But where alteration once entereth, it is not soon calmed; both Clergy and people were divided into factions; for the conformers of Michael, when they had no other to say against Joseph, they objected, that he had received his seat, Arsenius the true Patriarch being yet alive, and was therefore excommunicated by Arsenius. The followers of Joseph alledged again, that Arsenius was deposed in a free Synod, by Authority of the Emperor, as indeed *Nicephorus Gregoras* sheweth the same *lib. 4.* howbeit the ground of the deposition is justly questionable, or rather unjust. Joseph was glad, for love of quietness, to renounce his See, and within a few days died; and George, or Gregory, a Cyprian, succeeded unto him, a learned and eloquent man: the Emperor would not suffer him to receive consecration from any Bishop, who had yielded unto the new Articles; onely he was chosen, and elected, and the Emperor gave unto him *pastorale pedum*, and so without consecration he administered, until Nicephor Bishop of Mozylle came Legate from the Prince of Ætolia, and the Bishop Debreus from Macedonia, about some other business; then, by advice of George, Andronicus designeth Germanus, a Monk, to be Bishop of Heraclea; and by these three, the Patriarch was consecrated. Nevertheless the contention ceased not yet; but the Emperor being wise, and desirous to make peace with the least offence of either party, he calleth a Synod at Atramylium; there after little jangling, both parties agreed, that their several reasons should be written in two several books, and the decision should be committed unto God by fire and miracle; so when they had watched all night, and prayed unto God, both books were cast into a fire in the midst of the Church, on a Sunday; both parties waited that their book should be preserved, but both were burnt: this was the sentence of God, and his deciding of them who troubled the Church untimously, and would refer a serious matter unto a foolish trial. From thence they all subscribed unto the Patriarch; nevertheless, they who had suffered under Michael, did now so domineer, that all the other Bishops and Priests were removed from their places; and the Bishops commanded their inferiors to take the priestly habits from them, and trample their garments on the ground, with these words, He is unworthy; and after they had buffeted them, they thrust them out of the Churches, even albeit the other party professed repentance; But (as Nicephorus saith *lib. 6.*) they who were so unmerciful, suffered afterward just punishments, none of them died in their own place; and

and being also most shamefully removed, they ended their lives in sorrow: Especially the forenamed Becus wrote Apologies, and desired to be heard in a lawful Assembly. The Emperor considering, that reproaches sometimes had just grounds, and sometimes were altogether false, yet in time are wont to breed factions, called the Clergy, with some of the Nobility into his Palace, and there Becus, coming from his prison, was permitted to speak, and pleaded so eloquently, that many of his hearers were perswaded. The Patriarch and Muzalo magnus Logotheta, refuted his eloquence with strong reasons; and Becus was sent again in banishment into a little Town of Bithynia. After this the Patriarch set forth refutations of the opinions of Becus, and he spake very bitterly against him; some Bishops and Priests by their published writings, did admonish the Patriarch to change his style, if he would prevent danger, and the like reproaches: he took this admonition to proceed of envy, and was the more stirred to write, and heap disputations upon disputations, thinking to stop the mouthes of adversaries: the more he writeth inveſtively, the more of his own Clergy begin to dislike him; but he regardeth nothing, till Chilas Bishop of Ephesus, and Daniel Bishop of Cizicum (whom he had advanced, and esteemed above others) became his avowed enemies in the same cause: then he thought upon the example of Julius Cæsar, resisting all his adversaries; but in grief yieldeth unto Brutus and Cassius; so he quiteth all jars and disputes, he dimiteth his charge, and entereth into St. Marie's Hodegium or Monastery. Chilas and Daniel drank also of the same cup; for their Clergy rose against them severally, and dilated them unto the Emperor, and to other Bishops, for crimes worthy of deposition. The Emperor summoneth them unto Constantinople; they elude his summons with delays; but they did finde the Emperor's secret dislike, more noisome then open anger; and they were dispised of all their colleagues and brethren; nor were they answered in their revenues, and so died in sorrow. *Nicep. Gregor. lib. 6.* The same Andronicus took pleasure in Astronomy, and began to think on the right keeping of Easter. Therein *Nicephorus Gregoras* the Historician shewed his skill; and did demonstrate by Astronomical reasons, that the day of Easter was changed from March 25. unto the 17. day. Many did deride the ostentation (as they did judge) of *Nicephorus*, that he had not gotten licence to speak, if the Emperor had not commanded them silence. His reasons were taken from the vernal equinox, and the first full Moon thereafter. The Emperor was perswaded of it, and would have had it amended; but he did fear, that the unlearned would be offended, and the Church be divided; and he said, It were not an easie matter to go through the Empire and the Islands, and to inform them in such a scruple, but some would keep one day, and some keep another; therefore it is better to continue in such things as they were received. *Gregor. lib. 8.*

9. A D O L P H Count of Nassaw was next Emperor, by the policy of the Bishop of Mentz; for he dealt privily with the Electors, and perswaded them to refer their suffrages unto him; and he named this Adolph. He sought not confirmation from Rome. He was faithful unto the Empire; for he did not enrich his own children; but did enlarge the revenues of the Crown, by conquering the Principedom of Misna, and other Lands. In time of the wars betwixt France and England, he was for England, and all the Electors were for France; and therefore they conspired against him, saith *Jo. Naucler*, and they dethroned him. Albert the Son of Rodulph was chosen; they fought a bloody battel before Albert was Crowned, and Adolph was slain. All the Authors of the insurrection were remarkably punished within a year; to wit,

both the Bishops and the Counts; and Albert (though he lived some years, yet) was slain by his own Brother, *Idem*. The death of Adolph, and the time, is marked in these verses:

*Anno millenō, ter centum ter minus uno
In Iulio mense Rex Adolphus cadit ense:
Per manus Australis praecepsit machina talis.*

CENTURY XIII.

CHAP. III.

Of divers Countreys.

*A general
description of
this Century.*

1. **P**latina in Honor. III. writeth, that then were earthquakes so great and fearful, that in the mountains Salvii five thousand men and women were smothered by ruine of houses, and falling of stones off hills: and in the days of Gregory the IX. was inundation of waters; Tiberis overflowing his banks brought great harm: and men were so plagued with pestilence, that scarcely the tenth person was preserved: then was a strange eclipse of the Sun, and Stars seemed to fall. But these days were more miserable for spiritual plagues; for the misty ignorance of former times became more foggy; people and nations were wonderously deluded with strong delusions of the man of sin. No peace in the world almost; and the blood of Christians was shed every where, and for the most part by procurement of the Popes, partly under the shew of holy wars, and partly under pretence of heresies, as will yet more appear. For

*The Domini-
cans and*

2. Then came the locusts out of the bottomless pit; of whom the first was Dominicus Calaguritanus a Spaniard, the Father of *Frates Pradicatores*, or black Friars, who were also called Jacobines and Dominicans. Petrus Auratus, one of that Order, in *Scintilla Divi amor. cap. 5.* writeth of him thus; Our holy Father Dominicus, did every day lash his own body most sharply; once for dantonng the flesh, next for satisfying for the souls in Purgatory, and the third time for living sinners. But Antonius Arch-Bishop of Florence, about the year 1420. goeth further, comparing Dominicus with Christ in number and greatness of miracles, in name, in life, death, and after death; and in all these (almost) preferring Dominicus (O blasphemy!) saying, Christ raised three dead bodies; Dominicus raised three dead bodies at Rome; what shall I say of four hundred which were drowned at Tolouse, and at the prayer of Dominicus were brought forth safe, after they had been a long space under the water? Christ, being immortal, came twice unto his disciples when the the doors were shut; but Dominicus, being as yet mortal, came into the Church in the night when the doors were shut, lest he did awake his disciples. Christ after his death said unto his disciples, All power is given unto me in heaven and earth: but this power was given unto Dominicus in heaven, on earth, and in hell; for he had Angels to serve him, and the Devils trembled at his nod, nor were they able to disobey him. The prayer of Christ was heard so oft as he would; for when he prayed in the garden, Let this cup depart from me, albeit he was not heard, in so far as he prayed in sensuality, yet according to his minde or reason he wished not to be heard; but Dominicus shewed unto one of his companions, [*Iacob. de Vorag. in Legend. Aurea* calleth

calleth him *Prior Monasterii Cassamaria*] in a familiar conference, that he never did seek any thing from God, which he did not obtain to his hearts desire; [to wit, because he was more perfect then Christ, and never did pray by appetite of senses.] These and many other blasphemies were paralleled by that Bishop, and canonized Saint of the Roman Church. *Anton. par. 3. tit. 23. cap. 1. §. 2, & 38.* The next was Francis of Assisio, an Italian, the Father of the Minorites, or Franciscans: he also is exalted above the Prophets, Apostles, yea and above Christ. In Francis (say they) the passion of Christ is renewed; of him David saith, Thou hast crowned him with glory and honor, and thou hast set him above the works of thy hands; He is given as a light to the Nations. It is most certain, for one Mass of St. Francis, God hath been appeased with all the world. They are all saved who die in that Order, and under the rule of St. Francis. He hath obtained from God, that none can die evilly in his habit. *Christus oravit, Franciscus exoravit. P. Morn. in Myster. iniq. ex libro Conformitat. Vita B. Francis. ad vit. Christi.* The Author of that book was *Barth. de Pisis, An. 1389.* it was approved by the Roman censurers, and printed at Bononia *An. 1510.* with this inscription, *Liber aureus.* These two, Dominic and Francis, were canonized, and their Orders confirmed: And by the Bull of Pope Gregory the IX. it was commanded, that all should believe the holiness and power of these men, or shall be punished as Hereticks. That *Legenda* sheweth the cause of their honor. Pope Innocentius did refuse to confirm their Order, until he dreamed; as Mantuanus also hath expressed it in *Faustor. lib. 8.*

*the Francis
Jews were
the*

*two (as the
Jesuits now
are the onely)
pillars of
the Roman
Church.*

*Viderat in somnis Laterani ungentia Templi
Teſta: ruinosum caput inclinare, virumque
ſuppoſuiſſe humeris & ſuſtinueſſi ruinam.
Taliter admonitus paſtor, ſuccurrere ſeſis
Poſſe hominem rebus fidei, regnoque labenti
Annuſit, &c.*

This dream is in *Legenda Aurea*, and in *Fascic. temp.* After that dream, Innocentius craved that Dominic would draw up the rules of his Order; but before the rules were digested, Innocentius died; and then Pope Honorius received and confirmed them. *Legen. Aurea. Bonaventura in vita Francis.* saith, that dream was meant of his Father Francis. How was the Lateran Church then like to fall? The Emperor for a long time was striving against the Popes; and the Waldenses were preaching against the heresies of Rome, and calling the Pope the Antichrist; therefore power and authority was given to Dominic and Francis, with their disciples, to allure with their pale faces, to sting with fained words, and to preach, that all men should send money for maintaining the holy wars against the holy wars against the Emperor, and that none should believe the new doctrine of the Waldenses: This was the scope of their preachings at first, and so did they uphold the Lateran Church. And because the Bishops were not diligent enough to resist the Waldenses, the Pope committeth unto Dominic the office of Inquisition; and he took with him others, which either with sword or by tongue, would oppugn all the adversaries of the Roman Church. Afterwards these Friars became Bishops, Cardinals, and *Legati à latere* (and what were they not?) to gather collections of money, and to incite Kings and Nations against the Infidel Emperor (as they spake) and Princes, and against them whom they called Hereticks. For their diligence in this Commission, Dominic and Francis were called the two Olives, and the two Candlesticks standing before the Lord, *Revel. 11.*

Their in-
stitution.

and the two Cherubins full of wisdom, *Exod. 37. Antonin. loc. cit.* Their Institution was, to have a white coat, and a black one above it; to live by the works of their hands, or by alms, but to have no proper goods; and lest their piety turn to idleness, they should go abroad and preach every where, as Christ did. Pope Innocentius the III. commended this Institution; and after him Honorius confirmed it. *Pol. Virg. de inven. rer. lib. 7. cap. 4.* From their preaching they were called *Pradicatores*. Francis had been an Augustinian, but he would, being a more strict life, all Monks had possessions in common, though nothing in propriety; but he would have nothing in common nor in propriety, nor two coats, but one coat of the natural colour, girded with a girdle of leather: This he commended as the very life of a Christian, and commanded and practised by Christ; and to the end that these of his Order should beware of pride (which often followeth sanctity, faith *Pol. Virg. loc. cit.*) he would have them called Minorites. He vowed obedience unto Pope Honorius the IV. and his Successors; and his Brethren must vow obedience unto him and his Successors. When they were advising in the Colledge at Rome, upon the confirmation of this Order, some Cardinals said, It was a new thing, and more then man is able to perform. John Bishop of Sabinien, said, It is blasphemy against Christ and his Gospel, to say, that it containeth any thing new and impossible: So it was confirmed at that time. And afterwards by Pope Gregory the IX. in these words; We say, that neither in common nor in special, should they have any propriety; but they may have the use of utensils, of books, and other moveables that they shall get lawfully; and the Friars may use such things as their General or Provincials shall think good, reserving the dominion of the houses and places unto such as is known it belongeth unto; neither may they sell their moveables, or give them away from their Order, unless a Cardinal of the Roman Church, who shall be Governor of the Order, shall give power and consent unto their General or Provincials. Innocentius the IV. declared, that the propriety of the Minorites goods, belongeth unto the Apostolical See; and he gave them power to appoint Procurators, who might sell, or any way change their goods for their use; and to change the Procurators as they thought good. And so though they had vowed simple poverty, yet they devised ways of possession; yea, they sought the possessions of other Monks; and (as *Math. Paris. faith ad An. 1235.*) it was told them, It is a shame unto them, and scandal unto others, to change their rule and profession so soon. Their way of purchasing was thus; They had liberty to hear confessions (as the Dominicans had to preach) and they did ask persons of whatsoever quality, Hast thou made thy confession? If it were answered, Yea; they said, To whom? if it were answered, To our Priest; the Friar said, What an idiot is that? he never learned Divinity, nor hath he read the Decrees, nor hath he learned to solve a question; those Priests are blinde guides of the blinde; come unto us, we can distinguish between leprosie and leprosie; unto us are the mysteries and secrets of God revealed; confess unto us, to whom so great priviledges are granted by the Apostolical See: Therefore many Nobles and others, lest their Bishops and Priests, and made their confessions unto the Friars, and gave them their tithes and offerings, as is manifest by the querulous Letters that were collected by *Petrus de Vincis Epist. lib. 1.* And then the Friars began to rear up gorgeous buildings for themselves, and the Priests were for the most part but contemned and poor. Some Popes made Decrees in favor of the Friars, for the benefit of the Church; and some made contrary Decrees: for them, Honorius the IV. Gregory the IX. Alexander the IV. Clemens the IV. and V. against them, and for the Curates, was especially John the XXII. (who made himself Pope)

and

and others after him: In his time some that were called *pauperes de paupere una*, and *Beguni*, separated themselves from their Order, and returned to their Institution; Pope John condemned them and their constitution: but these were zealous of their first rule, even so zealous, that at Massiles four of them were condemned by their own Order the Inquisitors, and were burnt, because they would not consent unto the dispensation that was granted unto them. Others in many places of France called these four Martyrs, and said, If the Pope hath consented unto their death, he is an Heretick. Such doings and speeches, provoked Pope John the XXII. first to suspend, and then to condemn the Decrees of his Predecessors, that had confirmed the Institution of that Order, as commanded and practised by Christ. *Geo. Calixtus* in his book *De nova arte*, hath those things at more length, *ex Nic. Eimer.* the Author of *Director Inquisitor.* and *Alvar. Pelagius de Planctu Eccles.* After Pope John were many Bulls both for and against the Friars. Then starteth up a new controversie between the Friars and the Priests; The Priests said, *Of Tithes.* The Tithes, being the proper patrimony of the Church, should be paid unto them who serve in the Church, and not unto idle bellies, who have not charge in the Church. The Friars move other two questions; 1. By what Law should Tithes be paid? 2. Unto whom they should be paid? For the first they say, It was the uniform consent of the Church, that God commandeth the payment of Tithes under the Gospel, as under the Law. So Origen on *Numer. cap. 18. August. de temp. Ser. 219, & 48.* and such was the practise in many ages, saith *Concil. Matiscon. 2. cap. 5.* But at that time the Friars held, It was a judicial Law, binding the Jews only, yet so as it may be continued by Princes; and the Church hath enjoined the payment of the tenth part of the increase; neither may any refuse to pay the Tithe, and more also, if the Church shall enjoin more, as she hath power indeed. *Tho. Aquin. in Sum. 2.2. qu. 87.* The other question was before without scruple, that Tithes should be paid unto Church-men; and a division should be of them (as of all other Church-goods) one unto the Bishop, another for the Curate, and a third for the fabrick of the Church, and the fourth for the poor and strangers. But the Friars made a new distinction, saying, In Tithes two things are to be considered, to wit, the power of receiving them, and the Tithes themselves; the power is spiritual, and belongeth unto them that serve at the altar for their service; but the things called Tithes are corporal, and therefore may be given unto Laicks. *Tho. Aquin. ib.* By this distinction the Priests were cheated; and afterwards the Tithes were given to Abbeyes and Monasteries. By the way note, that the Friar Thomas calleth the Friars Laicks; as they were never reckoned among the Clergy, unless they were promoted, and received Orders. And we may see how the Franciscans were subdivided (as also other Orders) into Sects; some kept the first Institution, and go coarsely apparelled, living onely by begging; and others want not their ease nor abundance; they say, They have nothing, and yet enjoy plenty: and they excuse their practise (which is contrary unto their profession) with a distinction. They have riches in common, but nothing in propriety. This cause why Friars are so many ways subdivided, is marked by Bellarmin *de Monach. l. 2. c. 2.* Every Sect (saith he) is hot at the beginning, and then they become colder; then ariseth some one or other, who reduceth the Sect to the first Institution, with some particular Rite in remembrance of himself, and this is called a new Religion. Until this day these two Orders kept the Office of Inquisition, wheresoever the Pope commandeth, saith Francis Pegna in *Directo. Inquisitor.* but principally the Franciscans exercise it. *Their office.* How they discharge this Office, *Agrippa de vanitat. scien. cap. 96.* sheweth, saying, Whereas their jurisdiction should be grounded upon Theo-

logical traditions, and holy Scriptures, they exercise it according to the Canon-Law and Papal Decrees, as if it were impossible the Pope can err; and they throw away the holy Scriptures as a dead letter, or but a shadow of truth, yea, and they say, as a buckler and fortrefs of Hereticks; neither admit they the ancient traditions of Fathers and Doctors, saying, Those might be deceived, and deceive, but the holy Church of Rome cannot err, nor the Pope the head thereof; and they set before them the Books of his Court, as the But of their faith: when they enquire, they ask nothing but, Believest thou in the Church of Rome? and if it be answered affirmatively; they say, But the Church of Rome judgeth this proposition heretical and scandalous unto godly ears, or derogatory unto the power of the Church; and so they compel the man unto a recantation. But if he who is examined, do profess to maintain his opinion by testimony of Scripture, or by reasoning, they make a noise, and blowing their cheeks, they say, You have not to deal with Batchelors, or raw Students, but with your Judges; you come not to argue and jangle, but you must answer simply, whether you will acknowledge the Decree of the Roman Church, and revoke what you have said: If the man will not, they shew him faggots, and say, We must deal with Hereticks, not by arguments and Scripture, but by these, &c. A third sort of locusts were the Carmelites, a more ancient sort indeed; for they had been many ages at mount Carmel, even under the Soldan; but when they changed their habit, they were all banished; and coming into Europe, were confirmed by Pope Honorius the III. Their habit was white; their rule was to accept from any man, and do nothing, but at command of their Superior to deceive the people with glossing words, under pretence of long prayer. Those were once conjunct with the Franciscans in the Inquisition; but when they saw the people hated them for the cruelty of that office, they forsook it; as *I. Bale in Catal. pag. 546.* hath marked from the Bull of Pope Alexander the IV. A fourth sort was the *Crucigeri*, which began (as *Pol. Virg. de inven. rer. lib. 7. cap. 3.* hath it) in this maner. INNOCENTIUS the III. directed against the Albigenes a great number of Soldiers, intended against the Turks; they had received their badge of the cross: Those all were slain, and the Pope canonized them all; and for their honor he began such an Order, and gave them privileges. Pope Alexander the IV. dreamed that he saw St. Augustin, and caused he called all the Augustinians out of the woods and deserts, and caused them to dwell in Cities, and gave them exemptions and privileges. So about that time began many other Orders, both of men & women, apart in their own Monasteries, and some of both men and women in the same Monastery, but (for shame) in divers parts, and both sorts under the command of a woman; as the Order of St. Clara (the Sister of Francis the Minorite) and of St. Briget. About the year 1252. the Minorites began to teach Aristotle, that they might be the more able to deceive with Sophistry. Innocentius the IV. thereupon said, Now Philosophy sitteth like a whore; to wit, (saith *Matth. Parisien.*) as another Caiaphas, he prophesied truly; If he knew that she was a whore, why did he suffer her to occupy the chair of her Mistres? because he would shew, that wittingly and willingly he had given a bill of divorcement unto the holy Scriptures. Scholastick Theology was the proper exercise of these two Sects of Friars, and they did still extinguish the few and little sparks of truth: For the Scholastick Divinity had (as it were) three ages; the first from the year 1120. until the year 1212. the Doctors of this age are reckoned, Anselm Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Hugo de St. Victor, a German, Richard de St. Victor, a Scot, Gratian the Compiler of the Decrees, Peter Lombard Master of the Sentences, his colleague Blandinus,

A third
Order.

Their ages.

dinus, Rupertus Tuitiensis, Hugo de Ponto, Hugo the Cardinal, and first Compiler of *Concordantia Biblica*, Leo Tuscus, Gulielm. Altifiodorensis, Vincentius Gallus, Alexander de Ales, *alias Fons vite*, an English, who wrote the first Commentaries on Lombard, Gualter Pictaviensis, Alfonsus Tostatus, or Abulensis, &c. The second age began with Albertus Magnus, Professor once at Paris, and then at Colein, his disciple Thomas de Aquino Doctor *irrefragabilis*, Aegidius Romanus Primate of Aquitania, Johannes Scotus *Subtilis* Doctor, Richardus de Media villa, Alanus de Insulis, Augustinus de Ancona, Nicolaus de Lyra, Cardinal Bonaventura *Sepharicus* Doctor, Durandus de St. Portiano, not the worst of them, Gulielmus Occam, about the year 1330, &c. These were diligent in studying, reading and writing; but as the Arrians, Novatians, and other Hereticks in former times, did trust in their subtil disputes, so these for the most part, forsake the certainty of Scriptures, despise the simplicity of the Fathers, delight in the subtilty of distinctions and curious questions; and were readier to wrangle and jangle with ostentation of wit, then to search the truth in love; desirous to maintain opinions that they have coyned, and not to follow Divine oracles; faining new words, and prating of verbalities, realities, hecceities, and what other frivolous words they can devise, to paint and disguise their errors: And when they have talked so highly, that few can understand their discourse, then they are called sublime Doctors; and what one did coyn, another did oppose and refute. In their disputes they seldom bring texts of Scripture for confirmation or grounds, but so saith the Philosopher, or so saith the Master (meaning Aristotle and Lombard) or so saith such a Father. And others among them, whose sagacity cannot soar aloft, do write of the power of the Pope, and miracles of Saints; they forge plausible or terrible fables, advance the reliques and Histories of this or that Saint, still mixing their own lyes. I leave the third age of Scholastick unto its own place. These of that second age, have added many errors unto the former; as for example, 1. Peter Lombard could not tell, whether the change of the bread in the Sacrament were formal or accidental; but these held transubstantiation and concomitancy. From this root sprang a wood of intricate questions, that the world knew not before (which demonstrateth the novelty of the error) as 1. What giveth immediately the form unto the Sacrament? Pope Innocentius the III. *lib. 4. de Myster. cap. 6.* saith, Christ used no words in the consecration, but onely did consecrate by his Divine power. But *Tho. Aquin. in Sum. par. 3. qu. 76. ar. 1. ad 1.* saith, Against this are the words of the Gospel, which say, Christ blessed; and certainly that blessing was done by some words; therefore the words of Innocentius are spoken *opinative magis quam determinative*. For clearing this point, he sheweth (a little before) a new distinction between this Sacrament and all other Sacraments; to wit, the form of other Sacraments import the use of the matter, but the form of this importeth onely the consecration of the matter, which, saith he, consists in consubstantiation. 2. Whether the substance of the bread remain after the consecration? they conclude this *negative*. 3. Whether the substance of the bread be turned into nothing, or into *materialiam primam*, or into the body of Christ? 4. In what subject do the accidents of the bread and wine remain? 5. Whether the transubstantiation be done in a moment of time? 6. Whether the dimensions of Christ be wholly in this Sacrament? 7. Whether the body of Christ be in this Sacrament locally. 8. Whether the body of Christ doth move according to the motion of the hostie? 9. Whether any eye, even a glorified one, can see Christ's body in the Sacrament? 10. Concerning the truth of the words, *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, are innumerable controversies, as, Whether *hoc* signifie bread? or whether

Their novations, 1. Transubstantiation. 2. Auricular confession.

it importeth *demonstrationem ut conceptam, & non ut exercitatem*? or *ad intellectum, & non ad sensum*? that is, This, that is the thing signified, by this is my body: Or, whether it demonstrateth to the sense? but is to be understood according to the instant or moment, not of pronouncing it, but of pronouncing the last syllable; as when one saith, Now I will be silent. Thomas Aquinas first did write those, and innumerable more such questions, and after him many have debated them, and many other questions of that subject and nature. 2. Before it was voluntary (excepting the case of scandal) to confess their sins, and no Laws were against them which did not confess; yea, Lombard, *Lib. 4. Dist. 17. B.* saith, It may be said, that without confession of the mouth, or payment of outward punishment, sins are blotted away by contrition and humility of the heart; for after that one doth with a grieved minde propound to confess his sins, God forgiveth; because there is confession of the heart, albeit not of the mouth; and by this confession the soul is inwardly cleansed from the spot and contagion of committed sin, and the debt of everlasting death is forgiven; and therefore (saith he) these sentences [of the Fathers which he hath quoted before] concerning repentance and confession, are to be understood of the confession of the heart, or of inward punishment. But after that Decree of Innocentius the III. the School-men held, that he is not to be accounted a Christian, who confesseth not all his sins particularly. As for the circumstances, the Canon biddeth the Priest be discreet in searching the circumstances of the sinner, and of the sin. But the School-men press every man to confess particularly every circumstance of his sin, so far as possibly he can. Concerning the person who should hear confessions, Lombard, *loc. cit. D.* teacheth, that a man should diligently seek a Priest, because God hath given the power of binding and loosing unto Priests; but if a Priest cannot be had, one may make his confession unto his neighbor or companion: and he speaketh no where of a Monk or Frier. But afterwards the Dominicans got power from the Popes, and the Priests were neglected. 3. Gratian in his Decrees, and Lombard in his Sentences, have no word of pardons or Papal indulgences. But when avarice had possessed the Clergy, and the people were blinded with ignorance and superstition, and both were contented with an outward formality, then publick declarations were redeemed with sums of money, which they called alms for the use of the poor, or for building Hospitals or Churches, or Bridges; and the discharge of the publick declarations, was called indulgence or pardon. The School-men finding this practise to be so gainful unto Bishops, and the pardons so acceptable unto the people, did commend them in their preachings, yet so, that among themselves some made question of the truth of them; for some (as *Tho. Aquin. Supplem. qu. 25. ar. 2.*) said, These pardons were but a kinde of pious deceit, whereby the Church draweth men into some sort of devout actions, as a mother allureth her childe unto some steps, by shewing him a golden peny, which she giveth him not. Some said, they were available in the Court, not of God, but of the Church; others held they were useful in both Courts: And they made the ground of this power, to be the treasures of Christ's, and the Saints sufferings, which they had suffered more then was needful for the propitiating their sin and everlasting punishment, all which their sufferings of supererogation, make up the treasure of the Church; and the Bishops or Priests may bestow a part of that treasure on them which have not merits of their own. And truly any man might perceive (as the Germans did in their grievances, which they sent unto Pope Hadrian the VI.) that these were cunning frauds to purchase money unto the Pope, and the Friars, and others

The Confessors.

3. Pardons and Indulgences.

their

their partners. We read, that in the primitive Church, when discipline was strict, they would remit somewhat of their severity, as they saw the persons affected; but in that Century, not so much the punishment already enjoined, but to be enjoined was dispensed with for money; in former time the dispensation was granted, lest the penitents did faint under the burthen, and that they might the sooner be received into the communion again, nor were they granted for money. But at that time, and in times following, they were pardoned from all satisfaction, both for sin committed and to be committed, if they would give moneys; which trick was coloured with pretext to say Masses for them, or for use of the holy wars. And these pardons were (at most) thought to avail onely unto the living, until Boniface the VIII. did extend their vertue unto the souls in Purgatory. *Co. Agrip. de vanit. scien. cap. 61.* Unto the more clearing of this point, hear what John Roffen. saith, *contra assert. Luthe. art. 18.* (seeing *Pol. Virg. de inven. rer. lib. 8. cap. 1.* and others do cite the same as truth; Possibly many (saith he) do not value indulgences, because the use of them is known to have come but lately among Christians; unto them I answer, It is not certain who gave them first; nevertheless there hath been some use of them very ancient, as they say, among the Romans, which may be gathered by the Stations----- None who is Orthodox [here he would say, Popish, or a follower of the Pope] doubteth whether there be a Purgatory; of which there is no, or very little mention among the ancients; yea, and among the Greeks it is not believed until this day; and neither did the Latins conceive the verity thereof at one time, but by little and little, nor without dispensation of the holy Ghost; that after so many years, both the faith of Purgatory, and use of indulgences, was generally received by the Romish Church: so long as there was not fear of Purgatory, no man sought pardons; for upon it doth all the account of pardons depend; if ye take away Purgatory, what use have pardons? therefore pardons began after that people stood in aw of Purgatory. So far he, saith Polydore, which thou perhaps (seeing they are of so great moment) didst expect (as more certain) from the mouth of God. But Roffensis saith further; If there be no Purgatory, we shall not have need of pardons; considering therefore how long time Purgatory was not known, and then it was believed by some by degrees, partly by revelations, and partly by Scriptures, and so at last it was believed generally by the whole Church; we may easily understand some cause of pardons: Seeing then Purgatory was so lately known, who can now admire, that there was no use of pardons in the primitive Church? &c. 4. A fourth device of the Friers, was the distinction of merit, *ex congruo, & condigno*; some holding the one part onely, and some both parts, but it was never universally approved among them, seeing always some did abhor to say, A man by his merits is worthy of the Kingdom of heaven. Of which number were Guiliel. Parisien, Jo. Scotus, Gregorius de Arimino, Biel, &c. This particular leadeth to another consideration of these Friers, that as they do differ in degrees, the latter sort (for the most part) being worse, or more erroneous then their fathers, and ready to produce a worse generation, so they did and still do differ in contrary opinions; for they preach not Christ of good will (saith *Agrip. de vanit. scien. cap. 97.*) but for contention; so that there is more hope of agreement among Philosophers, then among these School-men, seeing they have darkened and killed all maner of Divinity with opinions of men, and new errors, &c. and the posterity sweareth into the words or tenets of their Master; and they are led captive by his opinion, so that they will not yield unto contrary reasons nor Scripture. This is clear by the families or Sects of Thomists and Scotists, striving the one against the other, not in Philosophical or indifferent points,

4. Meritum
ex congruo
& condigno.

Their contra-
ry doctrines.

but in matters of greatest moment; As for example, 1. Thomas saith, A man is accepted of God, not for his vertue, but by the grace of God, which is the fountain of these vertues. *In 2. Sent. Dist. 26. q. 1. ar. 4.* But Capreolus on that place bringeth Scotus, Durand and Aureolus, holding the contrary. 2. Thomas saith, A man deserveth glory *ex condigno*, 1, 2. *qu. 114. ar. 3.* yet to make this smooth, he hath devised that distinction, that a work deserveth either as it proceedeth from free-will, or as it proceedeth from God's grace; and so on that part of *Rom. 6. Lect. 4.* he saith, If good works be considered in their own nature, or as they proceed from mans free-will, they deserve not eternal life *ex condigno*, but onely as they proceed from the grace of the holy Ghost. But Durand in 2. *Sent. Dist. 27. qu. 2.* refuteth both the tenet and that frivolous distinction. 3. Thomas proveth, that a man cannot understand supernatural things without the light of grace, *In 2. Sent. Dist. 28. qu. 1. ar. 5.* But Durand on that place striveth for the contrary. 4. Thomas saith, No man in this life without habitual grace, can eschew all and every sin, 1, 2. *qu. 109.* But Scotus holdeth the contrary. *In 2. Sent. Dist. 28. 5.* Thomas saith, None without the help of God, can sufficiently prepare himself unto habitual grace, *loc. cit. ar. 6.* and there he declareth what it is to prepare himself; to wit, to turn unto God; as he which hath his eyes turned from the Sun, prepareth himself to receive the light of the Sun, when he turneth himself unto the Sun. Against this doth Durand dispute, in 2. *Sent. Dist. 28. qu. 5. 6.* Thomas saith, Grace differeth really from vertue, as the soul from the faculties, in 2. *Sent. Dist. 26. qu. 1. ar. 4.* Scotus holdeth the contrary on that place. 7. Thomas holdeth, that want of original justice in babes is a sin, *ibid. Dist. 30. qu. 1. ar. 2.* Durand on that place holdeth the contrary. 8. Thomas saith, Original sin cannot be properly called a quality, or absolute form inclining to ill actions, 1, 2. *qu. 82. ar. 1.* *Gregor. de Armi.* On 2. *Sent. Dist. 30. qu. 1. ar. 2.* teacheth, that according to Augustin, original sin is a positive quality, or carnal concupiscence, by which man is inclined to sin actually. 9. Thomas holdeth, that every action of man, if it be evil, is properly a sin, 1, 2. *qu. 21. ar. 1.* Gregory in *loc. cit.* holdeth the contrary. 10. Thomas proveth, that every act of man, as it is an act, is from God, *De malo qu. 3. ar. 2.* Capreolus on 2. *Sent. Dist. 37. qu. 1. ar. 1.* bringeth Durand, Gregory, and Aureolus, disputing in the contrary. 11. Thomas teacheth, that to the goodness of an action, is required the goodness of the matter, and of the form and intention. Capreolus on 2. *Sent. Dist. 38.* bringeth sundry school-men, holding that the goodness of intention is not necessary. 12. Dominicans generally hold, that the Sacraments do work grace after the manner of a knife, cutting and framing a thing, and not a vessel containing grace. But the Franciscans deny all effective power in the Sacraments, but bring the vertue of them from the onely power of God's promise, so oft as the Sacrament is administered. They do agree in the *opere operato*, and differ in the manner. *Concil. Trident. lib. 2.* 13. Dominicans held, that the Sacraments of the old Testament did not confer, but onely fore-signific grace which was to be given after the sufferings of Christ. The Franciscans held the contrary, *ibid.* 14. Thomas *par. 3. qu. 75. ar. 4.* saith, It is necessary to believe, that the body of Christ is in the Eucharist, by the change of the substance of the bread into it. But Bellarmin *De Euchar. lib. 3. cap. 23.* saith, Scotus held, that transubstantiation was not thought a doctrine of faith before the Lateran Council; and that there is no express Text of Scripture, which without declaration of the Scripture, can convince one to admit transubstantiation. Certainly the opinion of Thomas was according to the sense of the article which Innocentius the III. did decree; and howbeit the Romanists hold still the word transubstantiation, yet they are all for the most

part fallen upon another conceit, that the substance of the bread vanisheth, or is annihilated, and the body of Christ cometh instead of it. And hence ariseth many questions among them, as, whether the body of Christ be eaten with the teeth, and go into the belly? whether the wicked do eat the body of Christ? They who will read any School-man on Lombard, *Lib. 4. Dist. 10, 11.* will finde many such questions concerning the Sacrament. In a word, all the huge volumes of Thomists and Scotists upon the Sentences, are so many monuments of controversies betwixt antagonists in the Romish Church; as lately Dr. T. Mortan hath proved the Protestant faith by testimonies of these School-men, or (as he speaketh) even the enemies being judges: Therefore all the boasting of Papists concerning the unity of their Church, is indeed but to delude them which are not acquainted with their books. Thus the Church was pitifully divided with these Sects; and when the disciples of these School-men went abroad to preach, one thus, and another the contrary, the people knew not what to believe. And albeit the Popes did tolerate them so long as they stood for the triple Mitre, yet hence we may understand one main cause, why some Bishops and Princes did bewail the confusion in the Church, and after that time wish and cry for a Reformation. To this purpose hear how *Pe. Soave in Hist. Con. Trident. lib. 2.* reporteth the contest betwixt the Bishops and the Generals of the Friars. On the one side the Bishops did complain, that albeit Christ had commanded to teach the people his doctrine, and that could be no other way but by publick teaching in the Church; and to the end sufficient men might be provided to teach the people, this charge did properly belong unto Bishops; as the Apostles at first shewed the way, and the holy Fathers did follow; yet this charge of so great importance was taken from the Bishops, that no footsteps thereof remain, and that by giving of priviledges, and this is the cause why all things become worse and worse, because Christ's institution is changed. The Universities had immunity, that a Bishop cannot know what they are teaching; the power of preaching is given unto the begging Friars, so that they are free from the Laws of Bishops, and will not let them see what they are doing; and so Bishops are robbed of the chief part of their office. And in the contrary, they which at first were appointed onely to bewail the sins of men, and which by expresse and severe threatnings were forbidden to teach or preach, have now usurped, or as a gift do possess that office as their peculiar onely, in the mean time the flock wanteth a shepheard and hireling too; for these vagring preachers, which skip from one City to another, cannot understand either the necessity of the people, or the capacity of their mindes, and far less the opportunities of teaching and edifying them, so as a constant Pastor might, who living continually with his flock, hath more experience of their infirmities and necessities. Moreover, these preachers have not such an aim to edifie the people, but to bring alms to their own advantage, or of their Convent; and to the end they may make their purchase the more liberally, they look not to the salvation of souls, but onely to their own advantage by flattering, delighting and following the affections of men; and the people learn instead of the doctrine of Christ, nothing but news, or certainly vanity----- The onely remedy of all these evils is, that these priviledges and exemptions be discharged, and the charge of teaching and preaching be restored unto Bishops, and of chusing others to be their helpers in that work. On the other side, the Generals of the Friars said, When Bishops and Curates had neglected their pastoral work, so that in many ages, neither preachings were heard in Churches, nor teaching of Divinity in Schools, at last God did raise up the Orders of begging Friars, to repair the defect of that necessary office, which they had not usurped, but had

A contest betwixt the Bishops and the Friars.

obtained by the gift of the supream Pastor ; and seeing it belongeth unto him chiefly to feed the flock , it is an injury to aver , that whom he hath appointed to supply their defects, who according to their office should have had care of the flock, and had forsaken it, and medled with the harvest of others; but it is rather true, that unless they had so done in love and charity, there had been ere now no remembrance of Christ's name ; and therefore seeing for the space of three hundreds years and upwards they have waited upon this work , to the manifest benefit of men , and by just title of the Roman high Priests, gifts and prescription of so long time, this is their office; the Bishops have no reason to move any controverſie , or pretend the custom of ancient time, for recovering the office which they had forsaken for so many ages. And what is objected of their enlarging the Monasteries or seeking their own gain, it is a meere calumny , seeing of the alms they did reap nothing but meat and clothes , and what was over, was employed to the service of God , in saying Masses, or in building and decoring Churches, for the benefit of the people; and therefore the offices which have been exercised by these Orders , in the holy Churches and study of Divinity , which scarcely can be found without the Cloisters of Monks , they may justly claim as their own, and should be continued with them , seeing hardly can other sufficient men be had. So far there. If we compare these two discourses , and consider how truly the first describeth the latter times , and the other painteth forth the preceeding time, we may understand the miseries of the Church, and what need there was of Reformation.

The beginning
and rise of
Cardinals.

3. It is said before , that Pope Innocentius the III. made a Law , that the election of the Pope should appertain unto the Cardinals onely, whereby their grandure did wax mightily. I will not say , that this was a novation, and a change of the election of the Bishop of Rome ; but now it is time to speak of their beginning , and increase of their honor, and that in the words of Romish Authors. The Jesuit Azorius saith, Some bring their conception from Gregory the I. and some from Silvester the I. and some from Marcellus. *Bellarm. de Cleri. lib. 1. cap. 16.* alledgeth, that there is mention of Cardinals, in a Councel at Rome , in the days of Pope Silvester the I. but then (as *Spalatin. de Repu. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 5. §. 11.* hath observed *ex Grego. Registr. & Epist.*) *Cardinalis* was no other but fixed and ordinary , and it was opposed to vagrant and titular Bishops and Priests ; whereas now (saith he) for the most part , or rather all Cardinals are but titulars , and none of them hath an ordinary or settled charge. *Ibid. §. 32. Bellarm. loc. cit.* saith also, The office of Cardinals consisteth in three particulars : 1. Is the office of a Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon. 2. The election of the Pope. 3. It is to assist the Pope always. In all these, saith he, they have their original from the days of the Apostles ; but he proveth not well. When *Pol. Virg.* searcheth the invention of things , he passeth not by the invention of Cardinals, in *li. 4. ca. 9.* Pope Marcellus (saith he) from among the twenty five Parishes that were then at Rome, appointed fifteen of them to be Cardinal [or as they call them improperly Mother-Churches, and the rest were but Chappels or Oratories] for the use of baptism and burial, and this is the very beginning of the Order of Cardinals--- and long after, to be a Cardinal, was no other thing but to have the care of souls. [That which followeth , is commanded to be blotted out by the *Index expurgatorius* , Printed at Antwerp *An. 1561. pag. 70.*] But afterwards, when Pope Boniface the III. obtained from the Emperor Phocas the prerogative over all the rest of the Bishops , then the high Priest of Rome, with his Senate of Town-Priests, began to be more advanced above others ; and these Priests to whom these titles were given in old time , and to whom

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the cure of Christian souls was committed, began especially to be honored with that name, as proper to the highest Dignity---- In the beginning it was altogether a burthen, and at last the chiefest honor, seeing they are always nearest to the Pope in the administration of the Christian Republick, and unto them was more and more given; and by little and little by jarring of the Emperors and the people of Rome for the election of the Pope, all the right of the election came unto them. So far he. In this last matter, *Bellar. loc. cit.* is more plain; howsoever these things be so, I confess, saith he, that the Cardinalship was a step unto a Bishoprick, as it is most manifest out of the first book of the life of Gregory, *cap. 7.* but that order is changed, and Cardinals are preferred unto Bishops; because when the Emperors, and Clergy, and people did chuse the Pope, the Cardinals were not in such estimation; but when onely they began to chuse the Pope, and onely Cardinals were chosen; the dignity of a Cardinal is not without cause more respected. Secondly, The dignity of a Cardinal is advanced, because they were wont to be neither the onely, neither the chief Counsellors of the Pope; for in the first eight hundred years, a national Council of Italian Bishops was gathered, for consultation of the weighty affairs, as is manifest by the Councils; there the chief place was given to Bishops: but when the affairs of the Church of Rome did increase, especially the temporal Princedom in the days of Pipin and Charls the Great, the Councils have been omitted, and all things brought to the Colledge of Cardinals. So he. We saw before how great priviledges Innocentius the III. gave unto this Order, and so did Innocentius the IV. If Peter Damian, Cardinal of Ostia, had seen them so far honored, whereunto would he have compared them, seeing he is bold to extol them so far in his days? What thinkest thou of the Cardinal Bishops (saith he) who principally chuse the Pope of Rome, and do transcend the power of all Bishops, yea of Patriarchs and Primates? to wit, except the Sacrament of the universal Church, these are the eyes of the one stone, that is, of the Roman Church; of whom it is said in Zachary; Behold the stone which I have set before Jeshoshua; upon that one stone are seven eyes; they are the lamp of the one candlestick--- they are the candlesticks in the midst of which Jesus doth walk. *Apoc. 2, &c. Baron. Tom. 11. ad An. 1061. nu. 11.* at the election of Cardinals, the Pope saith to them, Be ye our Brethren and Princes of the world? *Antonin. Flor. sum. Theol. par. 3. tit. 21. cap. 1. §. 2.* Pope Pius the II. said to his Cardinals, Ye are my eldest and best beloved children; and ye are honored with most excellent dignity, when ye are called into the Apostolical Colledge; ye shall be our Counsellors, and judges of all the earth---- ye shall be Senators of the City, and like unto Kings; and very hinges of the world, upon whom the door of the militant Church must turn and be governed. *Vsser. de Eccles. statu. cap. 4. ex Sac. cerem. Ro. Eccles. lib. sect. 8. cap. 3.* Antonius, after his maner, proveth, that the same authority belongeth unto them, *loc. cit.*

4. In this Century these Friars and Cardinals spared not the blood of God's servants; for Pope Innocentius thought first by disputes and sophistry to bear down the Waldenses, but when he could not that way prevail, he caused his Friars to sting them with fire and sword. *An. 1205.* he sent the forenamed Dominicus, with Didacus Bishop of Exonia or Uxonia, in Spain, into the County of Tolose; they disputed once at Viride Folium, and again at Axamia. *An. 1207.* in the City Montie-regalis, the same two, with Fulco Bishop of Tolouse, and Petrus de Castro novo, the Popes Legate, disputed against Arnold hot, Pastor Albigensum, Ponticus Jordanus, Arnold Aurisanus, Philibert Castrensis, and Benedict Thermus. These were the Articles; The Church of Rome is not the holy Church, neither Spouse of Christ, but

filled with the doctrine of divels; she is Babylon that John describeth in the Apocalypse; the mother of fornications and abominations; covered with the blood of the Saints. It doth not please the Lord, which pleaseth the Church of Rome; neither Christ nor his Apostles did institute the Mass, but it is the device of man. By consent of both parties, four Laicks were named Auditors; to wit, two noble men, Bernard de Villa nova, and Bernard Arensis; and two of meaner degree, Raymundus Godins, and Arnold Ribertia. When the disputation had continued three days, Fulco sought the space of fifteen days, and he would give the defence of his positions in writing; and Arnold Hotcraved eight days to give his answer in writing likewise. They assembled at the day appointed; and the conferences were prolonged the space of four days; and at last the Bishop said, These things ought to be taken from the Mass, that are not of the Mass: and so they were dismissed; neither was any more done of these controversies, *Vsser. ex Vignier. Hist. Eccles. ad An. 1207.* There were also other conferences among them. But when the Pope and his Cardinals saw that they could not prevail with disputes, Odo Bishop of Paris easily perswaded the Pope to try them with the sword, *An. 1208.* The Pope wrote unto Philip King of France for that effect; and proclaimed Indulgences unto all who would take Arms against the Waldenses and Albigenes, even as large as to them who warred against the Mahumetists; and the Pope and the King gave all the lands of the Waldenses, and their goods, unto any who would take them. Raymund Earl of Tolouse was of this number; and was much envied by the Clergy for his devotion, and by Laity for his grandure: he was Cousin-german of King Philip, and Lord of Tolouse, Province, Aquitania, Delphinat, the County of S. Giles, Velnaissen, Ruthen, Cadurcen, Albio, and of other large dominions on both sides of Rhodanus; he had married Johanna, Sister of John King of England, and after her Eleonora, Daughter of Peter King of Arragon, *Vsser. in Stat. & Succes. Eccles. ex Guil. Armor. & Bertrand. in gest. Tolos.* Of the same profession were the Counts de Foy, de Beders, de Cominees, de Carmain, &c. To the end that Raymund may be the more odious unto the people, the Preachers did slander him of Manicheism; but untruly, saith Bertrand. In the year 1209. were levied in France 22000. men; their General was Simon Earl of Monford, with some of the Preachers and Nobility. They first did set against Biterræ, in which were 100000. men; it pleased God that the persecuters had the upper hand; and when the Soldiers asked the Abbot of Cistercian, what they should do, because they knew not who were Hereticks, and who were not? he answered, Kill all, God knoweth who are his: So they spare neither age nor sex, *Cesar. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 21.* Many hundreds were burnt, many were hanged, and many thousands were slain in other places, *I. Thuan. ad An. 1550.* In a word, they prevailed so, that Raymund was robbed of all his lands almost; and went to Rome *An. 1215.* and promised obedience unto the Church, if the Pope would cause his lands to be restored. Innocentius answered, The expedition was chargeable unto the Church, and unto Simon de Monford; and therefore he had given these lands unto Simon; and it was past the King's confirmation, and could not be recalled; onely he would grant unto Raymund 400. marks yearly, during his life, if he shall continue under obedience. Then Raymund went to Arragon, and levied an Army of 100000. men; and within a year he recovered by strength all his lands. Simon was killed *An. 1218.* and 22000. men with him; so was his Son Guido *An. 1219. Io. de Serres.* Then King Philip sent his Son Lewes once and again against Tolouse; but all in vain so long as Raymund lived, and Roger de Foy; both which died within one moneth, *An. 1221.* His Son Raymund (whether

(whether for fear of worldly opposition, or if he left the doctrine which his Father had professed, it is uncertain) offered all obedience unto the Church and King, if they would grant him peace. Almaric, the Son of Simon de Montford, appeareth in the contrary, alledging his Title unto the County of Tolouse--- which was granted unto his Father, and confirmed by the Pope and the King. In the mean time Philip dieth, and left unto Almaric 20000. (some write 100000.) lievers of Paris, for a new expedition against Tolouse; and at last, by perswasion of Romanus, Cardinal de St. Angelo, the Pope's Legat, Lewes VIII. King of France, with Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Peers, Barons, and 50000. horse, with a great number of foot (which arose for fear of the King and the Pope's Legate, more then for zeal to the cause, saith *Mat. Paris. in Hen. III.*) they were marked with the sign of the Cross, against the Hereticks (as they spake) of Tolouse and Avenion (which also belonged unto Raymund) and boasting to destroy all the means and men within his Dominions, *An. 1226.* They came first to Avenion, craving passage through the Town for shortness of way. The Citizens said, They feared more danger. The King sware he would not rise from siege, till he had taken the City. They had so provided, that within were neither old persons, nor women, nor children; and all beastials were removed, and all the meadows were tilled; that the King had scarcity without, and they within had plenty; so without was dearth, and death (as was reckoned) of 22000. Simon and the Pope's General were killed with stones out of slings. Some of the Nobility crave leave to return, but obtain it not. The King dieth. Romanus causeth his death to be concealed; and after asking a treaty for peace, (which was refused) he craveth that he and the Prelates may enter the City, to try if the wickedness was so great, as the cry thereof was come unto the Pope's ears; and swore that he minded nothing but the salvation of souls: But he contemned his oath, brought in the Army, brake their walls, and slew many of them, *Mat. Paris. ad An. 1226. in Hen. III.* In the year 1228. Raymund did rout his adversaries in three several battels, *idem.* Then they invade Tolouse; but so that the yong King was glad to seek peace; and the Earl accepteth it on good conditions. Then the Pope sent the Marshal de la Foy with a fresh Army. King Lewes would not allow it, and said, They should perswade by reason, and not constrain by force, *Io. de Serres.* When open wars were ended, the Bishops and Friars were busie with burning and hanging; and these broyls were not ended for seventy years, saith *Bertrand. Ia. Thuan.* in the dedication of his History, telleth summarily the success: They were killed or banished, and scattered hither and thither, but not convicted of errors, nor brought into repentance; some fled into Province, or near unto the Alps; finding lurking holes for their lives and doctrine; some went into Calabria, and their followers abode there until the Papacy of Pius the IV. some settled in Bohem, Poland and Livonia; and of their reliques in Britain, was John Wickliff in Oxford. So *Thuan.* Wheresoever they went, Satan followed to devour them. And all the Historians of those times shew how they were persecuted; as *Vissar.* hath marked particularly, *loc. cit. ca. 10.* Innocentius III. caused the bones of Almaric to be burnt, a learned Bishop at Paris, because he had taught, that no sin is imputed unto man in the state of grace; and Images should not be in Churches; and other twenty four persons, for the same doctrine, *An. 1210. Io. Bale Cent. 3. cap. 67. in Appen.* sheweth *ex Bern. Lutzenburg.* that when Dominicus, with twelve Cistercian Monks, was sent against them, the sum of them who were killed in the wars, were 100000. persons, and out of Christ, Massanus. That in the Diocly of Narbon 140. men chose rather to suffer the fire, then accept the doctrine of Rome, *An. 1210.* And in the next year 400.

were burnt within the Diocye of Tolouse, eighty were beheaded, and Almericus, Captain of the Castle of Vare, was hanged, and his wife was stoned to death. *M. Fox in Act. & Monim.* sheweth out of *Herm. Mutius*, that *An. 1212.* sundry Noble men and others, in the County of Alsatia, did hold, that every day was free for eating of flesh, if it be soberly; and that they do wickedly, who hinder Priests from lawful marriage. Therefore Innocentius caused an hundred of them to be burnt in one day. *Naucerus* sheweth, that at the same time were many of the same doctrine at Millan, who sent relief unto their Brethren in Alsatia. *An. 1220.* William, a Goldsmith, was burnt, because he said, Rome was Babylon, and the Pope was Antichrist. *Bale ex Caesar. in dialog. Desiderius à Lombard.* at the same time was called *Harcfiarcha*, because he wrote against the begging Friars. We read of many such other burnings and martyrdoms in other places and times; but the truth could not be burnt, nor overthrowen, nor want her witnesses.

5. Guilielmus de Alta Petra, Bishop of Paris, about the year 1220. wrote a book *De Clero*, wherein he speaketh of the Clergy of his time in this maner; No godliness or learning is seen in them, but rather all divellish filthiness, and monstrous vices; their sins are not simply sins, but monsters of sins; they are not the Church, but Babylon, Egypt, and Sodom; the Prelates build not the Church, but destroy it; they mock God; and they and their Priests do profane the body of Christ; they lift up to the heavens, with all maner of Ecclesiastical honor, the limbs of the diuel, and enemies of God: in a word, they bring Lucifer into the Church of Christ. He taught also that there is no law belonging unto the salvation of man, but the Gospel of Christ.

6. Joachim, Abbot of Curacon in Calabria, about the year 1200. held and taught, that the Pope and his Court were the Antichrist, because they were drowned in simony and luxury; by their wickedness they hindered the Jews and Pagans from converting unto Christ. He wrote propheticall pictures upon the Revelation, with Italian expositions; wherein he sharply taxeth the Pope and his Clergy. In his Commentary on Jeremiah, he saith, The days shall be perillous from the year 1200. until the last times, when the law of liberty shall appear, the Gospel of Christ shall be preached, and the Church shall be purged, as the wheat from the chaff and tares. Pope Innocentius the III. condemned him, as thinking amiss of the Trinity; and saying, that he who believeth the Trinity of persons, and unity of nature or essence, establisheth a quaternity. But as we said, Antoninus sheweth, that the Pope condemned that error as his, but he condemned not himself. And Mar. Luther, in a peculiar Treatise, cleareth this Joachim from all error of the faith in the Trinity, *Catal. test. verit. lib. 17.* and certainly all is not sure that is set down in the Decretals. *M. Fox in Act. & Monim.* sheweth *ex Roge. Honedem.* that when Richard King of England went to Syria, by the way he sent for Joachim to meet him in Sicily, and asked him many things; among the rest, he asked what he thought of the coming of the Antichrist? He began to expound the mystery of the seven Kings in the Apocalypse; these are seven persecutors, Herod, Nero, Constantius; Mahumet, Melfemutus, Saladin and Antichrist; and Antichrist is now sitting in the City of Rome, and in his Apostolical throne; as the Apostle saith, he is an adversary, and exalteth himself above all that is called God: Also he foretold the estate of the Church; all the Church of the Saints shall be hid; for the elect of God; what they know, they shall know it to themselves; so that they will not presume to preach publicly, because of prevailing darkness; not that they will leave to encourage and exhort the faithful privately, but because they will not dare to preach publicly, *Vsser. de Eccles. statu. cap. 6. ex Roge. Honen. annal. in Rich. II.*

7. Conradus, a Lichtenal, was made *abbas Vrspergensis An. 1215.* In the History of Henry the V. Emperor, he sheweth, that many at that time did reprove peregrinations and indulgences; and in that place he calleth them a novelty. He writeth many things in favor of Popes, yet the force of truth sometimes prevaieth with them: he condemneth Pope Gregory the IX. for excommunicating the Emperor without just causes, and without all order; he condemneth the Pope for taking Lands from the Emperor in his absence, whereas he had forced him to go away; and for killing some who were signed with the Cross, because they were going to aid the Emperor against the Turks; which, saith he, is most abominable to speak. He made this rhyme of the avarice of Rome. *Epephonema ex vita Phil. Imp.*

*Gaude mater nostra Roma
Quoniam aperiuntur cataractæ
Theſaurorum,
In terra
Vt ad te confluant rivi & aggeres
Nummorum
In magna copia.
Latere super iniquitate hominum
Quoniam ad recompensationem
Tantum malorum
Datur tibi pretium.
Iocundare
Super adjutrice tua discordia,
Quæ erupit de puteo
Infernalis abyssi,
Vt accumulentur tibi
Multa pecuniarum præmia.
Habes quod semper ſitiſti.
Decantant anticum,
Quia per malitiam hominum,
Non per tuam religionem
Orbem viciſti.
Ad te trahit homines
Non ipſorum devotio,
Aut pura conſcientia,
Sed ſclerum multiplicum perpetratio
Et lutium deciſio
Pretio comparata, &c.*

Ex Catalog. test. ver. lib 16. This is expounded of the frequent gadding to Rome in the days of Pope Innocentius the III. See pag. 317. 8. Thore.

8. There is extant a constitution of Lewes, surnamed the blessed, King of France, bearing the date *An. 1228. sub tit. de Talis*, wherein he regrateth the avarice of Popes, saying, The exactions and grievous burthens of moneys that are laid on the Churches of our Kingdom by the Court of Rome, and whereby the Kingdom is miserably exhausted, and more yet may be by burthens which are said to be lately imposed, We will that these be levied upon no condition, nor gathered, except onely for a reasonable, pious and most urgent, or inevitable necessity; and by our exprefs and willing consent, and with the consent of the Church it self of our Kingdom. At that time the Senate of Paris did present unto John Santroman, the King's Advocate, the

A protestation against the Pope's Bull, and an appeal.

Pope's Bull to be read and answered. He replied, saying, The greatest confusion of all things would arise upon the accepting and comprobation of that Bull; for by Authority of such in former times, the people of the Kingdom had in great number gone out of the Kingdom unto Rome; of whom some became slaves or clients to the Cardinals; and some living more liberally, had wasted their patrimony idly; and others in the City or by the way, had perished with the inconvenience of the air and frequent pestilence; and so France was exhausted of subjects, especially of the learned men. He sheweth also, how vast sums of money were carried away for vacancies and avow-fancies of Bishopricks and Abbeyes, and other titles in the Church, so that sometimes ten or twelve Bulls were sold for one Priesthood; and if this custom shall continue, (said he) it shall come to pass, that who hath any store of moneys, will send to Rome and buy a Priesthood unto his Son or Cousin. The Rector of the University of Paris spake to the same purpose; and having protested at length against the Bull, he appealeth from the iniquity thereof unto the next Council. *Brut. Fulmen. ex Chronic. Britan. Armoric. lib. 4.*

Remiss
Simony.

9. And because we have heard a little of the exactions which the Court laid upon the Nations, to make this more clear, I will add from the same *Brut. Fulmen. pag. 66, & 67.* an example of France; there the Author saith, It is most certain, two sorts of simoniacal merchandise, of those things that are called spiritual, are exercised at Rome by the Pope; one whereby Priesthoods are sold openly without dissimulation, and that is very gainful; another not so lucrative, but no less abominable, which is called *Taxa penitentie Apostolice*. The names and titles of the former are innumerable; but of such a multitude, the principal are reckoned, The tribute of Annates or vacancies; by this word is understood a years revenue, which is paid unto the holy treasury of the Pope; and these are often doubled or tribled. Item the tribute by premunitions, resignations in favors, commendas, dispensations of age, of order, irregularity, and bodily faults. Item the tribute for the favor of expectations, from devolutions, from Benefices ere they be vacant, for priviledges and exemptions of not visiting, agreements of reconciled persons, transactions that are made with the Pope's good pleasure, for exchange of Benefices with dispensation, Episcopal mandates, expeditions *in forma vel ratione congrui*, for creating Prothonotaries and Notaries Apostolical, for letters of colleagues or fellow-helpers, for letters of lesser or higher justice; for Dignities Secular and Ecclesiastical, for new foundations or change of the ancients, for reduction of Regular Monasteries into the condition of Secular, for restitution *in integrum*, for the fruit to be had in time of absence, for legitimations, for porcative altars, for *non obstantis*, for dispensations to Secular Canons, for revocations and ranversings, for tolerations of concubines, usually termed *Toleramus*, for rescriptions unto pleas, &c. Of this merchandise is a Papal book, with this inscription, *Taxa Cancellarie Apostolice cum Notabilibus juxta stylum hodiernum Curie Romane*. In this book is a sentence exprest in these words; And note diligently, that these favors and dispensations are not granted unto poor folks. And what gain is amassed of these particulars, take an example from the grievances of the Parliament of Paris, which they did present unto King Lewes the XI. and which was translated into Latin, and printed three several times *cum privilegio Regis. Art. 72.* And that we may demonstrate particularly how much the Realm hath been exhausted of moneys within these three years, it is observed, that in the time of Pope Pius, twenty and more Arch-Bishopricks and Bishopricks were vacant within the Realm, and without doubt partly for the annual tribute (which they call *Annata*) and partly for the accessory and extraordinary charge

charges, from every City 6000. crowns were paid; in sum 120000. crowns, *Art. 68.* More then sixty Abbeyes did vake, whereof each one hath paid 2000. crowns at least; in sum 120000. *Art. 74.* At the same time Priories, Deanries, Provestries, Preceptories, and such other Dignities which are not honored with the Crosier, were vacant no fewer then two hundred; and for each of these Benefices were paid five hundred crowns; in sum 100000. crowns. *Art. 75.* It is certain, that in the Realm are at least 100000. Parishes, and there is none of them in which some man hath not obtained some grace or favor expective; and for each one of these were paid 25. crowns; partly for the expenses of the way or journey, partly for writing the Bulls, for the *non obstantis*, prerogatives, annullations, and other special causes which depend upon these expectative graces; as also for the executorial process that were made upon the same graces; in sum 2500000. crowns. So far the Parliament of Paris. *Summa summarum* is 2840000. crowns. This was paid in three years. As also it is found, that the tax of vacancies, accounted in the books of the Camera, from Cathedral Churches and Abbeyes in France, do every sixth year amount to the sum of 697750. lievers, besides Prelacies, which are not taxed, and other Benefices, the exactions of which do almost amount unto the same sum----- *Pag. 77.* There was a book printed at Paris *An. 1520.* with the priviledge of the Parliament of Paris, on June 6. of the same year, with this title, *Taxa Cancellaria Apostolica, & taxa sacra pœnitentiaria item Apostolica*, where fol. 36. may be seen the prices and merchandise Apostolical of absolutions. Absolution for a Monk wearing pointed shoes, and a coat tied up, 7. s. Absolutions for a Priest that hath confirmed in marriage persons within degrees forbidden, 7. s. For him that hath known a woman within the Church, and hath committed other villanies, 6. s. For a Priest that hath married persons privily, and hath been present at their clandestin weddings, 7. s. For a Laick who hath stolen holy things out of a holy place, 7. s. For him which hath carnally known his mother, sister, or his kinswomen by blood or marriage, or his godmother, 5. s. For him which hath deflowered a virgin, 6. s. For perjury, 6. s. For a Laick which hath killed an Abbot, or any Priest inferior unto a Bishop, or a Monk, or Clerk, 7, 8, or 9. s. Absolution for the murder of a Laick by a Laick, 5. s. For a Priest, Dean or Clerk, when his supplication is signed with *Fiat*, 18, or 16. s. For him which hath killed his father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or any kinsman (being a Laick, because if any of them were a Clerk, the murtherer is bound to visit the Apostolical See) 5. or 7. s. For a man that hath smitten his wife, so that thereupon she hath a mischance, or hath brought forth before the time, 6. s. For a woman which hath taken any drink, or done any other thing to destroy her birth after it was quickened in her belly, 5. s. Is not the condition of Christians miserable, and hath need to be bewailed? ---- So that *Ela. Blondus lib. 3. Rome instaurate*, hath written truly; Now the Princes of the world do adore and worship the perpetual Dictator----- the high Priest----- and all Europe almost sendeth unto Rome now greater tribute, or certainly equal unto ancient times, in so far but as every City do receive Priestly benefits from the Bishop of Rome. So far *Blondus*. And that this may be understood, I shall adjoyn the words of Suetonius, in the life of Julius Cæsar, where writing of France, he saith, He brought all France into the form of a Province, and laid on them to pay yearly, in name of tribute, four hundred *sestertium*; and Eutropius, *lib. 6.* saith the same; which sum, according to the supputation of Budæus de Assè, is 1000000. crowns, or a Million. So far *ex Bru. Fulm.*

10. When the Latins did reign in Constantinople, the Greek Church was in some manner made subject unto Rome, until the year 1230. at this time

the seam-ript coat was rent in sunder, upon this occasion; A certain Bishop was elected unto an Arch-Bishoprick in Greece, and came to Rome to be confirmed, but could not obtain confirmation, unless he would pay a great sum of money unto Pope Gregory the IX. The Bishop detesting simony refuseth; and returning without confirmation, declareth unto the Nobility of the Land the matter as it was; others which had been with him, did testifie the same: Wherefore all the Greeks made a general separation from the Church of Rome. After seven years, Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote unto the same Gregory, humbly intreating to advise upon some means of unity, that the truth on both sides being debated by Scriptures, the erring party might be reduced, the slander be removed, and unity be restored; offering also, that notwithstanding his old and feeble age, he would meet him in the middle way. The Pope replieth, Christ said to Peter, Thou art Cephas; & the power of judging the Articles of faith, belongeth unto the Pope lineally. In a word, he refuseth to call the matter into question. Immediately he excommunicateth all the Greek Church; and he chargeth all Christians to take the sign of the Cross, and fight against the Greeks as Turks. Then Germanus wrote again unto the Pope, shewing the incommodities of discord, the naughtiness of his excommunication, and his opposition rather then succession unto Peter; for Peter did instruct all Pastors to feed the flock of God, and to care for it; not by constraint, but of a willing minde; not for filthy lucre, but of readines; not as they were Lords----- As for himself; that did appertain unto him (said he) which is written in chap. 1. of the same Epistle, We rejoyce, though we be in heaviness through manifold tentations. Briefly, he entreateth the Pope to look into Christ's Gospel, and the Epistles of the Apostles, and the Divinity books of ancient writers, that whosoever hath gone astray may be reformed, seeing they both pretend sincerity of faith and doctrine. He wrote also another Letter unto the Cardinals of the Latin Church, shewing the utility of Council, (seeing God giveth not all wisdom unto one man) that men may be united by mutual communication; then exhorting unto unity, as they had been formerly: If we have fallen (saith he) raise ye us up; I mean not a bodily, but a spiritual rising, [at that time they were subject unto the Latins, and he waveth to speak of that liberty] and we shall confess our selves debtors unto you; but if the scandal hath begun at old Rome, read what Paul writeth unto the Galathians, *when Peter came into Antiochia, I withstood him to his face, for he was worthy of rebuke*; and nevertheless we may holily judge, that that resistance was not a cause of discord, but of searching the truth, and of deeper disputation; for they continued firm in the bond of love, conformable in faith and doctrine, and no way divided with ambition nor avarice; Oh, if we werelike them! Thirdly, He sheweth that the Schism of the Church proceedeth onely from the oppression, tyranny and exactions of the Roman Church; which of a mother, is become a step-dame, and wholly coveteth to make Nations tributary unto her, and to make Kings her vassals; and gapeth after gold and silver, contrary unto St. Peter, who said, Gold and silver have I none. Fourthly, He sheweth what Churches keep the Orthodox faith with the Greek Church; to wit, the Ethiopians, inhabiting the greatest part of the South, Syrians, Iberi, Alani, Gothi, Charari, innumerable people of Russia, and the Kingdom of Bulgaria; all which acknowledge the Greek Church as their mother. He closeth, praying that Christ, who for our sins became man, and is the onely head of the Church, would unite the Greek Church with her sister the Latin Church of old Rome, in wholesome doctrine and brotherly love. When the Pope had read those Letters, he sent an Army unto Constantinople, under the sign of the

the Cross, to fight against the Greeks, *Mat. Paris. ad An. 1237*. Then Germanus and the Patriarch of Antiochia, did excommunicate the Pope in their several Synods: Among other Articles, contrary unto the Bishop of Rome, they did consent, that Antioch should be preferred unto Rome; because Peter sat there, and was but crucified at Rome. *Idem ad An. 1238*. Is it any doubt then, which of the two Churches can with good reason be called Orthodox, seeing the one sought to be tried by the Scriptures, and the other would not?

11. In the last Diet of Germany, gathered at Regensburgh, against Pope Gregory the IX. and his Legate Albert, Eberhard Bishop of Salzburgh, had a Sermon, which is in *Arventin. Annal. lib. 6.* and is repeated by many; the sum is: After the preface, concerning love as the badge of Christians, whereby they should be distinguished from the Soldiers of the infernal Jupiter, he saith, Christ our Savior, Lord and God, hath often forewarned us to take heed of false Christs and false Prophets, who being covered with a sheeps skin, that is, a Christian name, and title of high Priest, seek to domineer over us, and to deceive us; he hath taught us to know them by their thorns and works of avarice, luxury, contention, hatred, envy, wars, miseries of discord and ambition: by such words, what hath the heavenly Emperor more clearly pointed at, then the Pharises and Scribes of Babylon? unless we be blinde, we may see a most cruel wolf under a sheeps skin, the title of the high Priest; the Romish Priests [*Flamines*] take Arms against all Christians; by daring and deceiving, and raising wars after wars, they are become great; they kill and massacre the sheep; they thrust peace and concord from the earth---- they bring all men low, that they may devour all men, and bring all men into slavery; they provide not for the good of the flock as a shepherd should do---- righteousness faileth, but impiety, covetousness, ambition, and lust waxeth; the weak and good men are a prey unto the wicked, and onely bad men are wealthy. Christ forbad to hate our enemies, and commanded to love them, & by doing them good to engage them; but contrarily, the Romanists do violate holy things; when they have sworn into a covenant, they abuse the name of God, and deceive men; they are ingrateful unto their benefactors, and recompense good with evil deeds; and with great shew of piety they deceive, betray, strive and fight: they will have us to resist divine Majesty, heavenly providence, nature, and the supream power which God hath ordained. A hundred and seventy years since Hildebrand did first, under shew of Religion, lay the ground of Antichrists Kingdom, he first began this unhappy war, which hitherto hath been continued by his Successors; first they did exclude the Emperor from their Pontifical Assemblies, and transferred them unto the people and Priests; then they deluded the people, and excluded them also; now they would make us slaves, that they may reign alone; and when they have tasted of Imperial dignity, and know both their own and their adversaries power, they will pretend the specious shew of erecting the liberty of the Church, to domineer and oppress Christian liberty. Believe what ye see, they will not cease until the Emperor be brought under, the honor of the Roman Empire be destroyed, true shepherds who would feed the flock be oppressed, the dogs who can bark, be out of the way, and then they will turn all things topsie turvy, and domineer over us whether we will or not---- The supream Majesty took on him the form of a servant, and did serve his disciples when he washed their feet; but those *Flamines* of Babylon will nothing but reign, and cannot endure an equal; they will not cease until they have trod all under their feet, and sit in the Temple of God, and be exalted above all that is worshipped; their hunger of riches, and thirst of honors, is unsatiable:

Eberhard's
oration a-
gainst the
Pope.

the more ye give unto the avaricious, he coveteth the more-----licence maketh us all the worse; he who is the servant of servants, will be Lord of Lords, as if he were a God; he despiseth the holy assemblies and counsels of his Brethren, yea, of his Lords; he feareth that he be called to account for what he doth dayly against laws and good order; he speaketh great things, as if he were God; he hath new purposes in his head, to set up an Empire unto himself; that wicked man (whom they usually now call Antichrist) in whose forehead is written the name of blasphemy, I am God, I cannot err, changeth laws, establisheth his own, spoileth, defraudeth, killeth, and sitteth in the Temple of God, domineering far and wide---- As in the days of the ancient Sibylla, Hydaspes, that most ancient King, hath under the name of a prophecying childe, told the prosperity, and named the Romans long before Troy was; and Prophets have foretold in dark words, that every one cannot understand: The majesty of the Roman people, by whom the world was governed, is now away, and the power hath returned into Asia; the East shall rule again, and the West shall be a servant; Kingdoms are multiplied; the highest power is, I will not say torn, but dissolved and broken into many--- the Emperor is but a title, and onely a shadow; now there be ten Kings together, who have taken their part of the ancient Roman Empire, not to rule it, but to destroy it. Those ten horns (which St. Augustine could not understand) the Turks, Greeks, Egyptians, Africans, Spaniards, French, English, Germans, Italians, and Sicilians, do possess the Roman Provinces; and a little horn is grown up among them, which hath eyes, and a mouth speaking great things; especially it compelleth three of these Kingdoms, to wit, of Sicily, Italy, and Germany, to serve it--- What is more clear then this prophesie? &c.

Petrus de Vineis against the manners of the Pope's Court.

12. Petrus de Vineis, Chancellor of the Emperor Frederick the II. wrote six books of Epistles, which were printed in the year 1566. some of them are inserted in *Catalog. test. veru. lib. 16*. He wrote many in name of the Emperor, unto several Princes: The second Epistle of the first book he directed unto the Kings and Princes generally, exhorting them, that they obey not the Pope and his Cardinals, who feed upon the alms of the poor, and oppress the children of the Church: The following ages (saith he) may be wise, when they know what hath been before them; and as the wax receiveth impression from the signature, so mortal men are framed by example. O that I had tasted of such happiness, that Christian Princes had left unto us such timely warning, as we from the experience of our wounded Majesty do leave unto you; the Clergy, who are made fat by the alms of the poor, do oppress the children; when they are ordained Apostolical Fathers, though they be the children of our subjects, yet forgetting their fatherly duty, will not vouchsafe to reverence Emperor nor King. What is spoken in borrowed words, is clear by the presumption of Pope Innocent the IV. for in a general Council (as he calleth it) he durst pronounce a sentence of deposition (which he cannot maintain without a strange prejudice of all Kings) albeit I was neither summoned, nor convicted of any fraud or offence. What cause have ye all, and every King of every Countrey, to fear from the wrath of such a Prince of Priests? It is not enough that he attempteth to dethrown us, albeit we, by the power of God, were crowned after the election of the Princes, and approbation of the whole Church and people, living in the Religion of Christian faith; and albeit in respect of the Imperial Diadem, no rigor can be exercised against us, even though lawful causes were proved against us; but the abuse of that Priestly power would so overthrow us, that we should be neither first nor last. And this indeed ye do, when ye obey them who counterfeite holiness, and their ambition

ambition hopeth to swallow you all. O that your simple credulity would beware (as Christ hath warned) of that leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees! how many filthinesses of that Court might ye abhor, which shame and dishonesty will not suffer me to name? truly the wealthy revenues, wherewith they are enriched, to the impoverishing of many Kingdoms, have made them mad; among us Christians are become beggars, that the Patavens may be fed among them; ye bring down your own houses, that ye may build up your adversaries houses there--- It hath been our care that those things should be written for you, albeit not declaring sufficiently what I wish; but other things I will acquaint you with in a more private way, to wit, to what uses your prodigality may employ the riches of the poor. What can be done in chusing an Emperor, unless peace, which we intend by able mediators to establish, be at least superficially restored betwixt us and the Church? what may we intend concerning the common and particular affairs of all Kings? &c. In *Epist.* 3. he saith, It is no where found, that by any Law of God or man, the high Priest of Rome may at his pleasure transfer the Empire, or judge Kings or Princes, by depriving them of their temporal Kingdoms; for albeit according to the Law of men, or of custom, our consecration belongeth unto him. yet he hath no more power to deprive us, then the Prelates of any other Nation, who after their custom, do consecrate and anoint their Kings. In *Epist.* 13. unto the King of France; It is notorious, and the world cannot hide it, how that Apostolical Father hath impugned our innocency with both the swords; for while at his command we were passing over sea, he (our adversary and enemy) invaded the Kingdom of Sicily, and hath spoiled it many ways; then after our returning into the Kingdom, by the manifold intercession of the Alman Princes, a peace was made with the Church; and though I did my service, yet that Apostolical man laid his hands more heavily upon us, and *proprio motu*; without any cause on my part, he hath devised whatever could be devised to our ruine; and by proclaiming the sentence of excommunication against us, and by his Missives and Nuntios, he publisheth unto all men the titles of defaming us. Lastly, To supplant us, he, aspiring as it were to build the tower of Babylon against the fort of David, hath called all the Prelates he could unto a particular Council, so aiming to set the East before the North; but the wondrous providence of God; by whom we live and reign, beholding the purpose of so great iniquity, and turning his thoughts into nothing, hath brought the Cardinals and Prelates, both of France and some other Nations, into our hands, whom (many others being drowned in the sea) we keep fast as our enemies----- Let not your Highness marvel [*scilicet Augustus tenet in Augusto*] that Cæsar keepeth in prison the Prelates of France, who would have imprisoned Cæsar. In *Epist.* 21. unto the King and Peers of France, he saith, Lift up your eyes round about, hearken with your ears, ye sons of men, and behold the general scandal of the world; lament the division of Nations, and the general decay of justice, and wickedness proceeding from the Elders of Babylon, who heretofore seemed to rule the world, but now they turn judgement into bitterness, and the fruits of righteousness into wormwood. In *Epist.* 31. unto all Prelates, he saith, A Pharisee anointed with the oyl of wickedness above his fellows, the Roman high Priest of our time, sitting in the chair of perverse doctrine, endeavoreth to destroy what is warranted from above; he intendeth to eclipse the rays of our Majesty, and turning truth into a fable, he sendeth his Letters into divers parts of the world full of lyes, accusing the purity of our faith at his pleasure, and not with reason. He, who is a Pope by name onely, hath written, that we are the Beast rising out of the Sea, full of the names of blasphemy; and we do aver, that

he is the Beast, of which it is said, Another red horse came out of the Sea, and he who sitteth upon him, taketh away peace from the earth--- for from the day of his promotion, that father, not of mercies, but of discords, a diligent procurer of desolation, not of consolation, hath turned all the world into scandals; and, to use his own word in the right sense, he is the great Dragon, who deceiveth all the world; he is the Antichrist, whose forerunner he calleth us; he is another Balaam, hired for a reward to curse us; he is the Angel coming out of the bottomless pit, having the vials full of bitterness, &c. By these few passages it may appear, what good and learned men have thought of the Pope.

Philip King
of France
his Letter to
the Cardi-
nals.

13. In the first Book of Epistles, written by the now named Petrus de Vineis, the 34. is in name of Philip King of France, directed unto the Cardinals, concerning the election of the Pope; there he saith, What provoketh them unto discord? greediness of gold and ambition; for they think not what is expedient, but what they would have; they make more account of their particular interest, than the publique; and wickedly prefer their gain unto honesty; how then shall they rule others, who cannot rule themselves? who hurt their friends, and do good to their enemies, and in the end catch nothing unto themselves? The Court of Rome was wont to be glorious in knowledge, maners and vertue, and were not provoked with the menaces of fortune, because they thought they were safest under the protection of vertue then of chance; but now it cannot be called, *Curia sed cura*, a Court, but care; they love a mark of money better then Mark's Gospel; a salmon better then Solomon--- they love honor, and eschew a burthen; they love to be advanced, but neglect the profiting of their subjects in piety--- such cannot be called shepherds, but rather impious wolves; by whose perfidiousness the holy Mother the Church is trod under foot, faith is undone, hope is put away, and love is pulled up by the roots.

Contention
of the Sorbo-
nists against
the Minorites.

14. In the year 1253. was great contention between the Masters of Sorbon in Paris, and the preaching Friars, who were so increased in number and honor, becoming the Confessors and Counsellors of Kings, that they would not be subject unto the former Laws and Customs. The School-men convened, and were content to want somewhat of their weekly portion, to satisfie the Court of Rome, from which the Friars had obtained their privileges, or (as *Mat. Parisen. in Henri. IV.* speaketh) their horns: after the wasting of a great deal of money, and much travel bestowed on both sides, some Customs of the University were changed, and a kinde of agreement was made. In the next year the contention was hotter, and the Friars would multiply their number in despite of the University and City; the King and City would have preserved the Custom of the School, but the Friars had more favor with the Pope, because of their great service unto the Court, and they carried the victory, and the Pope ordained, that they might teach Divinity, without account of the former order concerning the number. In time of this contention, the Friars published a book, with the title of *The eternal Gospel*, whereof John de Parma, an Italian Monk, was said to be the Author. On the other side, four Masters of the University set forth another, *Of the danger of the last times*; one of the four was William de Sancto Amore; and therefore the Friars called the favorers of that book *Amorei*. In this book the Masters say, Now there be fifty five years since some have attempted to change the Gospel of Jesus Christ into another Gospel, which they call the Gospel of the holy Ghost; and when he cometh, the Gospel of Jesus Christ shall be abolished, as we are ready to prove by that accursed book. *1a. Vsser. in his book De Eccles. succes. cap. 9. ex Henr. Erphurd. Chron. cap. 39. and*

The eternal
Gospel.

Nec.

Nic. Eimeric. direct. Inquisi. par. 2. qu. 9. sheweth some passages of that cursed Gospel. 1. The eternal Gospel is better then the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and all the Old and New Testaments. 2. The Gospel of Christ is not the Gospel of the Kingdom, and therefore it cannot edifie the Church. 3. The New Testament is to be annulled, as the Old was annulled. 4. The New Testament shall continue in power but for six years next to come, to wit, until the year of incarnation, 1260. 5. They who live after that year, shall be in the estate of perfect men. 6. Another Gospel shall succeed unto the Gospel of Christ, and another Priesthood unto his Priesthood. 7. None are simply fit to teach men in spiritual and eternal things, but such who walk bare-foot, &c. Many other Articles are in that place now cited. The people began to despise the Friars, refused to give them alms, and called them hypocrites, successors of Antichrist, false prophets, flatterers, and wicked counsellors of Kings and Princes, contemners and supplanters of their Ordinaries, defilers of Royal beds, abusers of confessions, &c. *Mat. Paris. ad An. 1256.* where it is also written, that both those parties sent their Commissioners unto the Court at Anagnia: both the books were censured; and Pope Alexander ordained, that the book of the eternal Gospel should be burnt, but privily, and so far as might be, without discredit of the Friars. But the Pope was the more offended at the other book, because it was written against the religious Friars; therefore he published a Decree to this purpose: Some, professing to have the knowledge of the Scriptures, but straying from the way of the true sense, have plotted wickedness, and have uttered very great iniquity against the innocent and upright--- they have reviled their brethren, and laid stumbling blocks before the beloved children of their Mother the Church--- they have made a book, not of instruction, but derogation; not admonishing, but biting--- and because the book is a seminary of great scandal, and hath bred much trouble and damage to souls, and hath hindered believers from former devotion, and their wonted giving of alms, and from entering into that Religion; therefore that book, which beareth the title; *Traclatus brevis de periculis novissimorum temporum*, we condemn as wicked and execrable---- commanding, that whosoever shall have that book, he shall burn it within eight days after sight of this our Sentence; and pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against all that shall despise this our command, &c. That book was burnt quickly at Anagnia.

15. Hugo Barchinonensis, Cardinal S. Sabinae, wrote many books at that time. In his preface before Joshua, he reckoneth the Canonical Books as they be in the Hebrew and Greek Testaments; among the Apocrypha he putteth Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Maccabees, Judith, because, saith he, they are doubtful. On the Prologue of Jerome, before the books of the Kings, he saith, The Church receiveth the Apocrypha books, not for proof of faith, but instruction of maners. Here it may be marked, that as yet, yea and until the Council of Trent, the books of Maccabees, and such others, were not accounted Canonical; as also witnesseth *Pererius in Daniel. lib. 16.* and others whom I have named elsewhere. As for the 47. Canon of the third Council at Carthage, from which *Bellarmin. de verbo Dei. lib. 1.* would derive the Authority of the Divine Canon; *Baronius ad An. 397.* testifieth, It was not a Canon of that Synod; so saith *Binius Annotat. in Conc. Carthag. 3.* I return to Hugo; on *Psal. 77.* he saith, Many Clerks are the generation of vipers--- they persecute their Mother the Church, and so far as they can, they slay Christ their Father. On *Matth. 16.* Upon this rock, *i.e.* upon this foundation, and that rock is Christ, *1 Cor. 10.* none can lay another foundation, but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus, On *2 Tim. 3.* All Scripture, that is, the holy Scripture, which

containeth all things necessary unto salvation, is perfect; therefore it hath the privilege to be called, The Scripture, by an antonomasia. *Catalog. test. ver. lib. 16.* Pope Alexander deposed him, *Naucler. gener. 42.*

16. Humbert de Romania, fifth General of the Dominicans, about the year 1250. wrote a book *De ratione tollendi schisma inter Græcos & Latinos.* In *par. 2. cap. 11.* he saith, The cause of the Schism, was the intolerable burthens of Popes, in exactions, excommunications, and statutes. *Catalog. test. ibid.*

Germany a-
gainst the
Pope.

17. Pope Honorius the IV. sent John, Bishop of Tusculo, into Germany, to exact from all Bishops, Priests and Abbots, the fourth part of all their substance for five years, unto the maintenance of his Soldiers against Peter King of Aragon: For this cause a frequent Assembly convened at Wirtzburg; the Emperor Rodolph came there: When the petition was propounded, the Elector of Colcin refusing, did appeal unto a general Council: when he was alledging his reasons, the Legate interrupted, and threatened him with the Pope's curse: Then all the Priests and Monks scoffed at the Legate, and began to buffet him, that if the Legate had not commanded his Marshal to convey him away, he had not escaped with his life. Then Probus, Bishop of Tull. said, How long, most dear Colleagues, shall those vultures of Romulus abuse our patience, I will not say, our foolishness? how long shall we endure their wickedness, avarice, pride and luxury? this most wicked sort of Masters of Synagogues will not cease, till they bring us all into poverty and wretched slavery: By our jars, this malady waxeth; by our differences, these rogues are safe; so long as they command, we shall never have peace nor piety: Lately they raised the Saxons and Suevians one against the other; those instruments of Satan, or Antichrists, have sown the seeds of discord in Germany. When Conradin, a yong man of very good hope, was seeking (according to the Law of nature) the inheritance of his Fathers, they circumvented him with fraud, and killed him most cruelly. [He rehearseth many such tricks done by the Popes; then he saith] As twelve years ago Gregory the X. dealt with the tenths, the same will Honorius the IV. do with the fourths: That he might strip us of our gold, he armed the Turks against us; and this Pope is more desirous of tribute, then of our welfare. Those Satans speak of light, and intend darkness, to deceive the people; and that they regard not Christ our Lord and God, their aims and works, unless we be blinde, do prove, the issue sheweth, and the holy Scriptures describeth, Wherefore Fathers, devoted to Christ, awaken, provide against these calamities---- I am not ignorant what this Tusculan is, I know the man; he is gold thirsty, a false usurer, a vile slave of money; I fear not his menaces; I appeal unto the Senate of Christendom, &c. All the Assembly approved what he had said, and nothing was done for the Pope. Wherefore Probus was accused at Rome; but in the greater estimation at home, and with all good men. *Ph. Mornay. in Myster. ex Aventin. lib. 7.*

Against the
Carmelites.

18. Nicolaus de Biberach, General of the Carmelites, lived about the year 1270. he bewailed with tears the corrupt estate of his Order. Whereas in the wilderness they did attend constantly on prayer, reading and handy works, now (said he) since they dwell in Cities, under their mother hypocrisie, their study is ease, idleness, lust and luxury. When he had bestowed his time five years in that charge, and with grief saw no amendment, he wrote a book against them, which he called, *Ignem sagitta*, and returned into a Desert about the mount Ewatrof. In that book he calleth them step-sons, reprobates, cauterised vagabonds, prattlers, unhappy counsellors, wicked discourfers, Citizens of Sodom, despisers of the best Testament, the tail of the dragon, drawing

down.

down the third part of the stars from heaven, and casting them on the earth, *Revel. 12*. In chap. 5. he saith, Tell me, what new religion is this in your Cities? from morning until even, ye run two and two thorow the streets, and he is your leader, which goeth about roaring, and seeking whom he may devour; and so that prophesie, The wicked walk in a compass, is most true of you; for the chief purpose of your gading, is not to visit the fatherless, but yong women; not widows in heaviness, but wanton maids. Nuns, and Mistresses; and each cast their eyes on another, and words of lustfulness, corrupting good manners, enflaming the hearts, &c. That is not pure religion--- Wo is me, my dear friends, seeing ye are wrapped in the clay of the world, why think ye that ye are not defiled? *1. Bale. Cent. 4. §. 42. in Appe. 2.* In another Treatise, that he calleth *Occultus*, he writeth, that he had been at Rome; and had seen their feigned flatteries unto strangers and learned men; and had heard their oaths with Judas kisses, that faith was like spices, rare and dear; that the Pope and his Court did draw all things unto them; they were worse then Pharaoh, thieves and robbers, always in womens bosomes.

19. John Semeca, Provost of St. Stevens in Halberstad, and Doctor of the Laws, did first with Herculean courage (saith *Erant. in Saxon. lib. 8. cap. 27.*) attempt to write a Gloss on the Decrees, which none before him had done, nor could any after him do better. When Pope Clement the IV. did require from the Clergy the tenth through France and Germany, for redemption of the holy Land, this John did publish an Appeal in the contrary; and the Pope did excommunicate him, and deprive him of his Provostry, for his presumption, as he said: But many great men in Germany, did judge that John was not the worse man, or to be forsaken; and death did prevent the evils that were thought to have followed; for both the Pope and John lived not long thereafter. *Ibid.* This Glossa of Semeca, was in high account until the time of the Council at Trent; but after that time, the Popes, Pius the V. and Gregory the XII. have put several censures on it. Jo. Pappus hath collationed their censures, and published them *Argentorati An. 1609.* out of which Edition I have marked these. *Coll. VII. Dist. 9. cap. 11. Sana quippe, ver. Cum ergo*, he saith, In the Canonical Scripture nothing can be found that agreeth not with Divine Laws, and Divine Laws consist with nature; this is manifest, whatsoever is contrary unto Divine and Canonical Laws, is contrary unto natural Law. The Edition of Pope Pius, ordaineth these words to be left out; and the Gregorian blottereth them not, but addeth on the margin. See above *Dist. 6, &c. X. Dist. 16. cap. 1. Canones*. And among the Apocrypha, that is, books without a certain Authority, as, the Wisdom of Solomon, the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, which is called Ecclesiasticus, and the books of Judith and Tobias, and the book of Maccabees; these are called Apocrypha, and yet are read, but perhaps not generally. The Edition of Pius biddeth blot all these words until *Clementis* exclusively; the Gregorian hath the whole Gloss, but noteth on the margin: I, but these books are not Apocrypha, but Canonical, albeit in ancient times some Catholicks doubted of them. *XI. Dist. 17. cap. 6. Concilia*. The Roman Church hath her Authority from Councils. The censure of Pius saith, Blot away these words; as also in the margin these words, The Pope from the Councils, &c. But the Gregorian keepeth the words of the Gloss, and omitteth the margin. And in the same Gloss, where it is said, The Roman Church hath primacy principally from the Lord, and secondarily from Councils: Gregory will have it in the margin thus; Councils give not properly the primacy unto the Roman Church, but declare what is given by the Lord. *XVI. Dist. 17. cap. 3. His igitur*. In all the Sacraments Simony is committed, except marriage perhaps, because in it the grace of the holy

Jo. Semeca,
Author of
the Gloss
on Gratian,
(though for
some hundred
years allow-
ed) was
late censured.

Ghost is not given; as 3 2. q. 2. *Connubia*. The censure of Pius putteth away these words; and it followeth in the Gloss, But in other Sacraments it is given: Pius saith, Put away other. And where the margin hath, I allow not this saying, because---- Pius saith, Put away all that. But the Gregorian retaineth the Gloss wholly, and setteth another margin thus; The Sacrament of marriage also giveth grace; nor doth the alledged text serve the purpose. *XVIII. Dist. 25. cap. 3. Vnus, ad ver. Quia facile*, And because we may confesse unto a Laic, even albeit a Priest be at hand; but we shall not confesse mortal sins, save unto a Priest, so that one may be had, or else we may confesse them unto a Laick. The censure of Pius putteth away all these words, as also the margin, where it is said, We may confesse unto a Laick. But the Gregorian retaineth the Gloss; and for the margin setteth these words, We may not confesse venial nor mortal sins unto a Laick sacramentally, but unto a Priest. *XX. Dist. 26. cap. 2. Acutius, ad ver. Significat*. And so a Bishop is a Sacrament, even as the water it self. The censure of Pius putteth away all these. But Gregory retaineth the Gloss; and addeth in the margin, Neither the Bishop nor the water is properly a Sacrament. *XXIV. Dist. 50. ca. 14. Et purgabit, ver. Domo, i. e. sacerdotibus*, For all evils have flowed from Priests, 24. *quest. 3*. Pius putteth away all these words, as also the margin, which saith, All evils from Priests. But Gregory retaineth the Gloss; and for the margin, saith, See the Gloss cited in that Chapter. Now the cited Chapter is from Jerome, on *Hos. 9*. where he saith, When I have searched ancient Histories, I cannot finde that any hath rent the Church, and seduced people from the house of the Lord, but these whom God hath appointed to be Priests and Prophets, i. e. watch-men; these therefore have been turned into winding snares, and have laid scandals in all places. *LVII. De penitentia Dist. 1. in princ. Vtrum Gloss. ver. eod.* But whatsoever Bas. saith, say thou, That neither by contrition of the heart, nor by confession of the mouth are sins forgiven, but onely by the grace of God. Pius putteth away all these words. Gregory retaineth the words, but noteth in the margin, or rather perverteth, thus, Onely God forgiveth sins, but by the merit of Christ, and the ministry of the Priests; and in the penitent he requireth contrition, (at least attrition, which by vertue of the keys, becometh contrition) confession and satisfaction. *LIX. Ibid. cap. 5. Magna, ver. dimiserit*, Remission of sin goeth before contrition of heart; for one cannot confesse truly, unless he first have faith working by love. Pius putteth away all these words. Gregory retaineth them, and in the margin addeth two corrections; one at the word, *goeth before*; yea, remission is the effect of contrition. *S. Tho. 4. Dist. 17. ar. 1. q. 1.* another at the word, *Confesse*; one confesseth truly and profitably with attrition onely. *LXIV. Ibid. ver. Iustificeris*, That thou mayest be justified in respect of others, not in respect of God, with whom thou art justified. Pius putteth away all these words. Gregory putteth them not away, but in the margin he saith, Yea, Gratian bringeth this to shew, that neither with God is any justified without confession of the mouth. *De consecratione, LXXVII. Dist. 2. cap. 22. Tribus gradib. ver. Miscere*, It is certain, when the *species* [elements] are broken with the teeth, so soon is the body of Christ taken up into heaven. Pius putteth away these words. Gregory putteth them not away, but saith in the margin, The body of Christ abideth so long as the *species* abide, which goeth down into the belly, and do nourish. There be many other alterations of that Gloss; all which do shew, how the Church of Rome changeth from it self so oft.

20. Elias rubeus Tripelianensis wrote seven books, which he called *Semidia-lia*; he writteth there first against the Idolatry of the Gentiles, and then against the vices of all estates. When he cometh to the Clergy, he taxeth their superstition,

stitution, prodigality, pride, and abominable enormities arising from their usurpation or abuse of alms. *Lib. 4.* he saith, If we will truly cleave unto the truth, we can speak no good of the universality of them without a lye. *Catalog. test. ver. lib. 17.*

21. Marnard Count of Tirolis, took the Castle of Trent from Henry then Bishop, and compelled him to leave that See. When Henry was dead, Pope Nicolaus the IV. sent into his place Philip Mantuan, a Franciscan, and caused him to excommunicate the Count. Marnard by open proclamation publisheth his Apology, that he had not raised, but repulsed wars; that nothing was more dear unto him then peace, especially with Bishops; but they, which should be holy Fathers, are corrupt with love of the world, and have bereft him of his ancient patrimony: If any would assure him, that the Bishops shall not wrong him nor his hereafter, he will render all that he hath taken from them; otherwise he will not be such a fool, to quit his inheritance unto these effeminate Antichrists and prodigious eunuchs; none did trouble the common peace as they do; they are not readers of Scriptures, nor teachers of people, but fathers of bastards, wine-bibbers, avaricious, usurpers of Lands and Kingdoms: If they be not Antichrists, what are they? worse are they then Turks, or Tartars, or Jews, and do more offend Christian simplicity; whereas they are our inferiors, they would have us to be their servants, against the Law of God and the Nations--- and therefore, said he, I appeal from the cruel and unjust high Priest, unto our true Pastor and Divine Father. *Catalog. test. ver. lib. 17. ex Aventi. lib. 7.*

An appeal
from the
Pope,

22. When Pope Nicolaus the IV. did advance the Minorites, *An. 1294.* the University of Paris had a meeting against them; the Bishop Ambianensis had the Semon; his text was, *The Lord is near unto all that call upon him in truth.* There he declared a three-fold truth, of life, of doctrine, and of righteousness; The Friars have none of these; not of life, for their hypocrisy is notorious; not of doctrine, because in words they teach pleasant things, but they carry gall in their hearts; not of righteousness, because they usurp the charge of the office, and Benefice of others, the Priests.

Friars have
no truth.

23. We have often heard, how the Popes were busie to send Christian Princes into Syria; their aim was the enriching and enlarging the See of Rome, and the event was the shedding of Christian blood. The particular exploits fill up volumes; but the general may be understood partly by what is touched already; I will summarily add an example or two more. In the year 1220, when Pope Honorius had excommunicated the Emperor, many Princes and Bishops went thither: The Pope's Legate, Pelagius, would be General Commander; wherefore John, King of Jerusalem, withdrew himself and his Army; and these fresh Soldiers would not be marshalled by a Bishop: Then the Legate, seeing he could do nothing without the presence of a King, sent Letters, intreating him to have compassion on the Christian Army. The King (as a wise man, saith *Io. Naucler. generat. 41.*) considering, howbeit it was not honorable that such affairs should be managed by Priests, yet to satisfy the commands of the Roman Church, he gathereth the Christians in Syria, and marched to Damietta. When he was come, his advice was, that it was not expedient at that time to go into the fields, because about that season Nilus is wont to overflow. The Legate was impatient of delay, and threatened them all with excommunication who would speak in the contrary. The Army was about 70000. men. The Sultan would not fight, but stoppeth their passage until Nilus did overflow the Land; and the Christians were brought into that extremity, that they could neither continue nor march; and so were forced to quit Damietta unto the Sultan, if he would let them

The loss of
the Christian
conquest in
Asia.

return to Aca and Tirus; and he [to satisfy their superstition] gave them a piece of Christ's Cross, which he had brought from Jerusalem. The Venetians, Genoways, Pisanes, and others within the Town, hearing of this agreement, refuse to give over the Town; and the Army did threaten them to deliver Aca unto the Saracens, if they would not leave Damietta according to the agreement; now many of them had their families in Aca: so Damietta was lost. After the loss of Tripolis, Beritus, Tirus and Sidon, Pope Nicolaus the IV. stirreth up the Christians to go unto the defense of Ptolemais; but they had no government nor discipline, and so did more harm then good; for the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Masters of the Templarii, Hospitalarii, and Teutonici, and the Kings of Cyprus and Sicily, strove for the command; and when they were at this dissention, the Sultan invadeth them; and they left it, 196. years after it was conquered by Godifrid, saith *Io. Naucler. gener.* 44. and of all the purchase then, no place was in the power of Christians, but Cyprus and Cilicia.

Of the Tartars.

24. The Christians could not prevail against the Turks, yet God stayed the Infidels, that they could not make new invasions against the Christians at that time; for the Scythians, or Tartars, came out of the North like grasshoppers for multitude, saith *Nic. Gregoras*; and *Matth. Parisien.* saith, in infinite multitudes; they divide themselves in their own countreys; the one party went against the Turks in Asia, about the year 1220. and the other under Bato (saith *Platin. in Innocen. IV. Matth. Paris.* calleth him Bathcharcan) came into Europe, overran Russia; Polonia, Bohem, Hungaria, &c. with so many and huge calamities, that the like was not heard from the beginning of the world, saith *Matth. Paris. ad An. 1241*. When the Emperor Frederick went against them, they fled through Bulgaria and Thracia into Asia, and joyned with the other party at Iconium, the Palace of the Turks: *Nic. Gregoras* saith, John Ducas, Emperor of the Greeks, received ten thousand of them, and gave them Lands in Macedonia and Phrygia, to be in readines against his adversaries. These did prevail mightily against the Turks, and took many of their Lands, and made up a vast Kingdom in Asia, and called their Prince Chan or Cham. About the year 1250. the Cham Mango, by perswasion of Hyatho King of Armenia, was converted to Christian profession. His Brother Chaolon conquered all the Kingdom of Persia, and vanquished the Calipha of Babylon; he overran all the Lands about Jerusalem, but spared to come near the City, at the request of Hyatho. The third Cham was Mango; and after him Cobila, or Gobelus, kept the faith and Kingdom forty two years. The Successor of Hyatho made apostasie, and called himself Mahumet Cham; and the Son of Cobila forsook the faith. Then Cothos Melechmeses, Sultan of Egypt, slew him in a battel, and drove all the Tartars out of Syria; they had their refuge unto Armenia. Benedectar, Sultan of Egypt, hunted them, and conquering that Land, called himself King of Armenia. Argon, the Brother son of Mahumet Cham, took his Uncle, and cut him in the middle with a saw; and by agreement with the Sultan, was King, and kept the faith. Cusan, the Nephew of Cobila, was also a Christian, and had nothing so dear as to advance the faith; in singular wisdom he kept peace with his neighbors, and obtained great victories against the Sultan of Egypt, and conquered all Syria about the year 1320. In his Son's time both the faith and power of the Tartars failed; for the Sultan of Parthia entered into Persia, and the house of Otoman overcame all the rest of Asia unto Pontus; and the Tartars were rooted out of all their conquest about the year 1350. their power continued about 130. years. This History, and the Greek article of the accusative case in *Revel. 20. 7.* *τις γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πύλων*, give

give occasion to consider, whether these words, and the verse following, be not a prediction of this their Empire and their Apostasie, rather then of any instruments of Satan in pursuing the believers.

CENTURY XIII.

CHAP. IV.

OF BRITAIN.

1. IN the year 1203. a certain number of Greeks came from Athens into England, and asserted, that the Latins had erred from the way of truth in the Articles of Christian faith; and they would shew the right way by invincible arguments, which all should receive, if they will be saved. This was reported unto King John; he answered, Our faith is grounded upon the Authority of Christ and the Saints, and I will not suffer that it be tossed with disputes and janglings of men; nor will we change the certainty for uncertainty; go therefore, let me hear no more of you. So they departed. *Mastb. Parisien.*

2. Alexander, Abbot of the Benedictines at Canterbury, was sent by King John in commission unto Rome; there he maintained before Pope Innocentius and the Clergy, that there is no power, under God, higher then a King; and that the Clergy should not have temporal Government, since the Kingdom of Christ is not of this world: He proved these two Articles by Scripture and Reason, and by testimony of Gregory the I. in an Epistle unto Augustine Bishop of Canterbury. Behold the event; Pandulf the Legate, suborneth some English Barons to accuse the Abbot; and he accursed and deposed him, & so brought him to poverty. Then the worshippers of the Roman Beast did boast, saying, Behold the man that took not God for his help. *Idem.*

3. In the year 1205. Hubert Bishop of Canterbury died; the same night the young Monks chose their Superior to be Arch-Bishop, without the knowledge of King John, being then in Normandy. The elder Monks sent unto the King, craving his gracious licence to chuse their Arch-Bishop according to their Canons. The King gave them his assent; provided, that for his sake they would shew favor to John Bishop of Norwich. They obeyed; and the King sent to Rome for confirmation. Reginold preveeneth his Messenger. The Suffragans of Canterbury were offended at both parties, and sent speedily to Rome to stop both the elections, because they both were without their knowledge. Then arose no small trouble both at home and at Rome. At home was such a strife, that the King sent Letters and Commissioners, commanding them to leave their contentions, and attend their ministration, or he would deprive them of their Benefices, &c. At Rome was reasoning on all sides; and Innocentius said, The disposition of that See appertained unto the Monks onely; and he willed them to chuse Stephen Langton, Cardinal of St. Chrysogono: None durst refuse but the King's Procurator. When Stephen came unto King John, he was content, so that his Sovereignty be preserved entire. Stephen loved not this supposition, and shewed some haughtiness. The Monks receive the Cardinal, because it was the Pope's pleasure. Therefore the King banished sixty four of them, as contemners of Royal Authority; and he sent Letters unto the Pope, expostulating: 1. That he had rejected the Bishop of Norwich, and had set up another, which was unknown to him, and brought up among his enemies; and (which is worse) who dero-

*Contention
between the
Pope and
John King of
England.*

gateth from the Royal privileges; wherefore I cannot admire enough, that the Bishop and Court of Rome do not consider how necessary (said he) my favor is unto the Roman Church; and that they weigh not how vast revenues have been gathered out of England, the like whereof they have not received from any Nation about the Alps. As for his privileges, he said, he would rather quit his life then forsake them. Finally he concludeth, If the Pope will not hearken unto his request, he will so provide, that there shall be no more such gadding to Rome; neither the sinews and riches of the Land any more transported, whereby he was made less able to resist his enemies; and he had of his own sufficiently instructed at home in all kinde of literature, that he needed not to seek justice abroad. Breifly, the Pope excommunicated King John; and forgave all his adherents in time past, but he condemned all who in time coming shall serve or aid him, or pay him tribute, &c. And he commanded the Bishops and Clergy to publish this sentence every Sunday. Some forsook the Countrey, but none durst publish the sentence; nevertheless it became known unto all; whence began great distraction of mindes; and the King was severe against all which denied him homage. Some were not afraid to speak for the King; that the Pope had not power to domineer over any King, since Peter had received onely Ecclesiastical power. *Matth. Paris.* saith, it were tedious to tell all their names which spake thus. Then Innocentius wrote unto Philip King of France, proffering unto him full remission of all his sins, and clear possession of all England unto him and his heirs, if he will kill John or expel him. The French King accepteth, prepareth and armeth himself, especially with Bishops, Priests, Monks, and their adherents. John understanding this, as also perceiving how his Lords and Barons were diversly enclined (for fear of the curse, as such who took part with him, and for the foresaid dispensation unto all who forsook him; and they were not a little byassed, by that command, to deny all service and debts, duties and allegiance) he knew not whither to turn. In the mean time cometh a Nuntio from Rome unto the King and his Nobles at Canterbury, with this Commission; That the King and they would consider their present danger, and be reconciled unto his Holiness in time. Then the Lords swear unto the Nuntio, that unless the King will obey his Commission, they will make him obey whether he will or not. The King in this strait submitteth himself, and resigneth the Crown of England and Ireland from him and his heirs for ever; upon condition that he and his heirs should have again the same Dominions from the Pope, for paying yearly unto the See of Rome 1000. marks of Silver. Then he kneeled, and gave his Crown unto Pandulf the Legate; who kept it five days as a seizing of these two Realms; and the King confirmeth the same by his Charter obligatory. Here, by way of anticipation, it is marked in the Histories, that no King of England did acknowledge this subjection, nor pay the farm, *Pol. Virgil. in Hist. Anglor. lib. 15.* *Matth. Paris.* saith, It is reported by many, that this detestable Charter was burnt in the chamber of Pope Innocentius the IV. *An. 1245.* when he caused his own wardrobe to be burnt, to the end he might obtain a new taxation from the Bishops, which were convened at the general Council; and after the Council, he sent a Charter, with a command unto all the Bishops of England to subscribe it; and King Henry was not onely enraged against the Bishops for subscribing it; but did also swear, that he would stand for the freedom of his Kingdom, and would not pay tribute to the Court of Rome so long as he breathed. But to return; at that time some of the Priests and Abbots consented not unto this shameful action; of whom some came afterwards, like blinde idiots, unto Pandulf, and begged remission; the baser sort was forgiven, and the heads.

as fittest and fitteſt for the Pope's mouth, were ſent to Rome. In the mean time Innocentius was holding his Latronal Councel, and there did excommunicate Otho the Emperor, John King of England, Peter King of Arragon, Raymund Earl of Tolouſe, &c. Then Stephen Langton was ſent, and abſolved King John: and immediately he called many Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and Barons unto London, and perſwadeth them into a league againſt the King, unleſs he will renounce all title unto vacant Benefices, wards of marriages, &c. Then Innocentius ſent Nicolaus Biſhop of Tuſculum, and he began to intrude perſons into vacant Benefices of Canterbury as it pleaſed him. The Arch-Biſhop reſuſed, and appealed to Rome; and ſundry Nobles took part with him, alledging that they would defend the Liberties of their Countrey. Innocentius approveth generally all that his Legate had done. The Biſhop and Lords ſtood for their Liberties. The King began to think how to be relieved of his new tribute, and ſent unto the Pope, requeſting him to excommunicate the Biſhop of Canterbury (who had been the occaſion of all theſe broils) with ſome of the Lords, and he would never intend exemption of his ſue-duty; and with his Letter he ſent a ſum of money. But this ſtir was ſoon calmed; but by and by that faction did convene again, and did force the King to yield unto all their above named demands. The King then ſendeth unto the Pope, and ſheweth how they had wreſted his power from him, and craveth his aid for recovery. The Pope ſendeth his excommunication againſt them all: his Nuntio chargeth Stephen to publiſh the excommunication; he reſuſeth, and poſteth toward Rome; where, after he was heard, he was ſuſpended; and another ſentence of excommunication was directed againſt all the Nobles and Barons, which had conſpired againſt the Pope's beloved Son; and remiſſion of ſins was proclaimed to all the ſubjects of the Kingdom, which will take part with the King and the Legate againſt the Lords; and all the Biſhops were commanded to publiſh this excommunication, under no leſs pain then to be in the ſame danger. Then the Lords (*Matth. Pariſien.* calleth them Londoners, to wit, becauſe of their league made in London) were in deſpair, and knew no more whither to turn, then the King did before; but they cried out in reproach of the King, ſaying, Wo to thee John, the laſt of Kings, the abomination of Engliſh Princes, and confuſion of our Nobility: Alas! thou haſt waſted England, and more wilt thou be waſted; alas! England, England, &c. Then twenty four of them, in name of the reſt, went unto Philip King of France, and intreated him to give them his eldeſt Son to be their King. The Pope underſtanding this motion, ſent Wallo Cardinal of St. Martin, and chargeth Philip to deſiſt from ſo raſh attempts; and to defend his vaſſal John, and the Lands of the Church, againſt thoſe Traitors. Philip did judge this an inſolency, and he hoped that the Lords would ſtand to their promiſe; and partly he truſted in the league lately renewed with Alexander King of Scots; and therefore he answered, The Kingdom of England was never a part of Peter's patrimony, nor ſhall it be hereafter; no Prince may pledge or give away his Kingdom, without the conſent of his Barons, which are tied to defend it: If the Pope ſhall bring this preparative into Chriſtendom, he will ſet at naught all Kings and Kingdoms; I love not this example which is begun in theſe days; and therefore I cannot allow what John hath done, though he be my utter enemy; and I lament that he hath ſo ruined that noble Realm. The Peers ſtanding by, cried, as in a fury, with one voice--- We will ſtand to this Article, though to the loſing of our lives, let John do as he willeth; no King can put his Land under tribute, and ſo make his Nobility ſlaves. Lewes ſaid, The Barons of England have elected me for their Lord and King; ſurely I will not loſe my right, but will fight for it unto death; I doubt not but I

shall obtain it, for I have friends among them; [his Mother was Sister of King John.] At this time John was going from place to place, possessing himself of the Noble mens Lands: yet fearing their attempts, he came to Dover, expecting aid from forraign Countries; and many came to him from Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, on the one side; and from Guien, Gascony, and Poitiers, on the other; and a most wonderful number of men from other Countries: for the report went, that the Pope had written unto them to assist King John. Wallo the Legate followed Lewis into England, *An. 1216.* and renewed the curse against him, for usurping against John, and against Simon Langton, and other English, which had excited Lewis; and against Alexander the II. King of Scots, with a wonderful solemnity; causing all the bells to be tolled, candles lighted, Church-doors opened, and committing them all to the Diuel for their contumacy. Lewis caused the curse to be proclaimed null; and was accepted at London as King: He made Simon high Chancellor. King Alexander wasted the North parts of England. And every one said, The Bulls were of no force, since the ordering of temporal affairs did not belong unto the Pope; and what hath the Bishop of Rome to do with our wars? behold, he will be the Successor of Constantine, and not of Peter! *Matth. Parisien. ad An. 1216.* It happened at that time, that the Viscount of Mandevil, who came from France with Lewis, fell sick; and being moved in conscience, called unto him some of the English Lords, and said unto them, I lament your wretched case, and from my heart I do pity the desolation come upon your Country; the dangerous snares which are laid for your confusion, are hid from your eyes; but take heed in time: Prince Lewis hath sworn a great oath, and sixteen of his Nobles, (of whom I was one) that if he obtain the Crown of England, he will banish them all, which are now against their native King, and are Traitors to his noble Person: And that ye take not this for a fable, I assure you upon my faith, being in this condition as ye now see, at the mercy of God; I have great conscience hereof, and I pity your estate, and so give you this warning: your King hath for a season kept you under; but if Lewis shall prevail, he will put you from all; of two extreame evils chuse the least, and keep it secret what I have told you. Shortly thereafter he departed this life. When this was once noised among the Barons, they were in great heaviness; for they saw themselves betrayed every way: on the one side was the Pope's curse; and also Lewis dealing to the French all that he purchased, either Territories or Castles; yea, and they heard him say, They were all Traitors. Then they agree to submit themselves unto King John: they were easily pardoned. And John recovered Rochester Castle and City, London, York, Lincoln, and prevailed in many hazardous adventures against Lewis and Alexander. The same year John did lodge two days in the Abbey not far from Lincoln, and there died: Some say he was poisoned by a Cistercian Monk; *Matth. Parisien.* faith, he died of an Ague through sorrow and surfeit. *Rog. Hoveden* and *I. Fox in Act. & Monim.* give him this testimony; He was indeed a valorous Prince, and unfortunate like Marius, having experience of both fortunes; nor loved he the Mass. Then many of the Lords swear obedience unto Lewis. But William Earl of Pembroke, Marthal of England, a grave and wise Counsellor, did quietly and friendly call together sundry of the Earls and Barons, and set before them Henry, (the eldest Son of King John, being then nine years old) and perswaded them to embrace him for their King; and he was crowned by Wallo at Glocester, with consent of them which had followed his Father: and Wallow accursed them all which did follow Lewis. Nevertheless Lewis did more and more harm in the Land, until the above named William went against him

him with an Army; and then he fled into London, and sent unto his Father for help; an hundred Ships were prepared in France: but Richard, a bastard Brother of King John, having onely eighteen Ships for keeping the Cinque-Ports, set upon them, and by providence fifteen of them escaped not unsunk or taken. Then the Ambassadors of Lewis writ from Rome unto him, If he left not England, the Pope would renew the sentence of excommunication against him; likewise many of the Nobles forsook him. Then he fought a treaty with the King; and at last it was concluded, that a 1000 *l.* should be given unto Lewis to depart, and should never return: So he was honourably convoyed unto the Sea. And reconciliation was made betwixt Henry and Alexander, with consent of the Legate. Then Wallo began his harvest; the Kings had dealt for themselves and their Armies, and the Legate could wring nothing from them; but he calleth the Clergy to account. Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, paid 1000. marks unto the Pope, and as much unto the Legate, &c. He summoned the Scotch Bishops and Abbots to Anwick; some opened their purses, and were absolved; and the most stubborn (as he called them) were sent to Rome. With the inferior Church-men he took another course: he sent for the Prior of Duresm, and Westbeck the Arch-Deacon, to go into Scotland, and call before them the Priests and Canons into every principal Town of the bounds; and there partly upon their confessions, and partly by wearisome protractions from day to day, great sums were squeezed from them. They who went to Rome, had purchased Letters from the Bishops and Abbots of England against Wallo; and accused him before Pope Honorius of avarice and other crimes. Wherefore the Pope took from him a part of the prey; and the accusers were absolved, and sent home with empty purses. But the Pope being not yet contented, sent Cardinal Ægidius to exact other sums, for absolving them from their vow of going into Palestina. When Ægidius returned, he said, he was robbed by the way: therefore another Legate was sent to gather as much. The King convened his Nobles and Prelates, and all in one voice did send, and forbid the Legate to come into the Realm, *G. Buchan. Hist. lib. 7.* Also England groaned under these burthens, and sent their grievances unto the Council at Lions: Regrating, 1. That the Pope was not content with Peter-pence, but extorted from them great sums of money, without consent of the King, and against all precedent examples. 2. Patrons cannot present unto Benefices, which are given to Romans, ignorant of the language, to the great prejudice of souls, and spoiling of the Realm. 3. Of the frequent recourse of the Pope's Legates, by whom faith and fidelity, the ancient Customs of the Nation; the Authority of the Statutes, Laws and Priviledges are abrogated. But the Pope's purse had no ears to hear such complaints; and anon he sent for more money: wherefore a Proclamation was made, in name of King Henry the III. that no man should consent to any exaction of money unto the Court of Rome. The Pope, in a rage, directed instantly his Letters unto the Bishop of Worcester; charging all England, under pain of his curse, to obey his Legate before such a day; and that Bishop to be executioner of his curse. Fear of the curse prevailed against the former Proclamation. But the Pope was not yet satisfied; he was not ashamed to crave first the tenth, then the fifth part; and lastly, the third part of all Church-revenues within England, besides other extraordinary occasions; and the yearly revenue of the Pope in England was 60000. marks sterling. Whereupon the King sent his Messengers again unto Rome; and the Nobles did, by writing, complain of the scandals arising from the avarice of the Court, and spread their complaint through the Christian world; professing, that they would not suffer the Country to be so rudely abused, although the King would

wink at it; and unless these things (said they unto the Pope) be speedily redressed by you, let your Holiness know for certainty, that it may (not without cause) be feared, that such danger is like to ensue, both to the Church of Rome, and unto our King, that no remedy will easily be found for it. At that time John (a Cardinal, and an English man) did entreat his Holiness, for God's cause, to bridle, with some temperance, the passion of his minde, which is here. (said he) to tell you plain, too much commoved without cause; your Fatherhood may consider, that the days be evil: 1. The holy Land lieth in misery and peril. 2. All the Greek Church is departed from us. 3. Frederick, the mightiest Prince of Christendom, is against us. 4. Both your Holiness and we are exiled from your Papal seat, and thrust out of Italy. 5. Hungary, and all the Nations thereabout, look for nothing but utter ruine from the Tartars. 6. Germany is tossed with intestine wars. 7. Spain is fierce and cruel against us, even to the cutting out of Bishops tongues. 8. France is by us impoverished, and like to conspire against us. 9. Now wretched England, so oft plagued by us, much like Balaam's ass goared with spurs, beginneth to complain of her intolerable griefs; and we, after the maner of Ismael, hating all men, do provoke all men to hate us. *Matth. Parisien. ad An. 1246.* But Innocentius would relent nothing; yea, made his exaction more grievous; and began to excite Lewis King of France, to slay or expel King Henry. France remembered former times; and Lewis refused to vex his Cousin: But (saith the before named writer) the hearts of all men were provoked to mislike the Pope and Church of Rome; whereof the one sought to be esteemed a Father, and the other to be the Mother of all Churches; but he proved a step father, and she a step-dame.

4. In the year 1222. the in-dwellers of Caithnes refused to pay tenths unto Adam their Bishop; and therefore he excommunicated them all: then they came into his house, and in his chamber they slew a Monk, and his Servant; and they drew him into his kitchin, and burnt him with all the house. Pope Honorius rested not, till he had caused King Alexander to hang four hundred of them; and the Earl of Caithnes hardly obtained pardon, albeit he was not accessory unto the deed. *Boet. lib. 13. cap. 14.* About that William Bishop of St. Andrews, brought from France some Dominicans, Franciscans, Jacobines, and some Monks called *vallis umbrosæ*; these, by their crafty insinuations with people, did supplant the credit of Priests, and drew unto themselves both credit and means of the Ministry; and were maintained by the Popes, because they studied especially to advance their designs. *Spotsw. Hist. p. 43.*

5. Nigellus Vireker, a learned and much respected Monk at Canterbury, writ a Book, *De abusu Verum Ecclesie*; and sent it unto William, Bishop of Ely, Chancellour of England; a man (saith Bale) most envious. In this Book he rebuked not the proud Prelate only, but all Teachers under the Tyranny of the Pope; because they committed the cure of souls unto children, belly-gods, and despisers of the sacred Word.

6. Walter Mapez, Arch-Deacon of Oxford, was once sent by King John unto Rome; after his return he did write several books against the Pope and his Clergy; closely reproving the Pope, sometimes under the name of Goliath, sometimes of Pluto; and shewing manifestly that then Antichrist was reigning in the World. He had a fellow with him, who made shew of a Pleasant or Rimer; but all his rimes were said to be written by Mapez himself: In them he plainly paints forth the Roman Court, and calleth the Prelats proud beasts. The rimes begin thus:

*Roma Caput Mundi, sed nil caput mundum:
Quod pendet à Capite totum est immundum:*

*Trahit enim vitium primum & secundum,
Et de fundo redolet, quod est juxta fundum.
Roma capit singulos, & res singulorum,
Romanorum Curia, non est nisi forum,
Ibi sunt venalia jura Senatorum,
Et solvit contraria copia nummorum.
In hoc Consistorio si quis causam regat,
Suam vel alterius, hic imprimis legat;
Nisi des pecuniam, Roma totum negat,
Qui plus dat pecunie, melius allegat. &c. Io. Bale.*

In *Catalog. test. verit. lib. 14.* we find these rimes ascribed unto this Mapez.

<i>Vide Deus ultionum,</i>	<i>Quod in Templum Solomonis</i>
<i>Vide videns omnia,</i>	<i>Venit Princeps Babylonis,</i>
<i>Quod spelunca vespillonum</i>	<i>Et excelsum sibi Thronum</i>
<i>Facta est Ecclesia.</i>	<i>Posuit in medio.</i>

These words are to no sense, unless the Temple signifie the Church of Christ; and the Prince of Babylon signifie the Pope of Rome.

7. *An. 1237.* was a conference at York between Henry the III. King of England, and Alexander the II. King of Scots; where they did accord upon the matters of debate between the kingdoms. Then Otto the Pope's Legate would go into Scotland for redressing (as he said) the affairs of the Church: But Alexander said unto him, I remember not that ever a Legate was in my Land; neither have I need of one, thanks be unto God; neither was any in my Father's time, nor in any of my Ancestours; neither will I suffer any so long as I may. Otto returned with King Henry, *Matth. Parisien.* Nevertheless this Alexander did suffer Peter Red to take away 3000. pounds for the Pope, which no King of Scotland had suffered before. *Idem ad An. 1240.* But *Evet. lib. 13. cap. 20.* addeth, He sent the Earls of Carriſt and Athale, to accompany Lewis King of France into Syria; and he sent unto the Pope a thousand marks, lest he should think himself despised.

8. Robert Grosſthead (*alias, Capito*) Bishop of Lincoln, was the most renowned Bishop of his time; a godly man; an admonisher of his King; a fearless rebuker of the Pope; a bold reprover of Prelates; a corrector of Monks; a director and teacher of Priests; a favourer of Students; a Preacher to the people; a defender of fatherless and widows; a persecutor of the incontinent; a searcher of the Scriptures; a lover of truth; a hammerer and contemner of the Romans, saith *Matth. Paris.* In the year 1237. his own Clerks gave him poison in a drink; but (as it pleased God) he escaped death at that time by help of medicine. The Priests which taught not the word of God, but human traditions, he called the Ministers of Satan, thieves of the night, robbers in the day, corrupters of manners, murderers of souls, and Angels of darkness; and he called their exemptions, snares of the Devil. *An. 1253.* Pope Innocentius sent unto him a Letter, commanding him to provide a Canons place for an Italian in his Diocē, *nihil obſtante.* He returned answer; I am most willing to obey Apostolical commandments; but those things which are contrary unto the Apostles command, I will gain-stand, since I am obliged unto both by the command of God. . . . The tenor of your aforesaid Letter, agreeth not with Apostolical holiness, but plainly disagreeeth: 1. Because by that word *non obſtante*, in that and so many other Letters, do abound a deluge of inconstancy, shamelessness, lying, deceiving, difficulty of trusting any, and innumerable other vices following thereupon, shaking and confounding the purity of Religion, and the quietness of all sociable conversation. . . . 2. Except the sin of Lucifer, which is also the sin of Anti-

christ, there cannot be a greater sin, nor more contrary unto the Apostles, or more hateful unto Christ Jesus, then to destroy souls by defrauding them of the Ministry In a word, the holiness of the Apostolical seat cannot do any thing but unto edification, and not to destruction; for this is the fulness of power, to edification: But those things, which they call Provisions, are not to edification, but most manifest destruction. The Pope, hearing this Letter, foamed, as in a rage, and sware by Peter and Paul, that he would hurl such a phrenetick wretch into confusion, which durst so boldly controule his command, and make him a fable unto the world: Is not the King of England our vassal, yea and slave, whom I, at my nod, may thrust into prison? The Cardinals, namely Ægidius a Spaniard, and some others touched in conscience, could scarcely appease his fury; and among other words they said, To confess the truth unto your Holiness, it is true what he saith, and we cannot condemn him for it; he is a Catholick man, more holy and religious then we our selves are; and as it is judged, amongst all the Prelates, there is none better, nor his equal; this is not unknown universally, nor can our contradiction avail against him; wherefore we think best to pass by such a thing, lest perhaps some tumult arise thereupon, especially seeing it is manifest unto all men, that once must come a defection and departure from the Church of Rome. When Robert lay on his death bed, he said unto the brethren coming to visit him, *Heretic* is an opinion taken up by human sense, contrary unto the holy Scriptures, openly avowed, and pertinaciously maintained: Is not Innocentius therefore an Heretick? and since Christ came into the World to save souls, may not the Pope be justly called the Antichrist, who seareth not to destroy souls? The Pope doth impudently annul the privileges of his Ancestours . . . and therefore the contemner should be contemned; according to that saying of Esay, Wo to thee who despisest *Matth. Parisien.*

Heretic white.

*The Pope an
Heretick and
Antichrist.*

9. In the year 1240. a Carthusian Monk at Cambridge, said openly before Otho the Legate, Gregory is not the head of the Church, but there is another head thereof; Satan is loosed; the Pope is an Heretick; Gregory which is called Pope, defileth the Church and the World. The Legate said unto him, Is not power given from above unto the Pope to loose and bind souls, and to exerce the charge of Peter on earth? The Monk replied, How can I think that such power as was given unto Peter, is given to a Simoniack and Usurer; yea, and who is defiled with greater crimes? The Legate did blush for shame, and said, We may not strive in words with a fool. *Idem.*

10. Seval, Arch-Bishop of York, followed in the same footsteps, when he saw the pride of the Pope usurping and tyrannizing above the Kings, he was astonished; and in the grief of his heart, he intreated Pope Alexander the IV. by Letters, that he would leave off from such daily enormities, or at least refrain himself, and follow the example of good men; that he would feed Christ's Lambs, as Peter did; and not pull the skins off them, and devour them like an hungry Wolf. The Pope had given the fattest of his Benefices unto some wanton young men, and ignorant of the language; as he made Jordanus, Dean of York, &c. Seval would admit none of them: wherefore the Pope excommunicated him with bells and candles. He could suffer these ceremonies; but he could not suffer strangers to be set over the people; and the more he was cursed by the Pope, he was the more beloved of the people; and they did blessing him, yet quietly, for fear of the Romans. Although he was not murdered, yet for his sufferings he was called a Martyr. *Idem ad An. 1257.*

11. Matthew of Paris (whom I have often named) was a Benedictine of Saint

Saint Alban : he wrote the History of England , from the days of William the Conqueror , until the year of his own death , 1260. where he describeth , how others spoke against the abomination of Antichrist , to the end , that posterity might know and abhor it ; and thereby he giveth us to understand what were his own thoughts , as here and there he expresseth himself. *e. g. ad An. 1237.* he saith , It is manifestly known , that the Church of Rome (alas !) hath deserved the wrath of God ; for the guides thereof seek not the devotion of people , but their full purses ; not to gain souls unto God , but to collect revenues to themselves ; to oppress the religious , and many ways impudently to catch other mens goods hence ariseth grumbling among men , and the wrath of God is provoked dayly. *Ad An. 1238.* he calleth the Pope the Successor , but not the imitator of Peter. *Ad An. 1245.* he saith , The Pope sent unto the King of Arragon , and then unto the King of England , craving that he may come and abide in their Kingdoms ; and the Nobility did refuse , because the Papal Court was so infamous , that the strength thereof went up unto the clouds. *Ad An. 1251.* he saith , The threatening of the Apostle may be thought to be fulfilled , *Unless there be a departing , the son of perdition shall not be revealed.* Behold , that mens hearts depart , and not their bodies , from the Pope , who is enraged like a step-father ; and from the Church of Rome , which is cruel in persecuting , like a step-mother.

12. John Russel , an English Gentleman , who married the Widow of Walter Cumin , Earl of Lenox , about the year 1262. afterwards he purchased Letters from the Pope , to summon a number of Scots to appear in England before the Legate , for slandering his wife of witchcraft , and poisoning her first husband . The Scots dispised the citation ; alledging their ancient privilege , that Scotch men cannot be charged to answer without their own Country ; and so the summons turned to nothing , saith *Buchan. Hist. lib. 7.*

13. Within some few years King Alexander the III. was encombred with the pride of Priests and Monks , saith the same Author there ; he understandeth certainly Bishops and Abbots ; which being enriched (saith he) by former Kings , and enjoying long prosperity , began to grow rank ; and would go before the Nobility , as in wealth , so in all other things , or at least be equal with them . The Noble men took this in ill part , and dealt roughly with them ; wherefore they complain unto the King . Whether he thought these injuries not to be so hainous , as the Priests called them , or if he thought that they were not without cause , yet he made no account of them ; therefore the Bishops did excommunicate all the Noble men , excepting the King only ; and with many threats do prepare themselves to go unto Rome . Then the King , calling to minde what broils Tho. Becket had raised in England by his ambition , called the Bishops from their journey , and compelled the Nobility to yeild unto their pride . Thus the spiritual Lords (as they would be called) had the precedency.

*The Lords
and Bishops
prize for
precedency.*

14. The Jews lived then in England , and waxed both in number and wealth . *An. 1235.* they obtained from Pope Gregory the IX. that they should not be taxed by Christian Kings ; and that they might have Christian servants and nurses . *An. 1257.* they murdered a young boy in Lincoln ; therefore King Henry imprisoned seventy one of them at London . The Minorites , being hired for money , procured their liberty ; for (saith *J. Bale*) Henry did not so much reign , as bear the image of the Romish Beast : but after that time , the name of a Minorite was odious in the ears of English men . Edward the I. banished all the Jews , and escheated all their goods , allowing them only a *vaticum* . One good thing God wrought by them ; they left many Bibles in England , whereby sundry of the learned were stirred to learn the Hebrew

*The Jews
in England.*

language; as Gregory Huntington, &c. This Edward began to restrain the wealth of Monks, and the power of Bishops. When Lands were given to Monasteries, or a Monastery bought any Land, they did not acknowledge the Superior of those Lands; so the King and Noble men were prejudiced of Wards, Reliefs, Knight-Service, and such other things. Edward made a Law, that no person, religious, or any other, should buy or sell Lands that might any way come under Mortmain, [that is, in prejudice of the Superior] under pain of forfeiture of the same. At that time was confusion of Courts, the Civil Judges and Bishops endeavoring to enlarge their own, and contract their Rivals Authority: Edward fixed boundaries unto them both; as is more particularly in T. Fuller's Church-History, *lib.* 3. He discharged the Abbot of Waltham, and the Dean of Pauls, to crave the tithe of any mans goods for the charges of Jerusalems wars, albeit the Pope had given them this Commission in three several Bulls. The Abbot died; and the Dean appeared before the King and his Council, and promised to obey. He also summoned the Dean of Wolverhampton; because, against the privileges of the Realm, he had given a Prebend of his Chappel unto a stranger, at the Pope's command. The Dean appeared, and confessed his fault, submitting himself unto the King's clemency. *K. James VI. in Monitio. ex archivis Regni.*

15. Alexander the III. King of Scots, fell with his horse over the rocks, on the West side of Kingron, *March* 18. *An.* 1285. His life was remarkable, and his death lamentable. He had divided the Realm into four parts; and abode a quarter of the year in each part, giving justice unto all men; so he knew his subjects, and they knew and loved him. The Judges of each part waited upon him within their jurisdiction; and when he removed, the Judges of the other part received him: so his Court was never populous. His children died young, except one Daughter, who was married to Erik King of Norway; and she had one Daughter. After his much bewailed death, a Parliament at Scone named six persons to govern the Country for the time; three for the part on the North side of Forth, and three for the South. The King's Daughter was dead; and Edward the I. sent unto this Parliament, suing the marriage of their young Queen unto his Son. So the Estates consented very readily; provision being made, that Scotland should be governed by their own Laws and Magistrates. In the mean while Margaret died. Then competition followed between Robert Bruce, Earl of Hastings in England, and of Carriſt and Garioch in Scotland, and John Baliol, Earl of Galloway. The ground of this plea flowed by their genealogy from King David, who died in the year 1153. He had one Son, Henry Earl of Huntington; he died before his Father, leaving three Sons, Malcolm, William and David: So Malcolm (surnamed the Maiden) succeeded his Grandfather; and after him his Brother William, the Father of Alexander the II. and Grandfather of this Alexander the III. David, the third Son of Henry, had three Daughters; Margaret, Countess of Galloway; Isobel, married to Robert Bruce (surnamed The Noble) Earl of Hastings; and the third, or youngest, was Countess of Huntington. Margaret had no Sons, but three Daughters; Dornagilla, the Mother of John Baliol, and Mary the Wife of John Comin, &c. Robert the Noble had a Son, Robert the Competitor, who married the heretrix of Carriſt; and had two Sons, Robert, the King afterwards, and Edward. Then Dornagilla pleaded first for the Crown; but Robert, Earl of Carriſt, alledged, that he, being of equal degree with her, the male should be preferred in the inheritance of Lands, and rather of Kingdoms; as it hath been lately practised in Burgundy, and is usual among Brethren and Sisters: as for her Son, he is a degree further off, and therefore not to be heard in that cause. The parties

parties did so increase, that no Authority could command either of them; and intestine wars were thought dangerous; wherefore, by common consent, Edward the I. was chosen Umpire. At the first he omitted no point of formality: he called unto Berwick the Competitors, John and Robert, and the Governors of the Realm; he protesteth, that he calleth them not as Subjects before their Magistrate, but as his Friends before their chosen Arbitrator: he caused them all to swear, that they will stand to his decreet, and receive one of the two whom he should name: He chose twelve Scots, and so many English, as his Councillors in that matter; and caused them to swear, that they shall give their advice uprightly, according to their knowledge. The mean while he thinketh upon his own advantage; and considering that Scotland was divided into two powerful factions, it seemed the more easie unto him to work his own point; in shew he sendeth for Jurists in other Nations, not doubting (as that sort is seldom of one opinion) but to finde some response conducing to his own end; which may appear by his altering the state of the question; which he propounded in this maner: A King, who is not wont to be crowned, nor anointed, but only set in a chair, and be proclaimed King, yet not so free, that he is not under another King, and himself acknowledged so, dying without children, two of his Cousins, and Nephews of his Granduncle Sempronius, seek the inheritance, &c. The most part answered, The custom of the Realm is a Law in such a case; and if there be not a precedent, they should stand at the will of the Superior King. Then in another meeting at Norain, Edward required acknowledgement of subjection from all the Scotch Commissioners: They did all refuse in one voice. In a third meeting, at Berwick, he sent privily for Robert, and proffered him the Kingdom, if he would swear fealty unto him. Robert answered, I will never prejudice the liberty of that Realm. John Baliol was sent for, and accepted the condition. So he was proclaimed King six years after the death of Alexander; and all the Scots swear Allegiance unto him: Afterwards, both the King and Nobles, gave their oath unto King Edward, in Newcastle on Tyne: The Nobility were male-contented, but they must dissemble. It happened after some years, that Macduff, Earl of Fife, was killed by the Earl of Abernethy, and because this family was potent, Macduffs Brother could not obtain justice in Scotland for the slaughter; therefore he appealed unto King Edward: who summoned King John to London: He appeared; and at first sat down with Edward, thinking to answer by his Proctor; but he must stand at the Bar: This indignity begot in him a desire of liberty. When variance fell between France and England, John, thinking this a fit occasion, renewed the old league with France; and, by the Abbot of Arbroth, sent into England (with consent of the Estates) a revocation of his dedition. Wherefore Edward resolveth to take Arms against Scotland: He sent for Robert Bruce, Son of the Competitor (being then defunct) and proffered him the Kingdom, if he would go with him to expel King John, or cause his Friends in Scotland to desert, or not assist John. Robert did both. At that time four thousand Scots were slain in sundry fights; and in the Castle of the Burgh of Montrose, King John did resign unto the Commissioners of King Edward, all right to the Crown. Sir Hugh Cressingham was made Governor of Scotland; and John was carried into England: yet by intercession of Pope Boniface, he was let go into France, his Son being kept in pledge, lest he did attempt any new trouble. Then Edward went against France; and in his absence, the Scots had mutual treaties with France; they chose twelve Governors of the Country; and many incursions were in the borders on both sides. At that time arose the famous William Wallace, a Gentleman of mean estate, but extraordinary in

courage and strength ; he did many rubs unto the English : and because the Governors were thought remiss, he was chosen to be the only Governor, and called the Vice-Roy of King John: He recovered many Towns from the English, and threw down many Castles and Forts, lest his little Army were divided in keeping them. The Earl of Warren, and the Lord Percey, were sent against him ; but because these had bad success, Edward made truce with France, and came against Scotland ; where he prevailed so, that, in a Parliament at St. Andrews, all the Nobility and Estates did acknowledge him ; only Wallace kept himself quiet in the high-Lands. When Robert Bruce put the King in minde of his promise, Edward scoffed at him, saying, Had he no other thing to do, but fight for a Kingdom unto him? *Buchan. Histo.* At that time Edward destroyed the ancient Laws of Scotland, and sought how to bring the two Nations in amity and affinity ; He burnt the Chronicles, and Books of Divine Service, constraining them to follow the Missale of Sarum ; those who were repugnant unto these changes, were severely punished : He removed the most learned men into Oxford. Briefly, he destroyed all the Monuments of Antiquity ; and upon the least occasion he cut off all, who in his judgement could enterprize any insurrection, *Boeth. lib. 14.* Wallace lurked a while, but he stirred again ; and prevailed both in favor and power among the people ; as followeth in the next Century.

F I F T H A G E

Of the

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The History of the Church reverting, and of
Antichrist raging, containing the space of 300. years,
from the year 1300. until the year 1600.

C E N T U R Y X I V .

C H A P . I .

Of P O P E S .

1.  **B**ENEDICT the XI. was chosen Pope *November 1. An. 1304.* He absolved Philip King of France from the excommunication of Boniface; and restored the Cardinals, John and James Columnæ, which had written against Pope Boniface. And Platina addeth, Boniface had pursued them more then became a Priest, for envy against them, and too much respect of the faction of the Guelphs. He sate nine months.

2. **CLEMENS** the V. after contention of the Cardinals the space of ten months, was elected: being, in the mean time, at his own seat in Burdeaux. When it was certified unto him, he commanded all the Cardinals to come unto Lions: There were present at his Coronation, Philip King of France, his Son Charles, John Duke of Burgundy, &c. In the midst of the Procession a great wall fell upon them, so that John and twelve other persons were killed, Philip was hurt, the Pope was struck from his horse, and lost out of his Mitre a Carbuncle of the value of six thousand crowns. *Platin.* When this unlucky pomp was ended, he created many French Cardinals, (and not one Italian) and removed the Court of Rome unto Avenion; where it continued seventy four years, as in another transportation to Babylon. We read not of any, which in all this time made exception, that Rome was the seat of St. Peter, and house of the holy Ghost; and therefore the Pope should abide at Rome. Clemens avouched openly to keep a Concubine, the Daughter of Count de Fuxa. *P. Morn. in Myster. ex Villano.* He sent three Cardinals with Senatorial power to govern Rome and Italy. Because Ferraria had revolted, and submitted themselves unto the Venetians, he excommunicated the Venetians for accepting them; and gave all their goods unto spoil, wheresoever they could be apprehended: the like he did unto the Florentines, and other Cities, for their revolting. Sardinia did belong unto Genua, and he gave it unto the King of Sicily, for winning it from the Turks. How he dealt with

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the Emperor, it followeth: But here it is to be remembred, how he ordained, that none should use the title, or exercise the power of Emperor, until he were confirmed by the Pope: And when the Imperial seat is vacant, the Pope shall reign as Emperor until one be chosen. He confirmed the Feast of *Corp. Christi*, granting Indulgences of one hundred days unto all who shall be present at the Matins, &c. *Lib. 3. Clement. tit. 16. de reliquis ca. Si Dominum..* It seemeth, that the people had not regarded the former Institution. He was the Author of the seventh Book of Decretals: before his death he did condemn them, as containing many snares in them; and caused them to be burnt, saith *Io. Naucler*. But his Successor did confirm them. He excommunicated Andronicus, the Emperor of the East, as an Heretick, because he would not suffer the Greeks to acknowledge the Pope for their head, &c. Because he would not reside at Rome, the Romans refuse to give him the patrimony of St Peter; and thereby he was brought into the greater exigence: But Platina saith, A great famine was the cause of his scarcity. Then he lived by the money of Bishops, which came unto him to be confirmed, and by such other shifts and gifts; yet by these means, he is said to have gained 9500. marks of Silver, besides his expense, which he bestowed liberally in one year. *Annates.* Platina writeth, that he ordained the Annates, or the first years stipend of all Intrants, to be paid unto the Pope out of all Countries. But *Pol. Virgil. de inven. rer. lib. 8. cap. 2.* saith, It was the custom of Italy in the days of Pope Alexander the IV. and in the Council of Vienna. *An. 1308.* the Clergy offered unto the Pope, the twentieth part of their stipends yearly, if he would discharge the Annates, and they were not heard. England would never pay the Annates of lesser Benefices, although they did yeild in Bishopricks, saith *Caranza in Bonifac. VIII. Io. Naucler. pag. 914.* saith, I see none, in Germany, pay Annates unto the Pope, but only they who hold their Benefices of the Pope immediately. *Pol. Virgil. loc. cit.* saith, How grievous is it to the Priests, to deliver the price of the Annates before they receive a penny, whereby they are forced to undertake great debts, and so wrong their friends from whom they borrow, if it happen that they die soon? Shall not this be occasion unto wicked men to corrupt Religion? yea, and indeed (saith he) it breedeth great contempt of the poor Ministers and their Ministry. *P. Mornay. in Mysser. pag. 540.* saith, That *An. 1416.* the Church of France did refuse to pay the Annates, because, albeit it was once granted in the days of Pope John XXI. for an expedition beyond Sea, and sundry Popes had by force taken them, yet it should not be so, since thereby Benefices and Ecclesiastical things are sold, and both Popes, Bishops and Priests are guilty of simony, contrary to their oaths. But to return unto Pope Clemens; he had promised unto King Philip to abolish the memory of Pope Boniface the VIII. and to annul all his Acts; but by advice of Cardinal Pratenfis, he delayed unto a general Council; and this he summoned to be held at Vienna: where the King did require from the Pope the performance of his promise. The Council did acknowledge Boniface to have been a lawful Pope; but they did declare all his Acts against the King, to have been unjust; and that none of them should be prejudicial unto the King, nor his Successors, *Io. Naucler. pag. 872, & 878.* In this Council the Pope did propound the aid of the Christians in Syria; that the Templaries should be punished; as also the reformation of the Church. Wars were proclaimed; and Indulgences were offered in these words; We will, that the punishment of Hell be no way laid upon him which is signed with the Cross; granting also, unto every signed person, power to pull three or four souls out of Purgatory at their pleasure. The Divines at Paris were not a little scandalized, and the rather, because it was written in the same

same Bull, We command the Angels to carry the absolved soul into the glory of Paradise. It was then a received Article, that the Pope may command the Angels as his Sergeants. In this Council the Templaries were condemned for their Apostatic. But *Io. Bale in Cent. 4. 82. in Appen. 2.* sheweth from *Christop. Massaus*, and *P. Mornay*. sheweth, that *Bocartus*, *Villanus*, *Arzonius*, *Arventin*, and others, bear witness of their innocency; some affirm, that their great revenues through Europe was the cause of their ruine; and therefore some accuse Pope Clemens, and King Philip: others say, the Pope envied them, because they inveighed against the Popes and Court of Rome, as disturbers of Christendom, and the cause of losing Syria and Palestina. *Io. Naucler. pag. 873.* saith, At that time Clemens the V. accused the Templaries of impiety; and that order was destroyed; and their most large revenues were taken. Some report, that they had an image clothed with a mans skin, unto which, when they entered the Order, they did homage, sacrificing most cruelly with mans blood; which when they had drunk, they did exhort one another unto continuance in such wickedness: and other crimes were imputed unto them, especially that by their craft the Turks had got Jerusalem. This pest (saith he) did fall by the great fervor of all French; and also in Germany, after the Letters of Pope Clemens: and I see, that some writers do not so much condemn the doleful religion of the Templaries, as the avarice of the French King, who was the cause of this faction: And Pope Clemens gave their goods unto the Order of St. John, or the Hospitalaries; but because the King and other Princes had taken possession of them, much money must be paid for redeeming them. But thereafter, the King and his children were obnoxious to many miseries, which they were said to have suffered for their iniquities; and many judged those men to have suffered unjustly, and did reverence them as Martyrs, and with devotion did gather their bodies and bones. Moreover (saith he) Jacob de Moguntia, writing of those times, reporteth, that Clemens the V. condemned the Order of the Templaries; and committed the execution against some in Germany unto the Bishop of Mentz: He called a Synod; and when he was in the Chapter-house, ready to publish the process, a religious man, Hugo Count of Wiltgraff, who abode in the Castle of Grunbach, by Meisenheim, came in with twenty Soldiers, his Brethren of that Order, clad with white clokes, with the sign of the red Cross, after the maner of the Teutonicks, and they all had their weapons under their clokes. The Arch-Bishop rose up unto them, and beckoned with his hand, that they should sit by him: But the Count standing, said, My Lord, Arch-Bishop, it is publicly said, that to day you will renounce and accurse me and my Brethren, of the Order of the Temple, which is not pleasant unto us; but we demand, that you would publish unto your Clergy here present, our appeal which we have made unto the next Pope. The Arch-Bishop could not go from his place for fear of weapons, and therefore he answered calmly, It shall be so, but first the Pope's Process must be published; and afterwards, without any distance, he caused the Appeal of the Templaries, with the causes thereof, to be read and published. And among other things in that Appeal, it was written as one cause, that their Brethren, whom the Pope had caused to be burnt, were free of those imputed crimes; and for a miraculous token of their innocency, their clokes, with the sign of the Cross, were not burnt nor consumed in the fire. The Arch-Bishop said unto them, Be of good courage, I will write unto the Pope in your favor; and so it was: And after the Arch-Bishops Letter, the Pope wrote again unto him, and recommended to enquire of the matter: And the Bishop called another Synod; and by advice and consent of other Bishops in the Province, the innocency of the

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Friers was clearly known, and they were absolved. This was done in Mentz *An. 1211, July 1.* saith *Nauclex.* *P. Moen. in Myster.* saith, When John Molan, a Burgundian, the chief of that Order, was entering into the fire, he summoned Pope Clemens to appear, within forty days, before the throne of God, to answer to that sentence pronounced against him. Molan was burnt *March 11. An. 1313.* and Clemens died *April 10.* immediately following. As for the third cause of the Synod, we shall have occasion to speak of it in the third Chapter. The See was then vacant two years and three months; and the Cardinals at last did submit all their suffrages unto Jacob de Ossa Cadurcensis; who afterwards went up unto the Papal Chair, and said, I am Pope. This was

3. JOHN the XXIII. who was so desirous of novelties, and to leave remembrance of him, that he turned Bishopricks into Abbeys, and Abbeys into Bishopricks; he divided one into two, and united two into one; he erected new Colledges, and destroyed the old; he appointed new Scribes, and taxes of every Bishop and Priest. *Pol. Virgil. de inven. rer. lib. 8. cap. 2.* By a Decree he pronounced them Hereticks, who say, Christ did teach perfect poverty; that is, to renounce the possession of all goods, both in particular and in common; for (said he) it is impossible to retain the use of consuming things; and to quit the right of them both in particular and in common. This Decree (saith Platina) doth scarcely accord with sacred Scripture, which testifieth in many places, that Christ and his Disciples had not of their own, and it condemneth all the Franciscans, teaching and disputing in their schools, against the ambition and avarice of the Clergy; and it was made directly against the Decree of Pope Nicolaus the IV. *Bellarmin. de Ro. pont. lib. 4. cap. 14.* saith, These two Decrees fight not; because Nicolaus denieth not, that Christ had some propriety although in common; but he denieth that Christ lived so always; and John denieth not, that Christ sometimes had not propriety in particular, nor in common; but he denieth that he lived so always. Thus the Jesuit will have the two to agree, although John would purposely condemn the others Decree. This John believed, that the souls do not enjoy the presence of God before the day of judgement. *Bellarmin. loc. cit.* testifieth, that the Cardinals did resist this opinion; and that he repented the day before his death; nor was it an error (saith he) because it was not defined in any Council. *Nauclex.* saith, Many Divines, of approved knowledge and life, held that this Pope was an Heretick, for holding some errors; which (they say) he recanted coldly at his death; and his Successor, Benedict, did publicly condemn those errors. Note here, the Pope was an Heretick; and the Pope recanted; but he recanted coldly. *Erasmus in Prasat.* before the fifth book of *Ireneus*, saith, He was compelled by the Divines of Paris to recant his opinion. Bishop Jewel against Harding, *pag. 668.* declareth this *ex Massa. lib. 18.* Pope John taught and professed error; and he sent two Preachers to Paris, the one a Dominican, and the other a Franciscan, to maintain the same heresie; But one Thomas, an English Preacher, withstood the Pope; and the Pope threw him into prison: hereupon the King summoned a Council unto his Palace in *Vintiana Sylva*; the whole Assembly subscribed against the Pope; immediately the King sent unto Pope John, and willed him to reform his error, and to set the Preacher at liberty; and so he did. At that time Peter de Corbaria, John and Michelin, three Minorites, did openly teach, that St. Peter was no more the head of the Church, then any of the other Apostles; that Christ left no Vicar upon earth; that the Pope hath no power to correct or punish, to set up or cast down an Emperor; all Priests, of whatsoever degree, are of equal degree, power and jurisdiction, by the institution of Christ; and it proceedeth

The Pope
was an Heretick.

cedeth from mans authority, that one hath more power then another; neither the Pope, nor all the Church, can, by coactive power, punish any man, unless they be authorised by the Emperor. At that time the Pope and Emperor were at variance, as followeth; and when the Emperor went to Rome, Pope John was deposed by the Cardinals as a fugitive; and the now named Peter was chosen, and called NICOLAUS the V. When he was installed, Pope John accursed him, for those his articles; his excommunication is in the Extravagants of Pope John the XXII. and beginneth, *Ad audientiam*: and Pope Nicolaus accursed Pope John. At last Boniface, Earl of Pisa, brought Pope Nicolaus to Avenion, and there shut him up in a Monastery till he died, *Antonin. par. 4. tit. 11. cap. 7. §. 5.* Nicolaus had advanced the Minorites, and John degraded them the more, and declared them Hereticks. He sat twenty years. His Heirs found in his treasury 25. millions of crowns, *Io. Naucler.*

4. BENEDICT the XII. sent 25000. florens for reparation of S. Peter's Church at Rome. His contention with the Emperor followeth. His Epitaph describeth his life briefly:

*Hic situs est Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero;
Debius à vero, cuparepleta mero.*

He sat seven years; and died *An. 1342.*

5. CLEMENS the VI. took upon him, at the first, to enrich all his Cardinals with the Bishopricks and Benefices of England. Edward the III. was not a little offended, and annulled all the provisions which the Pope had given within his Realm; commanding, under pain of imprisonment and death, that none presume to bring from the Pope any such provisions. At the same time all the tenths of Templaries were paid unto Edward, as followeth. Clemens exchanged a fee-duty, which the French were wont to pay out of Naples, for the City Avenion; and so that Kingdom was made free, and Avenion was a part of St. Peter's patrimony. Boniface the VIII. had or-

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streets of the City. 9. The Heathens caused to be engraven on the brazen Altar, the names of the Consuls, or Emperor, in whose time it was solemnised; so now, under what Pope. But the Christian Emperors abolished the Secular Plays; and the Popes have restored them. The Bull of proclamation, under Clemens, hath these words; What person or persons soever, for devotion, shall undertake peregrination unto the holy City, the same day that he goeth out of his house, he may chuse a Confessor or Confessors in the way, or where he pleaseth; unto which Confessors, we grant, by our Authority, full power to absolve all cases Papal, as fully as if we were personally present: And we grant, that whosoever, having truly confessed, shall chance to die by the way, shall be absolved from all his sins; and we command the Angels of Heaven, to take his soul out of his body, being absolved, and to carry it into the glory of Paradise, &c. He sate ten years.

6. INNOCENTIUS the VI. in some things gave a good pattern; he would not bestow Benefices, without examination of the life and literature of the Intran; he suspended many collations that were granted by Clemens, because the persons were not qualified; he commanded all Prelates, under pain of his curse, to reside at their own seats; because the sheep should be attended by their own shepherd, and not by an hireling; he restrained his domesticks to a small number, and those were men of good report; and he commanded all Cardinals to do the like; saying, His life, and the life of his Cardinals, should be exemplary unto others, as was the life of our Savior. *Platin.* Nevertheless, in pride he was not inferior unto any of his Ancestors; for he kindled the wars in Italy, sending Cardinal Ægidius with an Army against sundry Cities in Romandiola, Marchia, Anconitana, &c. which had fallen from the Popes. He sent Magistrates into Rome, now one, and then two, as he pleased: He advanced a vain man, Nicolaus Gencii, who, under the title of *Tribunus Rome*, attempted great things: He charged the Pope to return into Rome, or otherwise he and the City would chuse another Pope. When Charles the IV. was chosen Emperor, this Nicolaus (pretending that he was the true Soldier of the holy Ghost, the deliverer of the City which hath jurisdiction over all the world, and now revoked all privileges granted before unto others, in prejudice of her jurisdiction) summoned Lewis Duke of Bavaria, and Charles King of Bohemia, who called themselves Emperors, and all the Electors, to compare before him, or he will proceed against them as disobedient. *Io. Naucler. gener.* 45. The people followed him for a time, but soon forsook him; then he fled privily, and sought refuge under the wings of Charles, whom he had summoned: Charles taketh him, and sent him unto Avenion; where he was kept, until Francis Baruncellus did usurp the like prank; the Pope sent against him this Nicolaus; he killed the other, and was again *Tribunus*; not long after the Pope threw him down again, and created Guido Jordanus Senator for a year. This Pope sate nine years and eight months.

7. URBAN the V. an English man, had waited long at Court, and when he could attain no Benefice, he said unto his fellow, I think verily, although all the Churches of the world were vacant, none of them would fall on me: The same companion, seeing him taken from a Cloister, and crowned with the triple Mitre, said unto him, Now all the Churches of the world are fallen on your head. He followed the course of his Predecessors, in subduing some Cities of Italy, and stirring men to go unto Syria. In the fifth year he would go to Rome: He caused the heads of Peter and Paul to be searched; he took the flesh of them, and when they were laid in boxes of gold, he placed them by the great Altar in Lateran. *Platin.* If those could be true reliques, let
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the judicious confider. He was the first consecrator of the Rose; and gave it unto Johanna Queen of Sicily, who was called a famous whore; and is said to have killed her husband. From that time the Popes do yearly, on the Sunday of *Letare*, honor some Prince with such a Rose; being consecrated with great solemnities, and certain prayers, anointed with balm, sprinkled with musk, and watered with holy water, in sign (as they say) of Jerusalem, both militant and triumphant, in the name of the Father, Son and holy Ghost. About that time began the *Agnus Dei*, which the Pope giveth in the first year of his Papacy, and reneweth it every seventh year: this is the prayer wherewith they hallow it; By the worship and honor hereof, let the iniquity of us thy servants be washed away; let the filthiness of our sins be cleansed; let pardon be obtained, grace be bestowed, and at last they, with thy Saints and chosen, may deserve to attain eternal life. What more can be wished by the merits of Christ? *P. Morn. in Myfter.* Urban sat twelve years. *Platina* could not know, whether he died at Avenion, or by the way. *Froffard. Hist. lib. 1.* saith, At Avenion, *An. 1571.*

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8. GREGORY the XI. had vowed to dwell in Rome only, if ever he were chosen Pope; and then he was mindeful of his vow. This was not acceptable unto some Cardinals, nor unto the King of France, who sent his Brother, Duke of Anjou, to dissuade him; at last he would go, and died there shortly after. He sent into Germany, craving tenths of all Church-men; the three Electoral Bishops, with one voice, refused. *Crantz. in Saxo. lib. 10. cap. 2.* & *Naucier.* The Histories shew many troubles and wars in his time. He sat seven years.

9. When the Cardinals assembled unto the election, the Romans threatned them, if they did not chuse a Roman, they would do whereof they should repent; and being not contented so, they came violently among the Cardinals, and caused an old man of an hundred years to be chosen: They sat him upon a white mule, and convoyed him thorow the City with much pomp. The old man died on the third day. *Froffard. lib. 2.*

10. URBAN the VI. a Roman, was chosen likewise by force and fear. He commanded the Cardinals to have fewer servants and horses; because what was bestowed on them unnecessarily, might be better employed on the poor: he commanded also, they should not take gifts from pleaders in their Courts; wherefore the Cardinals, fearing his severity, went to Anagnia. *Platin.* But *Froffard.* (who lived at that time) saith, He displeased all men with his pride; and the Cardinals said, they were forced to chuse him; and therefore the See is vacant. So at Funda, they chose CLEMENS the VII. Bishop of Camerak, a French man. This Schism continued thirty nine years. *Crantz. in Saxo. lib. 10. cap. 4.* saith, The Emperors were wont, and yet do, carry in their colours, a double headed Eagle; and now the Popes began to worship a double headed Mitre. Robert Budeus, a Noble man of Britain in France, was in the bounds of the Romans with 2000. men; Clemens allured him on his side: thus troubles began. Charles the V. King of France (the wisest Prince of those times, saith *Froffard.*) assembled his Estates, especially the Clergy, to enquire which of the two should be accepted: Opinions were different; the Prelates, the King's Brethren, and many Divines were for Clemens; the King approved their sentence; immediately it was proclaimed; and Clemens made his residence at Avenion. There followed him the King of Spain, the Prince of Savoy, the Duke of Millain, the Queen of Naples, and the King of Scotland. The Emperor Charles dissembled, although the greatest part of the Empire followed Urban. Lewis Earl of Flanders, said, Wrong was done to Urban. The Hammonians yeild to neither of the two.

A long
Schism be-
tween the
Popes.

Froßard. lib. 2. What troubles were then in all the Church, and every Nation partaking thereof? Priests were imprisoned by the adverse party; Cardinals were racked and killed; and many battels were fought for those two; the one called the other a Schismatick and Heretick, the son of Belial, and the Antichrist: It would require a volume to shew their bloody facts. Then was great strife for the Kingdom of Sicilies; Johanna the Queen had married four husbands; the coultins and heirs of her husbands pretend right; when she could not eschue the trouble of pretentions, she rendred the Kingdom unto Pope Clemens, to dispose of at his pleasure. Urban gives it to an Hungarian, Charls the brother's son of her first husband; on condition that Pregnan his brothers son should have Campania. Clemens gave the Kingdom to Lewis Duke of Anjou, *An. 1380.* The people receive Charls: Lewis went thither with an Army of 30000 men. Both pretend right from the Pope; and Lewis alledged the consent of the Queen then defunct. The Neapolitans said, that the Queen could not dispose of the Kingdom; and Clemens was not Pope. Calabria and some others received Lewis, who continued there, and died *An. 1383.* Then Charls was only King, and refused to give Campania unto Pregnan. Urban summoned Charls to appear at Nuceria; and in the mean time he cast seven Cardinals into prison, and created 39 Cardinals of his own kindred. Charls came with an Army to the place; but Urban fled by sea into Genua, and took the seven imprisoned Cardinals with him; of whom he caused five to be shut up in *factis*, and to be drowned in the sea. When he heard that Charls was dead, he returned unto Naples, with intention to defraud his sons; but when he could not prevail, he went to Rome: he sent his Bulls from Genua into England (for he could not find a greater enemy against France, saith *Froßard.*) offering remission of sins unto all who would fight against the Clementines; and gave liberty unto the King to give assignations of the Tithe of all Church-rents (except the Primates) unto the Noble-men for their charges; and he prevailed with some Preachers to perswade the people. They being allured with fair promises, thought themselves happy to die in such Wars; Such were the times saith *Froßard.* In a short space, by Tithes and voluntary offerings, were gathered 2500000 French crowns; and for the more assurance, the Pope would have a Bishop to be General; and Henry Spencer Bishop of Norwich was named. The like Bull was sent to Lusitania, to excite them against Spain, for siding with Clemens. A Letter of Richard the II. is extant (saith *Io. Fox in Act. & Monu.*) unto Pope Urban, exhorting him to have more respect unto the unity and peace of the Church; and shewing, that Princes should coerce such mis-order in the Church, as Moses rebuked Aaron; Solomon put down Abiathar; Otho the I. removed John the XIII. ... and by the same reason (said the King) why may not Kings now bridle Roman Bishops, if the quality of their fault, and the necessity of the Church so require? And if it were not lawfull for Princes to restrain the outrages of a Pope, though he were lawfully chosen; he may oppress the Church, change Christendom into Heathens, and make the sufferings of Christ in vain; or else God hath not provided well in all things for his Church on earth, by service of men, to withstand dangers; and the Pope should consider these things seriously, lest he caused all the Princes to rise against him ... for certainly the World will not be oppressed by a Pre-late; and will rather leave the Romish Church desolate, &c. But affections blunt all admonitions. Urban knew what gain was reaped by the Jubile; therefore he ordained it to be kept every 33 years, because Christ lived but 33 years: so he proclaimed and kept it *An. 1383.* He caused his Cubicular John de Therano, to write a book on these words, *Give to Caesar, what are Cæ-*

A remarkable Letter by
all Kings.

far's, &c. The scope of the book was to prove, that those words had place only for a time, and after Christ's ascension they were out of date; because he said, If I were lift up to heaven, I will draw all things after me; that is, I will draw all things to the Empire of Popes, who from thence shall be Lord of Lords. In the year 1383. the Clementines besieged him in a Castle, and had taken him, if the Soldiers had not mutined for want of pay; nor could Clemens afford them 20000. franks. Urban sat eleven years, and died *An.* 1389. very few bewailed his death, because he was so rude and intractable. *Platin.* Then Pope Clemens desired the King to interpose his Authority with the Emperor and other Princes, that for conserving peace, no other Pope be chosen; but he was disappointed, saith *Froissard.*

11. BONIFACE the IX. was chosen at Rome, one altogether ignorant of literature, and so unfit for the affairs of Court, that he scarcely understood the propositions which were scanned before him; and in his time ignorance was in price, saith *Theod. à Nicom.* the Secretary of many Popes. *Morn. in. Myster.* yet he was like unto Boniface the VIII. as in name, so in craftiness; and when the Romans began to shew their discontentedness, he, like another Tarquinius, cut off the Chastoles high heads. *Laur. Valla in Declam. contra Donat. Constant.* He openly professed simony; and would admit neither Cardinal nor Bishop, until they delivered money at his pleasure, or at least an Annate. *Morn. pag. 490.*

12. BENEDICT the XIII. was chosen at Avenion, after the death of Clemens, *An.* 1393. upon express condition, that if the King of France did not approve the election, another should be chosen. The King heard the Legates of both Popes, but consented to none of them; and, intending the peace of the Church, he sent unto the Emperor, (whose Authority and care should have been principal in this case, saith *Froissard.*) and unto the Kings of England, Bohemia, and Hungary, intreating them not to be deficient unto publick tranquillity. After the year 1397. when the Noble men of France were redeemed from the power of the Turks, King Charls wrote again unto the Emperor. They appointed to meet at Rhems, pretending other causes of their meeting. After consultation, they sent the Bishop of Camerak unto Rome, exhorting Boniface, that for the good of the Church, he would lay aside his Papal honor for a time, until by advice of Princes and learned men, a necessary overture were provided. The Pope said, He would follow the advice of the Cardinals. But the people of Rome did exhort him to maintain his own right, and not to submit to any Prince of them all. At the second conference, Boniface said, He would submit, if Benedict would submit also. The Bishop did report this answer unto the Emperor, at Confluentia, and returned into France; and he was sent unto Benedict with the same proposition. His Cardinals could agree upon no certain answer; and he said, He was lawfully chosen, and would not renounce for any mans pleasure. Wherefore a Captain that was sent with the Bishop, laid hands on the Pope, and took him. Then Charls advertised the Emperor; and he intreated the King of England to lay aside all faction for a space, and contribute his aid in this case. When this came in consultation, the Estates were desirous of the purpose, but it did offend them, that the business was carried on by Authority of the French King; and they said, France shall never prescribe an order in Religion unto England. The same year Charls died; and Richard was committed to the Tower, *Froissard. lib. 4.* Then France agreed with Benedict, upon condition he should procure the peace of the Church. Many Cities in Italy revolted from Boniface, as may be seen in *Platin.* and he was brought into such great penury, that he sent unto all Countries, offering pardons for so much money as their

charges towards Rome would require: By such Indulgences, his Legate brought from one Country 100000. florens, *Theod. à Niem. lib. 1. cap. 68. & Mornay*. He called his Legates to account, and finding that they had reaped more gain, he put them to death. But his pardons were so contemned, saith *Platin*. that many crimes were done, because people thought, they could have remission for money. *Pol. Virg. de inven. rer. lib. 8. cap. 1.* reporteth the same. He kept the Jubilee *An. 1400.* when many hundreds of people died of the plague at Rome. After that the Cardinals of Avenion went to Rome, to treat of peace: but Boniface said, He only was Pope, and Peter de Luna was the Anti-Pope. They replied, Their Master was not a Simoniack. He discharged them of the City, and within three days he died, *An. 1404.*

CENTURY XIV.

CHAP. II.

Of EMPERORS.

1. **A**LBERT Duke of Austria, summoned a Diet at Frankford; he renounced his former election, and was chosen again. Pope Boniface the VIII. was his only foe; but afterwards he confirmed him, on condition he would expel Philip King of France, and take his Kingdom to himself: But Albert, in stead of war, married the Daughter of Philip, and lived for the most part in peace. After the example of his Father, he would never go into Italy; yet he governed his part of it by Deputies and Dukes. He had wars with the Kingdom of Bohemia, and conquered it unto his eldest Son: At whatsoever occasion he had any fight, he was present in person, and was always victorious; therefore he was called *Albertus Triumphans*. He was once poisoned by the Bishop of Salzburgh, and by help of medicine was preserved. At last he died unfortunately, by conspiracy of his Brother's Son John, in the tenth year of his reign, *An. 1308.* All the time of Adulph and Albert, Andronicus, the Son of Michael Paleologus, reigned in Constantinople; he would never acknowledge the Pope of Rome. Philip King of France thought now to be Emperor, because the Pope was in his Realm; but Clemens did fear his power, and wrote unto the Electors to hasten the election.

2. HENRY the VII. Earl of Lutzenburgh, was chosen, and quickly confirmed by Clemens; on condition that he should go to Rome, and be crowned within two years: The Pope required this, because he thought by him, to beat down the troubles in Italy, saith *Jo. Naucler*. He had wars with the Duke of Wittembergh, Albert's Brother's Son, for the Kingdom of Bohemia. Albert's Son was dead, leaving but one Daughter, whom Henry did sue for his Son. Then he went into Italy, and subdued Robert King of Pulia. The Pope sent three Cardinals to crown him at Rome; but he began to fear his power, and gave the Cardinals in charge to require homage of him, and that he should swear faithfulness unto the See of Rome. Henry said unto the Cardinals, It was not the custom of his Ancestors, and against the freedom of the Empire, that the Prince of Princes should give an oath of fidelity unto the Servant of Servants. Nevertheless he was crowned, and received graciously by the Clergy and many Cities; and he compelled them to obedience who did refuse. The Pope did strengthen the above named Robert against him; and because that course could not prevail, Jacobine, a Dominican, gave him poison in the wine at the Mass, in Bonconvento, *An. 1315.* The Pope by

his divulged Bulls, would have excused the Frier; but the people were so enraged for this villany, that they arose against that Order, and killed many of them, and burnt their houses in Tuscya and Lombardy. Andronicus was now become old, and assumed his Son Michael to govern equally; but he lived not long time: his Son Andronicus rebelled against the old Emperor, so that Greece was divided, and became a prey unto Othoman. At that time Chatiles, Governor of Peloponesus, sent for the aid of the Turks; they came, and carried great spoil out of Thracia. The other party sent unto the Italians and Spaniards, which both sought their own gain; and when the Greeks were sensible of their folly, they did submit themselves unto young Andronicus; and then he dealt roughly both with the Turks and Italians, so that they both became his enemies, *Laonic. Chalco con. de reb. Turci. lib. 1.*

3. After the death of Henry, the Electors could not agree; for four chose Lewis Duke of Bavier; of those four, the Duke of Brandeburgh gave his sentence by his Proctor; and the other three chose Frederick Duke of Austria, who thereafter purchased the consent of Brandeburgh; they were crowned by two Bishops severally; Lewis at Aken, and the other at Bonna; and great sedition arose in Germany. They both, by their Ambassades, sought confirmation from the Pope. Unto LEWIS he said, He had already usurped too much, and gone beyond the power of an absolute Emperor. FREDERICK did alledge the valiantness of his Father and Grandfather. Pope John said, Solomon's Son was not very wise. So he rejected them both; and alledged, that according to former Acts of his Predecessors, now he was Emperor. Wherefore wars continued eight years; and John proclaimed against them both, alledging, that the Imperial Crown is the gift of the Pope, since it was decreed, that the Germans may elect their King, but then he is Emperor, when the Pope of Rome, who is Father and Prince of all Christendom, doth approve him; and when the Electors cannot agree, none is King, but the Bishop of Rome governeth at his pleasure, even as the soul should command the body, by whose benefit it liveth; and so shall the world be well ruled, when profane things are subject unto spiritual. For these causes, seeing two are chosen . . . and neither of the two seemeth worthy unto us, (said he) we command, that within three months they both renounce, &c. The most did follow Lewis. At Frankford was a frequent Diet of the Princes, and all the Electors (Frederick was a captive) there many things were decreed for the honor of the Empire; and that Lewis should provide, that the liberty of Germany be not turned into bondage; and whosoever will maintain the Acts of Pope John, is an enemy of the Republick. Immediately Otho Bishop of Carintha, and Lambert Bishop of Tolouse, the Pope's Legates, were expelled out of Germany. All the Bishops, Prelates, Priests and Monks, obeyed the Decree; only the Dominicans inclined sometimes unto the Emperor, and sometimes unto the Pope. By Authority of that Assembly, an Act was published, that is in *Aventin. lib. cit.* The heads are; Christ the Savior, our Lord and God, and his chief Apostles, Peter, Paul, James and John have foretold, that perillous times were coming after their departure; and they have forewarned especially, that we should beware of false Christs, false Apostles, and false Prophets, who are so called from the lyes of their feigned Religion; terming themselves Priests, when they are the messengers of Antichrist; their insatiable thirst of honor and money, their lechery and pride being most manifest, bewray them; we deny not, but confess sincerely, that our times cannot endure any censure. long custom prevaieth above truth; indignation breaketh our silence; seeing from Heaven we are set in the highest watch of human affairs, we cannot be silent, lest we prove to be dumb dogs

*A description
of the Pope.*

that cannot bark, as the Prophet speaketh; although we cannot drive away the wolves, because of the iniquities of the times; yet it is our duty to resist them, and declare who they are; although we cannot prevail against them, lurking under sheeps skins, as we would; yet it is in some measure sufficient unto those who cannot attain, to have a willingness to do. [Then they apply unto John, shewing how that he vexed the Church of Christ, and compelled Christians to draw their swords against Christians; and brought people into a custom of perjury, rebellion, and conspiracies; and they add] Neither can Christians keep peace when God giveth it, they are so troubled with this Antichrist; so great is the madness of this man, or rather Satan, that openly, in Assemblies, he proclaimeth his wickedness, as if they were good works: When Christian Princes are at variance, then indeed he is Priest of Rome; the great Priest then reigneth and domineereth, when all things are wasted with jars and broils, and his power becometh terrible; he might have most easily restored peace with one Letter, but he hath no will that peace be among us; yea, by him rather was the discord increased; he feigned now to favor Lewis, and then to love Frederick; as each of them was weaker, he promised his aid unto the weaker; he did purposely invite both unto the Coronation, and gave fair words unto both; when they were ready to have agreed, he perswaded them unto Arms; all these things he doth craftily, that when we are undone by intestine wars, he may destroy the Empire, and possess Castles, Towns, and Republicks. When he is capital foe, and publick enemy, yet he will be Proctor, Witness, and Judge in his own cause. . . . what he pleaseth, he judgeth lawful. . . . he assumeth the spirit of Satan, making himself like unto the most High; and suffering himself to be worshipped, (which the Angel forbad John to do) and his feet to be kissed, after the manner of Dioclesian and Alexander, two most cruel Tyrants. . . . Those Popes have thrust Cæsar out of Rome and Italy, and Christ out of the Earth; they permit the Heavens unto him, and have taken Hell and Earth unto themselves; and they will be believed, not only called gods of the earth and of men, as if they reign over the souls and tongues, or as if they had divided the Empire of the world with Jupiter; how contrary are these things, Crucified and Supream power, a Soldier and a Priest, an Emperor and a Pastor? he is the two headed Beast, who is Augustus and the great high Priest; as we read of Nero, Decius, &c. I then they refute the particulars of the Pope's Bull; finally concluding, If he be not the Antichrist, certainly he is his forerunner, from whom we appeal unto the Christian Senate of the world. This Apology of Lewis prevailed, even among his foes, that the Earl of Tirolis, and some others, dealt for peace between Lewis and Frederick. Lewis had the other captive, and he set him at liberty, on condition that he should renounce the title of Emperor; and within few years he died. Then Lewis was sole Emperor; and he went into Italy, *An.* 1327. being invited by the Gibelines, to aid them against the Gwelfs; and he exercised the Imperial Authority where he came; therefore the Pope excommunicated him, *Platin.* But *Tho. Couper in Epist.* saith, He was accursed, because Udalrick, the Emperor's Secretary, (without the Emperor's knowledge) in an Epistle, had called the Pope, the Beast rising out of the Sea. The Emperor did often profer a treaty of peace, but the Pope would not hear of it. Many learned men, both Divines and Jurists of Bologna and Paris, wrote then against the Pope, as followeth. When Lewis could not obtain confirmation from the Pope, he entred into Rome, and was received gladly; he and the Empress were crowned by Stephen Colonna, Vicar of Rome, with full consent (saith *Platin.*) of Nobles and Cardinals. The City was then governed by their own Citizens, under
the

the title, Vicars of the King of the Romans. *Plat. in Iohan.* There he assembled a very frequent Synod, and declared more fully, 1. What wrongs he had suffered from Jac. de Cadurco, *alias* Pope John the XXII. or rather the mystical Antichrist (said he) and Abiathar, who had followed Absalom against David. [And he did not only thus complain, but also the Orators of the Armenians, and other Nations, against whom John had covenanted with the Turk.] 2. He shewed what Authority other Emperors had exercised against the Popes, when they were found vicious. 3. With common consent of the Princes, and Bishops of Italy and Germany; and assent of the Priests and People, Pope John was condemned of irreligiouſness and heresie, and as Author of the Antichristian Empire. Lastly, They did chuse another Pope, Nicolaus the V. as is written before. John raged, and deprived Lewis again. When Benedict the XII. was chosen, Lewis sent Orators, craving peace; and the Pope answered, that he and his Brethren would take care to restore that Noble branch which was cut off from the Church; and he did commend Lewis, as the most eminent Prince of the world: He bewailed also, that Italy was oppressed by Tyrants, and the holy Land by the Saracens, and all these evils had hapned for want of an Emperor. The Orators hearing the Pope speak thus, were assured that the absolution was granted. But (saith *Naucler. gener. 45.*) the King of France, and Robert King of Apulia, turn all upside down; for two Arch Bishops, and two Counts, came and dissuaded the Pope from making peace with Lewis, lest he be called a friend of Hereticks. Benedict said unto them, Do your Masters wish, that there be no Empire? We speak not, holy Father, (said they) against the Empire, but against the person of Lewis, which is condemned for his practising against the Church. Then said Benedict, It is true, we have done against him; but he would have fallen at the feet of our Predecessor, if he could have been accepted; and what he hath done, he hath been provoked thereunto. But (saith *Naucler.*) the Pope could not prevail. And John King of Bohemia, and Henry Duke of Bavier, wrote, that with the aid of the Kings of Hungary and Cracow, they would set up another King of the Romans. So the Cardinals did for that time hinder the absolution, and the Orators were dismissed with fair words. In the year 1336, Lewis assembled the Princes in Spira, and from thence sent other Orators unto the Pope for absolution; among these was Gerlak Count de Naslaw, and the Bishop of Curia. When they came, Benedict weeping, said, He loved Prince Lewis; but the King of France had written unto him, that if he did absolve Lewis without his consent, he should finde worse dealing then Boniface had found. The next year Lewis and Philip de Valois, King of France, were agreed; and they both sent together unto Benedict for absolution of Lewis. Then said Benedict, Shall I now judge Lewis an Heretick, and then a most religious Christian, at the King's nod? and so did still refuse. And it is thought (saith *Naucler.*) Philip did pretend to desire what he would not; and Benedict did profess what he would not, though he would have done it; and so nothing was done. But it will appear, that the Pope did dissemble at first, and at this time began to shew himself. In the year 1338, Lewis called another Diet to Frankford, and there, by advice of some Minorites, he published a Declaration against the Sentence of Pope John, where he proved out of the Canon Law and Ancient Customs, that it appertained only unto the Electors to chuse the Emperor; and the interest of the Pope is onely to anoint him, being chosen, which is but a ceremony; and if the Pope will refuse, any other Bishop may anoint: wherefore when the Emperor giveth oath unto the Bishop of Rome, it is not of homage or subjection, but only of faithfulness, and defense of the Bishop and the Church.

if necessity do require his furtherance; so that it is against all Antiquity, that the Pope restraineth the Authority of the Electors to the designing of the King of the Almain only, and taketh unto himself alone to create the Emperor; as also it is absurd, that the Pope assumeth the managing of the Empire as lawful Emperor, when the Imperial Throne is vacant, which power belongeth unto the Palatine of Rhine: likewise he did clear himself particularly of those things which Pope John had alledged against him: And in the end, by advise of all the Clergy and Princes of Almany there assembled, declared the whole process, that was laid against him, to be null and of no force. This Declaration is at length in *Nauciler, loc. cit.* At that time Benedict made Luchin the Viscount, and his Brother John the Arch-Bishop, to be Vicars of Millain, and other Towns; and he gave the same power unto Mascin Scala in Verona and Vincentia, and unto others in other Cities, and that he did by his own power, (as he said) because when the Imperial Seat is vacant, as for a time it was vacant, all the Imperial power did belong unto him. *Nauciler. ibid.* Then the Emperor, seeing that now was no hope to be absolved, and, as the Pope was doing, he created all hereditary Vicars in Italy, (who afterwards became absolute Lords) lest they should revolt from him. Pope Clemens was haughtier then all the other; he summoned the Emperor to appear, and satisfy God and the Church. Lewis sent his Orators, and promised to obey. Clemens demanded, that the Emperor should confess all his heresies and errors; that he should resign the Empire, and not reassume it but with the good leave of the Pope; and that he should render himself and his Sons, and his goods, into the Pope's reverence: All which the Orators did subscribe, so that the Pope and the Cardinals did admire at it: And then they propound harder conditions. *Nauciler. saith,* The Emperor would never have subscribed these Articles, though he had been a prisoner. When he saw them, he sent Copies of them unto all the Princes; and they did assemble at Frankford in *September, An. 1344*, where, after consideration of these Articles, they did judge them derogatory unto the honor of the Empire; they all with one voice did abhor them; and they did intreat the Emperor, to stand in defense of his honor, as he had done before, and they should not be deficient to the uttermost of their power. *Nauciler. ibid.* Then Clemens did accurse the Emperor again for Heresie and Schism; and he accursed all the Bishops and Princes that favored him; and he sent a mandate unto the Electors, to proceed unto a new election. The Heresies were; 1. He believed not the determination of Pope John the XXII. concerning the poverty of Christ. 2. He held that the Emperor may depose a Pope. 3. He, being accursed, did contumaciously lie under the curse. 4. He gave Bishopricks unto some, and deposed some Bishopricks, who would not do contrary unto the Papal interdiction. 5. That he had deposed a Pope, and set up an Anti-Pope. Henry of Viernberg, Arch-Bishop of Mentz, would not consent unto the violation of his innocent Majesty; therefore the Pope deposed him, and sent Gerlak of Nassaw into his See. Other Bishops and Electors, being seduced by John King of Bohemia, did consent unto the election of his Son Charls. Waltram, Bishop of Colcin, got 8000 marks; Baldwin, Bishop of Trevers, was Uncle to King John; the Duke of Saxony received 8000 marks. &c. *P. Mexia.* The Pope, without delay, approved the election. Behold what a fire the Pope had kindled, if the wisdom of Lewis had not been singularly patient. He would not renounce his Imperial Title; but he returned to Burgravia, where, by procurement of the Pope, he was poisoned with a drink, which the Dutchess of Austria presented unto him, *An. 1347.* and therefore he was called a Martyr. Clemens had sent his Bulls unto the Princes of Germany.

many, commanding them to accept the before named Charls as their lawful Emperor: And he had obtained from Charls, that from thence forth none should be accounted Emperor, until he be confirmed by the Pope, and to believe otherwise is a pernicious heresie. The Princes and other States understanding this, thought Charls unworthy of the Diadem; and they said, Will that Servant of Servants rage always in pride and ambition, that he dare with a shameless face, more then manifestly surpass the wickedness of the most cruel Tyrants that ever was read of? Wherefore, after the death of Lewis, they assembled to a new election. The Bishop of Mentz, and three Secular Electors, (the other Bishops came not) chose Edward the III. King of England, and Brother in law of Lewis the V. He gave them thanks, but refused, because he was troubled with wars in France. Then they chose Frederick, Marquess of Misnia, Son in law of Lewis. Charls gave him a sum of money, that he should not accept. Thirdly, *An.* 1350. they chose Gunther Earl of Swarzenburgh, (they were so resolved not to accept an Emperor from the Pope) and he was presently after poisoned by his Phylician Findank, who also died within three days, having, at his Master's command, tasted first of the same potion. Thus were they all made away who withstood the Pope. Gunther knowing that he must die, and being desirous to leave Germany in peace, rendered his Title unto Charls. And so, after long contention, the honor of the Emperor is brought to a meer Title; nor could the most puissant Emperors prevail, because the people were perswaded, that they drew their swords against Heaven, if they did resist the Pope; as if they had presumed, like the ancient Giants, to climb into the skies, and pull God from his Throne; and the thundering excommunications, were judged not so much menaces of death, (which peradventure might have been avoided or contemned) but of damnation, which as it is most terrible, so it was thought unavoidable.

4. CHARLS the IV. was a weak Prince in courage and prudence; through ambition he did extreemly weaken and debate the Empire; he approved that form of Coronation of the Emperors which is kept in the Vatican, and containeth many servile Ceremonies; As The Emperor supplieth the office of a Sub-Deacon in ministring unto the Pope, and saying Mass; and Divine Service being ended, he must hold the stirrup while the Pope mounteth on his horse, and for a certain space must lead the Pope's horse by the bridle: Also he obliged himself, that he should stay no longer in Italy then while he were crowned; so whereas many Emperors had for some ages displayed their forces, to drive the Popes from Rome, now the Popes, without any forces, have removed the Emperors from the Tower of the Empire, and made themselves absolute Lords. Hence also it appeareth, that now the Emperors are but the images of the ancient Emperors, and the Popes give spirit unto the image. *Naucler.* writeth, that Charls entered into Rome on foot; in derision whereof, a Senator began an Oration before the people, in these words; Behold, thy King cometh unto thee with meekness and lowliness. He was crowned by two Cardinals, depured by the Pope; and the next day took his journey into Germany. At that time Petrarcha wrote many things, between derision and disdain, in his Epistles, partly unto Charls, and partly unto others: In his second Book, *De vita solitaria. sect. 4. cap. 2.* he saith, Cæsar hath taken the Crown, and is gone into Germany, contenting himself with the lurking holes of his Country, and the name of Emperor; he embraceth the lowest members, and forsaketh the head; who, we thought, should have recovered, hath lost it. . . . I confess, his oath binderh him, and he excuseth himself, that he hath sworn to abide in Rome but a day; Oh infamous day! oh shameful covenant! oh Heavens behold an oath! behold Religion! be-

hold godliness! the Bishop of Rome hath left Rome so, that he will not suffer another to dwell in it, &c. *P. Morn. in Myster. pag. 472.* As Charls came to the Empire by miserable ambition, so he may be called the first Emperor which ruined the Revenues thereof; for he did first consent, that the Viscount of Millain should be the perpetual Vicar of the Empire; and the Viscount having once full Authority, usurped liberty: And to the end he might tie the Princes Electors unto him and his Son after him, he promised to give them great sums of money, and for payment thereof, he gave them discharges of their taxes, and tributes of their Lands unto the Empire: which covenant being once made, they cause the Emperor (when he is at first chosen) to swear, that he shall never revoke: So the tributes of many Lands and Towns of Germany, which anciently was the Emperor's patrimony, is dispersed among the Princes and free Cities. Then also was the order of the Electors changed; it was appointed, that the Bishop of Mentz should ask the votes; 1. Of the Bishop of Trevers. 2. Of the Bishop of Colein. 3. Of the King of Bohemia. 4. Of Prince Palatine of Rhine. 5. Of the Duke of Saxony. 6. Of the Marquess of Brandenburg. And lastly, give his own vote. But in procession, the three Bishops should go foremost, and the Bishop of Trevers in the midst; and the three Princes should follow them, and the Duke of Saxony in the midst, then the Emperor, and immediately after him the King of Bohemia. *Bulla Aurea in Fascic. rer. expetend.* And they have a third order in serving the Emperor at his table on the solemn days. In the year 1359. Charls had a conference at Mentz with the three Electoral Bishops; and Pope Innocentius sent thither the Bishop Calvacen, for a Subsidy unto his Treasury; and gave him power to dispense with the Clergy who had not Canonically purchased Benefices, either *Curata vel sine cura*. There was also the Dukes of Saxony and Bavier. The Emperor called the Legate; and heard his Commission; then said Charls, Lord Legate, the Pope hath sent you into Germany to require a great sum of money, but you reform nothing among the Clergy; Cuno, a Canon of Mentz, was standing by, with a costly hat, or cap, and many golden and silken fantasies about it; the Emperor said to him, Lend me your cap; then laying aside his own, the Emperor put on the Canon's cap, and said unto the Princes, Am I not now more like a Soldier then a Clark? and so he rendered the cap unto Cuno. Then he said unto the Bishop of Mentz, Lord Arch-Bishop, We command you, that with the fidelity wherewith you are tied unto us, you reform your Clergy, and put away these abuses in their clothes, shoes, hair, and conversation; or if they will not obey, that you command the fruits of their Benefices to be brought into our Exchequer, and, by consent of the Pope, we will employ them unto honest uses. When the Legate heard these words, he went presently away. *Io. Naucler.* hath this; but he sheweth not what the Bishop of Mentz did in obedience unto the charge, nor how the Pope was taken with the answer; but only he sheweth, that the next year Pope Innocentius sent unto John de Salverd, a Canon of Spira, to gather the half of all the fruits of Benefices within that Dioc, whether vacant or shall be vacant, for two years, unto the Pope's use. This Charls did more good in Bohemia, then in all the other parts of the Empire; he erected a School of Liberal Sciences at Prague; he built the new City, and a glorious Palace, and many Monasteries; and he made the Bishop a free Arch-Bishop, whereas before he was subject unto the Bishop of Mentz. He and his Empress went to Rome to kiss Pope Urban's foot, and returned within three months. He died *An. 1378.* In Constantinople, after Andronicus, his Son Calo-Johannes did reign; his Uncle and Tutor, John Catacuzen, did usurp the Government; and they both

both were called Emperors; and in the end Calo-John was sole Emperor. This unhappy John sent for the Turks to come unto his aid: Soliman then did possess all that in Asia had appertained unto the Empire, and came over the Hellespont, but could never be beaten back again; he took Gallipolis, and other Cities on the coast, and then Hadrianople. Lazarus Despot of Servia, or Myfia inferior, and Mark Despot of Bulgaria, and some other Princes, went against him, *An. 1363.* and were overthrown. John came into Italy, France and Germany, for help against the Turks; but when he could obtain none, he returned, and sought ways to fight under the Turks colours in Asia. *Laon. Chalcocon. lib. 1.* After that time Soliman became Lord of many Christians Lands in Europe; and his Brother Amurathes conquered more; and so that Empire decayed yearly.

5. WENCESLAUS, succeeding unto his Father, is called wretched and effeminate; whether his minde was set on devotion, or that he would not meddle with the two-headed Beast, (for then began the great Schism of the two Popes) it is uncertain; and the Civil wars which began in the time of Charls, did then increase. The Vicars, which were appointed to govern the Imperial Towns in Italy, became absolute; and so did others in Germany usurp liberty. The Electors, seeing that he had no care of the Empire, and that especially he favored John Huls, conspired, by instigation of Pope Boniface the IX. to chuse another; but they could not agree; for two were chosen, *An. 1400.* Robert Count Palatine, and Jodok Marquess of Moravia. Jodok died within six months; and then Robert was sole Emperor. Then Wenceslaus made no account, and, contenting himself with Bohemia, lived yet twenty years. Emmanuel, the second Son of Calo John, by the aid of Bajazet, succeeded unto his Father; and paid him yearly 30000 crowns; and did willingly quit Philadelphia. Andronicus, the elder Brother, was glad to take pay of the Turk. *Laon. Chalcocon. lib. 2.* The Turks, by these means, and because of the dissensions in Italy and Germany, especially of the Schism between the Anti-Popes, had the more opportunity to subdue Bulgaria, Walachia, and carried great spoil out of Hungary. Sigismund King of Hungary, with the aid of Germans, French and English, about 100000 men, fought against 300000 Turks, and were overthrown *An. 1397.* Because Emmanuel would not follow Bajazet, and had made a league with some Princes against him, Bajazet went to besiege Constantinople, and had taken it, if the Lord had not raised up Tamerlan, King of Massagetes in Tartary, by the solicitation of some Turkish Dukes which were robbed by Bajazet. Tamerlan was admired for his power and success; he subdued Persia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, and all Asia between Tanais and Nilus. Bajazet left the siege of Constantinople to fight him at Prusa, where Bajazet was taken, in the 25 year of his reign. Tamerlan asked him, What he would do if he had him in that case? The Turk answered proudly, I would put thee in an iron Cage. Tamerlan did so with him, and carried him through Asia until he died. The Sons of Bajazet had Civil wars a long time, and killed one another. So the Christians in Europe had rest from the Turks, until Amurath the II. subdued Mustapha, the fourth Son of Bajazet, and recovered the former conquest: He returned against the Greeks in the days of John, the eldest Son of Emmanuel, because he had aided Mustapha. *Laon. Chalcocon.*

CENTURY XIV.

CHAP. III.

Of divers Countries.

*In the grossest
darkness was
some sparks
of light.*

1. IN this Century grofs was the darkness both of ignorance and vitiousness in the body of the Church; the Preachers did not teach the knowledge of God, but sought their own gain; and the people could not but be ignorant; nevertheless, God raised some in all Estates, to note and rebuke the corruptions of the time, as followeth. It was not a small furtherance, that in the Council at Vienna, *An. 1511*. it was decreed, that in all Academies, there should be some expert in the Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabick languages, who should not only teach these languages, but translate their books into Latin, for the larger spreading of God's word, and the more easie conversion of Infidels: By the benefit of these languages, the light of God's word began to shine more clearly; and the Commentaries of Nic. de Lyra, on the Bible, was a good help, although in many things complying with the times: and some Greeks, fleeing from the oppression of the Turks, came into the West, and taught the Greek tongue, and translated some of the Fathers.

*Overtures of
Reformation.*

2. A shew and hope of reforming the Church, was made by Pope Clemens the V. in the Council at Vienna: It is clear therefore, that the corruption was known by the people, and a Reformation was wished. Clemens gave order to Durand *Auditor Rotæ* and Bishop Mimaten, to set in order some Articles of Reformation, to be propounded in the Council: The Treatise is extant, with this Title, *De concilio celebrando*, printed *Lutetia, An. 1545*. He beginneth at the Roman Clergy, saying, They have followed the way of Balaam, who loved the hire of iniquity, and was rebuked for his madness which hath hapned also in these days, seeing so foolish and unorderly things are done by Church-men, who should be a light unto others; they have offended the senses even of Pagans and Jews, so that such as have no knowledge of Divine reason do abhor their madness, and being wiser, reprove their wicked ways: He sheweth what might be the way of Reformation; to wit, in the holy Council, Kings and Bishops should conspire unto these things: 1. Recourse must be made unto the Law of God, unto the Gospel, and to Councils that have been approved by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, and unto good human Laws; whatsoever is found to have been attempted by men in government of the world, contrary unto these, let it be amended and reformed; and therefore away with all abuses, customs, dispensations, priviledges, and exemptions, that are contrary unto them. 2. Let the Popes conform themselves, their works and words, unto divine and human Laws; and give unto their inferiors, an example of things that should be done; or if they will shift from those Laws, and domineer rather then provide for their Subjects, their honor is puffed up with pride, and what was ordained for concord, is turned to dammage. 3. It cannot be denied, but the Roman Church, in many things, hath strayed from the primitive institution, and from the minde of the holy Fathers, Councils and Decrees, even so far, that the first institution is forgotten; but they should prefer the truth of the holy Scriptures unto all custom, how ancient soever it may seem to be. 4. The Pope should not suffer causes to be lightly brought from other Provinces unto his Court; now all order is confounded; the Pope giveth Benefices before they be vacant; and the proverb is to be feared as too true, He who coveteth all, loseth all. Here he inveigheth at the promotion of strangers, who are blinde leaders of the blinde, when they know not the language of their flock: And against Simony; which reigneth (said he) in
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the Court, as if it were no sin: Against the plurality of Benefices, and pensions wherewith Bishopricks are burthened to pay unto Cardinals; Benefices are bestowed on the Pope's Nephews and Friends; St. Gregory would not be called universal Bishop, nor suffer that name to be given unto any other; and the ancient Popes were wont to prefer the names of other Bishops unto their own; this he sheweth by instances; and concludeth the point thus; Every cause should be decided in its Province. 6. It seemeth profitable, that in the Council marriage be granted unto Priests. 7. Monks should be compelled to work with their hands, as anciently they should not be permitted to meddle with the office of Priests and far less should Friars be permitted to go a begging. 8. It is necessary to repress the abuse of images, the selling of indulgences and penances, and the impertinent discourses of Monks in their Sermons; for they leave the Scriptures, and preach the inventions of men. He often repeateth, There is no hope of reforming the Church, unless Rome begin with her good example; (and here, in the ninth place, he reckoneth their corruptions) for the universality of the Church is offended, and infected with the example of the Roman Church; and the leaders of the people, (as Isaiah saith) cause the name of God to be blasphemed; and (as Augustine saith) nothing is more hurtful unto the Church then the Clerks, who are worse then Laicks. He sheweth the rapines of the Legates, and other servants of the Court; the exactions for indulgences, for privileges and dispensations, from whence floweth the neglect or contempt of Religion; and all these are through the luxury and pride of Popes and Prelates, whose pride is greater then of all Kings and Princes. Here he taxeth the negligence and ignorance of the most part of them, and seemeth to despair of them in these words; Alas! that saying of Isaiah seemeth now to be too true of the Church, It shall be an habitation for dragons, and a Court for ostriches. . . . O that it were not true of our Clergy, which he saith, *This people draw near unto me with their mouth, but their heart is far from me.* He hath many such passages in the three parts of that Treatise; but no fruit followed so wholesome admonitions. *Mornay in Myster.*

3. Arnold de Villanova, a French man, (or Catalanus, as some say) wrote many books: In *Colloquio Frider. & Arnol.* he hath a remarkable History; Frederick King of Sicily, a religious Prince, said unto him, He had a purpose to do some remarkable service to the honor of our Savior, but two impediments were in his way, fear and doubt; he feared to be despised as a fantastical fool by the world, both of Clerks and Laicks; who are all careful of earthly things, but none of them favor of heaven: and he doubted, whether the Gospel be mans invention, or brought from heaven: three things did move him to doubt so; 1. He certainly knew by hearing and seeing, that Bishops and Clerks make a shew of Religion through custom, but they had no devotion; they are earnest in vain-glory and lusts, but they feed no souls unto salvation. 2. Monks and Regulars, professing Apostolical simplicity and poverty, do astonish men with their lewdness; they are so estranged from the way of God, that in comparison of them, not only the Secular Clerks, but even the Laicks are justified; their wickedness is so vile, that no Estate can endure them; they profess humility, poverty, and perfection of virtues, but no measure of virtue may be found in them; for humility, they are presumptuously proud, creeping into Kings Courts, Councils and Commissions; they intrude themselves into secular affairs, and if they be refused or rebuked, they become furious with viperous bitings; they attend feasts, and endeavor by any means to enrich themselves; they are false, ungrateful, deceitful and affected liars; in hatred, pertinacious; in preaching, pestiferous; disobedient

*The doubts
and fears of
a King*

to superiors; and do openly avow uncleanness. The third cause of his doubt was; Whereas in former times, the Bishops of the Apostolical See sent their Legates unto the Nations, to know of their increase or decrease in Religion; *was answered* now no such thing is heard of, but their business is for worldly things. Arnold answered, His purpose is pious, and he should not leave it off; his fear, is a suggestion of Satan, hating the glory of God, and the salvation of souls; and he should vanquish such fear, by consideration of God's love, and the example of Christ, suffering the revilings of men. . . . As for his doubts, he might be sure that the Scriptures are the Word of God; Jesus Christ is the promised Savior, and the same God who created the world; which is clear, not only by the Articles of faith, but even by irresistible demonstration. His reasons are such as should rather confirm his faith; for the first two are null; because Christ, who is the foundation of the Church, hath foretold the defection and corruption of preachers, both by voice and Canonical Scriptures, and by revelation unto persons of both sexes; which the Popes, with great devotion, keep among the Archives of the Apostolical See; and I have seen and handled them in the holy City. And against the third motive, it may suffice what God had done in his time, and what he is about to do shortly; to wit, he had warned the See of Apostacy under Boniface the VIII. and under Benedict; for a certain man had told them, 1. That their Counsellors were the Ministers of Satan, under shew of Religion and zeal, drawing them from ancient purity. 2. Whatsoever those angels of Satan did advise them, they should not authorise and execute: And it was told them, if they shall condemn this warning, God shall cause them to feel here the presage of everlasting judgement; Boniface believed not this until he felt it: And it was told to Benedict by writing, that God would shortly pull him from his seat; and it came to pass, for he sate not thirty five days after that: And it was told them, That they who glory of evangelical perfection, are corrupters of evangelical doctrine, by wicked lives and pestiferous preaching; seeing the Friars, in their Sermons, do traduce them whom they do envy, and flatter such as they would rob; they deprave divine Oracles with false expositions, impertinent applications, and sophistical distinctions; they omit things necessary and useful, and in the spirit of Antichrist they seduce people from their ordinary shepherds; they go unto all Provinces, and buy the office of Inquisition; and like raging divels, they persecute all true believers with false calumnies, furious vexations, clamorous lyes, and unjust punishments, and yet none reproveth nor restraineth such madness: All this (said he) I have seen among the Apostolical writings. And it was contained in the same denuntiation, that these false prophets had conspired against the Divine truth; covenanting, that none of them should touch those passages of Scripture, which the Ancients had in their Commentaries expounded of false teachers; but to teach the Prophets rather than the Evangelists; that some of them taught, that the commission of man with man was no sin; and if any of their own society do rebuke their faults, he is condemned to death as superstitious, or enemy of their Religion; if any do appeal unto the Apostolical See, not for severity of discipline, but for corruption of the Gospel, he is imprisoned cruelly, or exiled; all the books, declaring the truth of the Gospel, and describing their ungodliness, are condemned to the fire, under pretence of superstition and error; for an ambiguous sentence, they persecute all who would live in evangelical poverty, whether without or within their order; some of them do always attend the Apostolical See, lest the complaints of the people come there; they are like the drake and ostrich; for the drake hath pleasure in waters, so they in fleshly lusts; and the ostrich hath feathers like an eagle,

eagle, but never riseth from the earth; so their austerity of outward carriage is like to heavenly Religion, but their hearts cleave fast to earthly ambition They have forbidden all their fellows, under pain of death, to read the Scriptures declaring the truth; and they stop the fountain of living waters, from them that thirst after the water of life Seeing God hath foretold those things, and now hath twice denounced them; although the messenger was contemned, and cast into bonds, he is not moved, but continueth constant in the faith; neither should it move thee, O King, to doubt of the truth of the Gospel; and I know, that God will cause those things to be denounced the third time unto the Apostolical See; but determinately by whom, and where, and when, I cannot tell, because it is not shewed unto me; and if that man, whom God shall send, undertake it, and prosecute it with the zeal of Moses and Phinehas, he will, by the power of God, adorn it with excellent things, both old and new; but if he neglect it, be you assured, God will within these three years bring most fearful judgements, to the astonishment of the East and West, &c. The third denouncer was himself; and at that time began the contention between the Pope and Lewis. King Frederick was perswaded by these words, and wrote unto his Brother James, King of Arragon, of all these things; and received Letters from him, tending much to the same purpose. *Mornay* testifieth, that both the Letters of the date *An.* 1309. are extant; and the copies of them are full in *Catal. test. ver. lib.* 18.

4. Dantes Aligerius, a Florentine, was then famous for piety and learning, and an excellent Poet, saith *Platin. in Bonifac. VIII.* He wrote a book *De Monarchia mundi*, where he proveth, that the Pope is not above the Emperor, nor hath any power over him; he confuted that, which was called *Donatio Constantini*, that the Emperor neither gave such a gift, nor could give it: He derided the comparison of the Pope to the Sun, and of the Emperor unto the Moon; and averred contrarily, that the Pope hath his priviledges from the Emperor. In a Poem, of Paradise, in the Italian tongue, he complaineth, that the Pope, in stead of being a shepherd, is become a wolf, and driveth Christ's sheep out of the right way; that the preaching of God's Word is omitted, and vain fables of Monks and Friars, and Decretals, are most heard, the flock is fed with the winde: He saith, The Pope is the whore of Babylon, and the Patriarchs [or Cardinals] are the towers of it; in old time, the Church was persecuted by the sword, but now by famine, for the bread which was gave for her nourishment, is taken away. *1. Fox in Act. & Mon.*

5 Robert, a French man by name and Nation, a Franciscan by profession, the longer he was in that order, he loved the Friars the worse; he lived about that time: A Treatise, under his name, is printed with the Prophecies of Hildegardis. In the sixth Chapter he speaketh in the name of God unto the Pope, saying, Who hath set this idol in my seat to rule my flock? he hath ears, and heareth not the voice of them who go down mourning into hell; he hath eyes, and seeth not the abomination of the people, and the Bacchanal excesses of their pleasures; how great evil doth this people before me? neither will he see them, unless he see a treasure Wo to the Idol, who shall be equal unto this Idol on the earth? he hath exalted his name, saying, Who shall controule me? they who ride on horses do serve me; what was not done unto my Predecessors, is done unto me, &c. This was his exposition of that in *Zech.* Wo to the Idol shepherd. In chap. 1. and chap. 12. *Some prophecies.* he describeth the Pope under the name of a serpent, who exalteth himself above measure, oppressing the small number of godly men, and hath many

The Pope is an Idol.

false prophets about him, to obscure the name of Christ, and advance the name of the serpent only. Again he saith, I was praying on my knees, mine eyes being lift up to Heaven, and I saw an high Priest clad in white silks before me; his back was towards the East, lifting up his hands towards the West, as Priests are wont at the Mass; his head appeared not; and as I marked more attentively, whether he had an head, I saw his head withered; and small like a tree: Then the Spirit of the Lord said unto me, It signifieth the condition of the Roman Church. Again he saith, As I was the same way exercised, I saw in the Spirit, and behold, a man walking in the same habit, carrying sweet bread on his shoulders, and very good wine by his side, and he held in his hands a round stone, biting it with his teeth, as an hungry man biteth bread, but he did nothing; then two heads of Serpents came out of the stone: and the Spirit of the Lord, instructing me, said, This stone is unprofitable and curious questions, wherewith the hungry souls are turmoiled, when they leave substantial things: And I said, What meaneth those two heads? He said, The name of the one is Vain Glory, and the other is Overthrow of Religion. It is to be observed, that about that time, the chief questions in the Schools were, Whether the bread of the Mass be turned into the body of Christ, or whether the substance of it evacuateth? what eateth a mouse, when she eateth the Sacrament? wherein subsisteth the accidents of the bread, whether in Christ's body, or by themselves? &c. Again he saith, I saw a clear Cross of Silver, like to the Cross of Toulouse, but the twelve apples of it, were like to vile apples that are cast out of the sea: What is this, Lord Jesus? The Spirit said, The Cross is the Church; which shall be clear with pureness of life, and shril with the clear voice of the truth preached: Then I said, What meaneth those rotten apples? The humiliation of the Church-men, which shall come to pass. Here he prophecied of the Reformation. *Possevin in Apparto. 2. calleth this Robert, An excellent Preacher of the Word. Mornay in Myster. pag. 427.*

6. Marfilius Patavinus wrote the book *Defensor pacis*, about the year 1324. there he debateth the question between the Emperor and the Pope: and by the holy Scriptures, Laws, Canons, and Histories Ecclesiastical and Civil, he maintaineth these positions; Christ is the only head and foundation of the Church: He made none of the Apostles to be universal Vicar of the Church; nor made he the other Apostles subject unto Peter: It is more probable, that Peter was never at Rome; far less had he his seat there, who had no fixed seat, as also not any of the Apostles: The fulness of power in any man, is a manifest lye, an execrable title, the beginning of many evils, and the use thereof should be discharged in a good Council: The authority of the keys, is that judiciary power that consisteth in dispensing the Word, the Sacraments and Discipline: Christ, whose Vicar the Pope calleth himself, did never exercise temporal authority on earth; he was subject unto the Magistrate, and so were his Apostles after his ascension, and they taught others to obey Princes: If a Pope usurp temporal authority, Princes should, by the Law of God, resist by word and deed, or they are unjust, and sin against God; and those who fight for the Pope, should be accounted the Soldiers of Satan: Unto the Pope belongeth not the election, nor confirmation of the Emperor; but contrarily, the Christian Prince, with consent of Clergy and People, should name the Pope; or if one be chosen in his absence, he should confirm him: If the Pope go astray, or be accursed, the Emperor should reduce him into the way, and judge him in a Council: When Peter lived, he might have fallen and

erred;

*Rave Theses
in those days.*

erred; neither hath the Pope any priviledge against error: That that Christ said to Peter, I have prayed for thee, is to be extended unto the other Apostles: Only the Canon of the Bible is the fountain of truth; against which [Canon] we may not believe either Pope or Church: Concerning the sense of Scripture, or any Article of the faith, we may not believe the Pope and his Cardinals, seeing not once have they seduced silly souls into hell: The Christian Church is the universality of believers, and not the Pope and his Cardinals; she is represented in a lawful and general Council: A Council should be assembled by the Emperor, with consent of Christian Princes, as anciently it was always: The Word of God should be the only rule, and chief judge in deciding causes Ecclesiastical: Not only the Clergy, by Lay men also, if they be godly and learned, should have voice in general Councils: The Clergy and Synagogue of the Pope, is a den of thieves, &c. This book was printed at Basil, *An.* 1522. In another Treatise he saith, Good works are not the efficient cause of salvation, but *causa sine qua non*. *Mornay. ibid. pag. 452.* He was condemned as an Heretick by Pope John the XXIII. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 18.* Consider what a Modern could say more of this matter; and whether they shew not themselves to be ignorant of antiquity, who accuse us of novelty.

7. The same positions were held by John de Janduno, or Gandanensis, at the same time, as is manifest by his books, printed at Venice and Florence: So wrote also Luitpold, Bishop of Bamberg; namely, in a Treatise *De Translatone Imperii*, printed *Lutet. An.* 1540. he saith, The Authority of governing the Empire, belongeth unto the Emperor so soon as he is chosen; and the Coronation by the Pope addeth nothing, since Cæsar is not his vassal nor feudatory: The donation of Constantine is but a fable. He was also condemned by Pope John. *Catal. test. ibid.* Michael Cefenas, General of the Franciscans, was bolder, saying expressly, The Pope is the Antichrist; and Rome is Babylon, drunk with the blood of the Saints. Therefore *Antonin. par. 3. tit. 21. cap. 5.* reckoneth him among the poor men of Lions: For the Valientes still suffered persecution in sundry Countries, and under divers names, as the adversaries pleased to brand them: Many errors are imputed unto them by the writers of those times; but because they did abhor the Pope and his Court, they were reviled (as we have heard from Arnold de Villanova) and sought out to the fire; as *An.* 1302. Nogaret (the Father of him who took Pope Boniface the VIII.) was burnt in Aquitania. Clemens the V. caused it to be proclaimed, to take up the flag of the Cross against them; and destroyed 4000 near the Alps, whether they had fled. *Platin.* Others went higher unto the mountains, of whom some remained in his days, saith *Antonin. par. 3. tit. 22. cap. 10.* From them were the in-dwellers of Angromia, and adjacent parts, continuing until the Council at Trent. Trithemius testifieth of many that were burnt in Austria about that time; howbeit he, beliving the reports of malice, imputeth many errors unto them; yet he testifieth, that they abhorred the Mass, calling the Hosty, a god invented by man; the Church of Rome, a Synagogue of unbelievers, and not the flock of Christ: they denied all mens merits; intercession of Saints; the difference of days and meats, &c. He witnesseth also, that the professore of the same doctrine, were innumerable in Bohemia, Austria, and confine Countries; and that one of their Preachers, who was burnt at Vienna, had affirmed, that above 80000. embraced the same doctrine within those Provinces; and another, named Lombard, who was taken and burnt at Colein, avowed, that there were many of his Religion, within and about that City; and from those dregs (saith he) Bohemia is infected with these errors until this day.

But it was made known unto all the world; what was the doctrine of the Bohemians at Constance and Basil. *Antonin. par. 3. tit. 21. cap. 5.* faith, Many of them were burnt in many parts of the world; especially Picenum, or Marca Anconitana was full of them, and also Florence, whence many were exiled, and spread themselves even unto Greece. He called the Emperor Lewis a follower of them; he faith, Jo. Castillioneus and Francis Hacutara, two Franciscans, were burnt for the same doctrines. *Pa. Æmilius* faith, Under Charls, the fair King of France, were sublime engines, and most learned men; among them were some truly holy, and others, striving foolishly to exceed others, kept no measure, and became wicked; and it is uncertain to guess of the judgement and manners of some; the evils of the time were grievous to good men, who mourned secretly. *P. Mornay. in Myster. pag. 440. & 454.* About the year 1340. Conrade Hager, who was a Preacher at Wortzburg the space of twenty four years, taught, The Mass is not a sacrifice, nor available to quick nor dead; and money given for Masses is very robbery, and sacrilege of Priests: And certainly, as he condemned the false sacrifice, he declared the true: For such doctrine he was imprisoned. *Fox in Act.* out of the Register of Otho the VI. of Herbi. *An. 1390.* twenty four Citizens of Mentz were burnt at Binga for the doctrine of the Waldenses. Massius speaketh of more then twenty who were burnt in Province at Narbon, because they would not acknowledge the Roman Decretals, and called them contrary unto Scriptures.

*An apology
of a wolf,
fox and ass.*

8. There is an ancient record poetically compiled, of the date or year 1343. under the name *Pœnitentiarii Asini*; there a fox, a wolf, and an ass, are said to shrieve one another; first the wolf confesseth unto the fox, and was absolved easily; then the wolf heareth the confession of the fox, and sheweth him the like favor; and lastly the ass confesseth, that being hungry, he took a straw out of a sheave of corn that was upon an horses back going in pilgrimage unto Rome; he professeth repentance for the fault, yet thinking that it was not so hainous as the faults of the other two, he was confident of remission; but discipline was sharply executed upon him; he was condemned and slain. By the wolf, was meant the Pope; and the fox resembled the Priests: these do easily absolve one another; but the Laicks, who were meant by the ass, must suffer sharp censure; namely, if the German Emperor come under inquisition, he must be deprived; though the cause be but like a straw, yet the wolf faith, It is a great crime: So they, exagurating the escapes of the Laicks, they flie upon them, and devour them. *Fox in Act.*

*A description
of the Roman
Church.*

9. Francis Petrarcha, a Florentine, was Arch-Deacon of Parma, about the year 1350. a noble Poet, and honored with a Poetical Crown in the Capitole, in presence of the Nobility and people of Rome. *Plain.* In his Latine Epistles, which are full of gravity and zeal, he declareth his minde concerning the present condition of the Church, especially in those that have no title. In Epist. 8. he faith, Whatsoever is spoken of the Assyrian or Egyptian Babylon, whatsoever is written of the Labyrinth, of Avernus, of Tartarus, and the sulphurous Lakes, are but trifles in comparison of what we see now; here is terrible Nimrod and Semiramis, here is fearful Rhadamantus and greedy Cerberus, here is Pasiphae lying under Taurus, and that two natured Minotaur; briefly, you may see whatsoever confused thing. And in Epist. 9. he calleth himself a pilgrim of Jerusalem, about the rivers of Babylon. In Epist. 10. you do marvel at the superscription of my Epistles, and not without cause, seeing thou hast read of two Babylons only but marvel not: there is a third Babylon in our quarters; where can a city of confusion be said to be more justly, then in the West? who built it, I know not, but it is well known

known who dwell in her, surely they from whom she hath her name; and if thou wilt believe, here is Nimrod potent in the earth, climbing into the Heavens against the Lord here is Cambyſes more furious then he in the Eaſt, or then the Turk. In Epift. 16. he ſheweth the dangers of good men, and lovers of truth; and then ſaith, Seeing without the Kingdom of vertue, filly and naked truth is deprived of all aid, what thinkeſt thou will be, where all vertue is dead and buried? ſurely there truth is the greateſt crime, and falleth under the hatred of many, becauſe all muſt hunt after the love of one man . . . where is no piety, no charity, nor faith; where pride, envy, avarice, and luxury do reign; where the worſt are promoted, and the bribing villain is exalted to Heaven, but the juſt and poor are oppreſſed; where ſimplicity is termed fooliſhneſs, and malice is wiſdōm; where God is contemned, money is worſhipped, Laws are trodden under foot, and good men have been ſo abuſed; that now not a good man can be ſeen: I would gladly exempt one from this deluge of ſin, and I confeſs he may deſerve it, but it is a ſcorn to except one; therefore no Noah, no Deucaleon ſhall eſcape; and leſt the woman be thought more happy; no Partha ſhall ſwim forth: this City is drowned with a deluge of filthy luſts, and with an incredible torrent of wickedneſs Unto this Epistle I have affixed neither my hand nor ring; nor time; thou knoweſt the voice of the ſpeaker; and where I am. In Epift. 16. he congratulateth a friend for leaving the Pope's Court; then he ſaith, If there may be any true preface, the God of vengeance is at hand; the Lord will freely deal his juſt reward, unto the inſolently proud is their own vengeance . . . I remember what long ſince, I ſaid unto one, (who among very evil men, was the beſt of our number; and to whom thou art joyned in blood, and I by acquaintance) that a laſt day is approaching unto that Order, when their pride ſhall fall, the patience of God and man being wearied out; and when he, between ſtubbornneſs and deriſion; did with unto me the blindeneſs of Tireſias, and objected the words, Simon, I have prayed for thee and I replied, that I ſpoke not of the defection of faith, but of the ruine of them who deſtroy the faith then he ſaid in earneſt, Hold thy peace; although it be true, yet let not us be the Authors whether they will or not, all things have their own time, and the end of illuſions is at hand; which that I may ſee, I ſhall not live ſo long. Behold! every good man was then waiting for the fall of Babylon, and the Reformation of the Church. In Epift. 17. he ſheweth, that againſt his admonition, this friend would try with his eyes, whether it were true what he had written; and by experience had found, that whatſoever wickedneſs was in the world, all did flow to Avenion, as to the Sea: Petrarcha ſaid further unto him, If thou worſhip Chriſt, as thou haſt done religiously hitherto, the wickedneſs of his adverſaries, which thou haſt ſeen, ſhall be a ſpur unto thy faith, and make thy piety more zealous; for thou ſeeſt a people, who are not only adverſaries of Chriſt, but (which is worſe) under his banner, they fight againſt himſelf, and for Satan; and being filled with the blood of Chriſt, they ſay, Who is Lord over us? Truly, if Judas would come with his price of blood, he ſhould be welcome, and poor Chriſt ſhould be thruſt from the doors; that it is ſo, no Chriſtian is ignorant; none bewaileth it, none ſeeketh remedy; but while one looketh unto another, wickedneſs is unpuniſhed, and waxeth as thou ſeeſt; and which at the firſt was a curable malady, is now altogether corrupt: I confeſs, it began before our days, as we have learned from our Grand-fathers and now this peſt looketh toward the end. In Epift. 18. he directeth his ſpeech to Babylon in France (that is, to Avenion) thus; Shall I call thee a famous or infamous whore;

Eeeeee who

who hast played the harlot with the Kings of the earth? indeed thou art the same that the Evangelist saw in the Spirit; thou (I say) art the same, and none other for thee, sitting upon many waters; the people and Nations are the waters upon which thou sittest: Whore, know thy habit; a woman clothed in purple and scarlet, and gold and precious stones; having a golden cup in her hand, full of abomination, and uncleanness of fornication: Doeſt thou not know thy self, Babylon! unless that deceive thee, which is written in her forehead, Great Babylon, and thou art Little Babylon; little indeed in compass of walls, but in vices, and compass of infinite passions and lusts, and multitude of all evils, thou art great, yea greatest, yea infinite: And surely what followeth, agreeth unto thee and no other, Babylon the mother of fornications and abominations of the earth, a wicked mother of most wicked seed If thou wilt yet dissemble, mark what followeth; And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the Saints, and with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus: Why art thou silent? either shew another drunken with this blood, or if thou canst deny that thou art drunk; for the vision must be true of all the whoredoms wherewith all Nations and Kings are drunk, what lookeſt thou for, but that that John saith, Babylon is fallen, it is fallen, and become a den of divels, who do reign in thee, though with faces of men? Then returning to his friend, he saith, But thou, my friend, hear with the Apostle, another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her my people, &c. *Morn. in Myſter. pag. 465.*

*Preachers at
Avenion.*

10. Hayabad, a Franciscan, preached in Avenion, *An. 1345.* before Pope Clemens, that he was commanded by God to declare, that the Church of Rome is the whore of Babylon; and the Pope and his Cardinals are the very Antichrist; and that his Predecessors, Benedict and John, are condemned. When the Pope challenged him, he said, He was commanded in a vision to speak so, and therefore he durst not fail to speak it. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 18. ex Henr. de Erford. Chron.* John Rochetalaida, another Franciscan, preached the same; and is said to be one of them who were burnt at Avenion, *An. 1353.* In the year 1351. a Carmelite, in a Sermon, spake against the vices of the Pope and his Cardinals; but he was quickly hurled from the place. *Mornay. ex Albert. Argentin.* The same Author saith, A Letter was affixed upon a Cardinal's door, which was directed unto the Pope and his Cardinals; when it was opened, they found written, Leviathan, Prince of darkness, saluteth his Vicar the Pope, and his Servants the Cardinals, by whose aid he overcometh Christ; he commendeth them for all their vices; and he remembreth the salutation of their mother pride, and of their sisters avarice, and others who prosper well by their help It was dated, In the centre of hell. The Author could not be known by all their inquisition.

-11. At the same time Gregory de Arimino, opposed the Doctors in the Articles of justification by works, and of free-will; at Paris he taught, that man hath free-will to do evil, but no good without special grace; and that we are justified by faith only: And he said, The School-men deserve to be called Semipelagians. Andreas de Castro and John Buridan, two famous men at that time, agreed with him.

12. Then Eudo, Duke of Burgundy, perswaded the French King, that he should not receive into his Realm the new Decretals and Extravagants. His sage advice is extant among the Records of France.

13. John Tauler, a Preacher in Argentine, about the year 1350. taught against all the merits of men; and in a Sermon upon that Text, *Simile est Regnum cælorum Patrifamilias*, he confuteth invocation of Saints; and proveth, that we are justified of grace only, referring all mens trust in the only
mercy

mercy of God. He was bitter against all superstition. In a Sermon on the Epiphany, he saith, The Prelates are blinde guides of the blinde; and it is to be feared, that both guides and people fall into condemnation. In *Dominic. 2. quadrages.* on *Matth. 13.* he saith, We must do as the Cananitish woman; she passed by the Disciples, and made her petition unto the Lord himself. On his Sepulchre, in the Monastery of the Dominicans in Strawsburgh, is an image of a man, pointing with his finger unto the Lamb of God: whereby was signified, that his aim was to teach, that Jesus Christ had taken away the sins of the world; and that he dispised mans merits. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 18.*

14. John Rupeffa, or de Rupe Scissa, was imprisoned by Innocentius the IV. and then was burnt; because he called the Church of Rome, the whore of Babylon; and the Pope, the minister of Antichrist; and the Cardinals, false Prophets. He wrote in prison a book of Prophecies, with this title, *Vade tecum in tribulatione*; there he saith, Surely God will send a scourge among the spirituality. Two Cardinals went to talk with him, and he told them a parable; Once a bird was brought into the world, all naked and without feathers; other birds hearing of her, would visit her; they saw her marvelously fair, and pitying her that she could not live well without feathers, they consult how she might be helped, and they all resolved to give her some of their own feathers; so she was well furnished, and began to flie, and they delighted to behold her; but afterwards, she seeing that all the birds honored her, became proud, and struck them with her beak; she plucked the feathers off some, and the skin from others, and was hurtful unto them every where: Wherefore the birds sate again in Councel, and advised, what was best to be done with that unkindly bird; the peacock said, Seeing she is so haughty for my painted feathers, I will take them from her again; the falcon said, I will have none again: The sentence pleased them all, and they pulled every one their own feathers. Then the presumptuous bird, seeing that they had dealt so with her, humbled her self before them, confessing their gift; and that when she came naked into the world, they had clad her, and so might justly take their own again; in an humble maner she craveth pardon, and promised to amend all that was done amiss, that they should have no cause to complain. The gentle birds seeing her humbled, and pitying her, help her again, with this admonition, We will gladly behold thee flying among us, if thou fulfil thy office in humility, which is the chiefest ornament; but assuredly, if at any time thou shalt extol thy self in pride, we will reduce thee into thy first estate. Ye Cardinals and Prelates are this bird; the Emperor and other Princes have bestowed on you their goods, and ye abuse them in your pride; but the time is coming, when they will take their goods from you, and ye shall be ashamed, and confess your misdeeds. The Author of *Catal. test. ver. lib. 18.* addeth, Time hath declared a part of this, let Prelates take heed to the rest.

A bird which
out feathers
is supplied,
and again
made naked.

15. Matthias, a Bohemian, abode a long time in Paris, and was called Parisiensis; about the year 1360. he wrote a large Treatise of Antichrist; there he proveth that the Pope is the Antichrist: He inveigheth against the Clergy for negligence in their callings, and calleth them the locusts mentioned in the Revelation; he complainerh, that every City, and almost each man had his proper Saint, or Savior, besides Christ; the images and reliques that are set up in Churches to be worshipped, he calleth, the invention of Antichrist; he saith, The worship of God is not tied to persons, places nor times; he rebuketh the Cloisterers for contemning the Lay men, and calling themselves the only religious; he resuteth the merit of works, and calleth them the cause of salvation *sine qua non*. In the end he prophesied, that God will

once again send godly Preachers, who in the zeal of Elias, will openly disclose Antichrist unto the eyes of all the world. *Catal. test. ibid.*

Signs of a
Reformation
is coming.

15. Nicolaus Orem, a Doctor of Divinity, had a Sermon before Pope Clemens the V. in time of Christ's Nativity. *P. Morn. in Myfter.* hath the heads of it; and it is full in *Catal. test. ver. lib. 18.* His text was in *Isaiah 56. My salvation is near* When he had shewed, that the words are meant of Christ's coming in the flesh, he speaketh of his coming to judgement, when he will punish the corruptions of the Church; unto which he applieth the text of *Ezek. 16. In what day thou wast born, I saw thee* Then he saith, Although it belongeth not unto us to know the times, yet by certain signs, some things may be guessed; of which I take the first from *2 Thes. 2. Unless there come a departing, the man of sin shall not be revealed.* St. Jerome; in the last question of the Inquisitions of Januarius, expoundeth this text of the Roman Empire; between which and the persecution by Antichrist he putteth no distance; and now, what is the estate of the Empire, in respect of its ancient majesty, judge ye. The second sign, That the Church shall be worse in manners then the Synagogue of the Jews; Christ rebuked the Jews; because they suffered doves to be sold in the Temple; and they honored God with their lips only consider ye, if it be worse to sell the Sacraments and Benefices here are some honoring God with their lips, and yet dumb dogs Pastors are ignorant of true knowledge The third sign may be taken from that inequality; One is hungry, and another is drunk the Priests are greater then the Princes; and some are baser then the most abject commons The fourth sign, is the pride of Prelates The fifth sign, is the tyranny of Governors; the property of a Tyrant is to seek not the good of his subjects, but his own interest; such are our Pastors; of whom it is true, as it is written in *Ezek. 24. and Mic. 3. Ye hate good* The sixth sign, is the promotion of unworthy men, and the contempt of good men . . . The seventh sign, is the tribulation of worldly States, and commotion of Nations, which is seen in many places The eighth sign, is the refusing of correction; if it be true of the Princes of the Church, which is written *Jerem. 7. They will not hearken, and have made their faces as an adamant. . .* So if ye consider those signs, ye may judge, whether the present times be secure; and if it be true what God saith in my text, *My righteousness is near to be revealed.* Then he answereth some objections, saying, Some are very confident, and they say, The Prelates are the Church, whom God will keep forever; according to that, *Behold, I am with you unto the end of the world;* But that is to be understood in respect of the faith, which shall continue forever; so that when charity shall wax cold, faith shall abide in a few in the midst of calamities, as Christ hath foretold: And if any think that they are free from tribulation, because they are of the Church, the Lord hath prevented such, when he said, *Jerem. 7. Trust not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord* which shall not avail you Lastly, He concludeth with a serious exhortation to repentance. This Nicolaus, at the direction of Charls the Wise, translated the Bible into the French tongue:

16. Catharine of Sena, lived about the year 1376. Antonin hath her propheties in his *Hist. par. 3.* She said, An utter confusion of the Church, and a Reformation is a coming. When it was told her, The Perusines have rebelled against the Pope; she said, Begin not your mourning yet; what ye see, is but milk and honey in respect of things following the Laity do this now, but the Clergy will do more; for they give an universal scandal unto all the Church; it shall not be heresie, but accounted as heresie, that shall divide the Church. When the Schism began, after Pope Gregory the XI. Raymund,

Raymund, who wrote the Legend, said unto her, Now is thy prophecy fulfilled. She answered, As I told then, It was but milk and honey, so now I say, What ye see, is but childrens play, in respect of what shall be. Antonin addeth, What this holy Virgin foretold of tribulation and schism, is come to pass; but what she spoke of good Pastors and Reformation, is not as yet. He was Bishop of Florence in time of the Council at Constance.

17. Pope Gregory the XI. by his Bull. commanded John, Arch-Bishop of Prague, to persecute Militizius, a Bohemian, because he had said, Antichrist now reigneth; and he had private congregations, among whom were some harlots, whom he had converted, and of whom he said, These are to be preferred unto all the religious Nuns. Jacob Misnes, a writer about the year 1410. testifieth, that Militizius said, He was moved by the Spirit to search the Scriptures, concerning the coming of Antichrist; as also to preach at Rome, that the Pope is the Antichrist; and that the Church is laid desolate by negligence of Pastors; she aboundeth in temporal riches, and is void of spiritual: Also that many now seem to deny Christ, because, though they know the truth; they dare not profess it, for fear of men. *Fox in Act.*

18. Henry de Jota, or Heuta, taught at Vienna in Austria, about the year 1380. All men without grace, do but sin when they do their best works; because the person must be accepted, before his works be accepted; God, and not a Priest, forgiveth sin; and the Priest doth but declare out of God's word, whom God doth binde or loose: As Jerome had taught, It is better to confesse unto a learned Priest, although he hath no jurisdiction, then to an unlearned Priest having it; reservation of cases unto the Pope or his Bishops, is not of God's Law, but from men, since all Priests have a like power of the keys; all God's counsels are commandments.

19. John Munziger, Rector of Ulme, about the year 1384. taught, The bread of the Eucharist is not God, nor should be worshipped as God. The Monks contended against him, and the matter was referred to the University of Prague; there his propositions were approved; and nevertheless, the bread must be worshipped, said they, for the concomitancy of the Deity.

20. Gerhard Ritter wrote a book about the year 1350. which he called *Lachrymæ Ecclesiæ*; about the year 1384. Alvarus Pelagius wrote another, *Planctus Ecclesiæ*; Ubertain, Bishop of Chema, wrote *Onus Ecclesiæ*: The matter of them all, is to mourn for the corruptions and abominations of Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Canons, Priests and Monks, &c. Ubertain in *cap.* 19. saith, A Reformation shall never be, but in a general, free, and godly Council; he saith, There is great need of Reformation; but I fear, this age is not worthy of a lawful Council. In *cap.* 22. Some Monasteries are more like to Stews of Venice, then houses of God. *Catal. test. ver. lib.* 18.

21. About that time an Epistle was divulged in Germany, under the name of Wenceslaus, where the Emperor exhorteth Church-men to set themselves at liberty from the thralldom of the Pope; saying, By the Princes of the Priests, the Church is prophaned; the Priesthood is defiled; all order is confounded; all Religion is corrupted; all things belonging to laws, manners, faith or discipline, is undone and confounded; even that although our Savior suffered many things by men of the Synagogue, yet now he suffereth more by our Princes of Priests. There is also a vision of an holy man concerning the estate of the Church; He saw a woman with Princely apparel, and thought that she was the blessed Virgin; but she said, I am not she whom thou thinkest me to be; but the figure of her, for whom thou groanest so oft and prayest, to wit, the Church; whose sorrow is marvelous; and her malady flowing from the head through all the members, even to the feet; and that thou

*A vision of
the Church.*

mayest condole the more with me, behold the causes of my grief; then, laying off the Crown, she bowed her head unto him; and he saw the upper part of her head cut after the manner of a cross, into four parts, and worms crawling out of her brains, and wounds full of matter; then she said, Behold, by those things in my head, thou mayest understand the maladies in my other members; and having spoken so, she vanished. In this Epistle is honorable mention of Marfilius de Padua, and John de Janduno. *Morn. in Myster.*

22. John Peter, of Ferraria, a famous Lawyer of Papia, about the year 1397. is usually called *Præficus Papiensis*, as he wrote *Præfca utriusque Juris*: there he saith, It is fond to say, and abominable to hear, The Pope is superior to Cæsar: The Pope can by no Law have temporal dominion, nor possess Cities and Provinces; what he hath, he hath it by violence: The temporal sword should be taken from him, or Christendom shall never be at peace: By foolishness of Princes, are they become the drudges of Priests: Whom the Pope absolveth from their oath, he maketh them perjured: The Clergy have their consciences in their hoods, and laying them aside, no more conscience appeareth: Let some good Emperor arise against them, who long since for the cause of devotion, and now by avarice, have undone all the world, and brought to naught the estate of the Empire and of all Laicks. John Andrea (who was called *Speculator & Monarcha juris*) was wont to say, Rome was first founded by robbers, and now is returned to the same estate. All these, and more passages, are razed out by *Index Expurgat.* pag. 43. of Plantin's Edition.

23. In time of Boniface the IX. was published a dialogue of Peter and Paul, with the title, *Aureum speculum*. In the preface, the Author saith, All the Roman Court, from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, is manifestly blinded with errors; and with the poison of those errors, the hath made drunk all the parts of the world almost. Then he divideth his matter into three heads, saying, 1. I will describe the most grievous errors of the Roman Court. 2. I will confute her erroneous and uncatholick writings and sayings. 3. That all the Court of Rome is in danger of damnation: And these I will declare by most true grounds; so he prosecuteth them severally. And after many lamentations, as despairing of Reformation, Paul saith, Only the Son of God, I wish, would reform his Church. And lest it be thought that this was his judgement only; he said in the preface, All men do groan privately, but none dare speak it forth. Nor can this manifold corruption be concealed in the Court; for when some said, The Pope cannot be guilty of simony, even in bestowing of Benefices for money: his Secretary, Theodor a Niem, said, It seemeth unto me to be very unjust, certainly it is uncivil, and against good manners, to sell for money unto unworthy persons, that which should be given freely unto the worthy only; and that the Pope, who is above others, and from whom others should have a rule of their doings, is guilty of such a crime; certainly he cannot punish others for that fault, whereof himself is guilty: And he saith, Many good Masters in Divinity, and also in other Sciences, do lament, that simony is so frequent and manifest in the Court; and many Jurists do dispute in the contrary, and have written (although with fear) sundry Treatises, That the Pope, by selling Church-Benefices, is a Simoniack; a Successor of Simon Magus, and not of Peter.

24. About that time was written another book, *De atatibus Ecclesie*; therein the Author sheweth, what had been the estate of the Church in former ages; namely, that Bishops were not ambitious of superiority, or earthly authority; the Bishop of Rome had not supremacy above other Bishops; the name *Papa* was common to other Bishops; by divers steps the Pope hath usurped this

tyranny:

tyranny; he calleth himself the Servant of Servants, and striveth to be Lord of all Lords; he taketh Divine honor and praise, and he maketh or suffereth men to be Idolaters. *Catal. test. ver. lib. 18.*

25. In the end of that Century, or beginning of the next, lived Nilus, Arch-Bishop of Thessalonica, who wrote two books of the causes of the Schism between the Greek and the Latine Churches. In *Lib. 1.* he saith, The cause is not the sublimity of doctrine, surpassing mens capacities; and far less is it any word of holy Scripture, as if it did not declare what concerneth this controversie; for to accuse the Scripture; is all one as if man would accuse God. . . . What then is the cause of the difference? the question is not confirmed by a Decree of an Oeconomical Synod; and the Romans would be Masters, and make all others their disciples. . . . It is very absurd, that whereas the Fathers had no precedents, yet by themselves they saw the right; we having their examples, cannot discern it; and indeed the ignorance of those at the first contention might be pardoned. . . . but when so many ages have passed, and the way of peace is not as yet known, who can think but it is the fault of them who will not have peace? But they say, The Pope is the Prince of Priests, and the Father, who hath power to call universal Synods, and by himself, or without others, may discern in Church-affairs. But Julius was Pope, and Damasus, and Leo, and Agatho, and none of these ever said so; but convening with their Brethren, by the assistance of the good Spirit, they established Acts and peace in the Church: And if this was the only way, and it is not now observed, who can doubt but the cause of the variance standeth herein? and certainly the blame lieth not upon our side. And if the power of discerning belong unto the Pope, it were superfluous to call Assembly; but it is not so; for we know that Agatho, Celestin, and others, had their particular Synods for deciding questions, and nevertheless, they referred those unto the universal Synod, and craved the confirmation of the truth by common decree; which had been needless, if when the Pope had discerned, all others must assent unto him. Now if this question were concerning a private man, it might seem needless to call all the world unto an Assembly; but seeing the chief heads of the world are at variance, it is absurd to determine the cause without the consent of the world, since the Fathers by their writings and example have shewed the way. But if they will still object unto us the primacy of the Pope; we say, that in so doing, he overthroweth his primacy; but by holding the ancient way, he doth what becometh a good man, and maintaineth his place; for he may consider what should be the issue, if the controversie were decided after common suffrage; and what hath hapned unto the Latines, arrogating unto themselves the power of prescribing Laws; for in that way the Church might be free from all tumults, and live in peace, since none could readily contradict that which was established by common sentence; for though some in former times have been so mad, yet they were but few, and vanished soon: But when the peace of the Church is disturbed, he loseth what he might have; for he is deprived of the primacy of the four Patriarchs, neither is there any peace: Many have thought upon remedies; there have been many conferences and Ambassays; but the malady continueth, and shall continue so long as the Latines hold their tenets. The Pope, say they, hath power in Ecclesiastical affairs: So say I, let him not be contrary unto the Decrees of the Fathers; they established things by universal Council; and each had need of anothers aid, being conscious of humane frailty: let the Pope therefore follow their statutes, and discern not any point before it be debated by others: or if he hath his power, not from the Fathers, but from the Apostles, let him hearken unto the Apostle,

The cause of the Schism between the Greeks and Latines.

who said, *I have not used my power, lest I lay a stumbling-block unto the Gospel of Christ*; and in another place, *The power which the Lord hath given us to edification, and not to destruction*: And therefore if he hath any power, let him not use it but for advancing the Gospel; to the end, that in following Paul's example, he may shew himself an Apostolical man; but now none can be ignorant; whether he useth it for edification or destruction And that president of the twelve Apostles, St. Peter was rebuked by Paul, and when he was rebuked, he was silent; and although he might have said more reasonably then the Pope, What! the President have done, should be a law unto others; yet he said not so, but accepted the admonition, and contradicted not what Paul had said And when Paul and Barnabas came to Jerusalem, for that question of the circumcision, Peter usurped not primacy, nor said he, It belongeth unto me to discern in such things; but the Apostles and Elders were assembled; neither did Peter debar the Apostles usurping power; nor did the Apostles exclude the Elders that were at Jerusalem, for they had learned from Christ to usurp no primacy: Peter indeed began to speak, and after him St. James; and all the rest of the Apostles and Elders, even Peter himself, consented unto the words of James; so did these blessed men love Christ, and so studious were they of peace and truth in the Church; and the Apostles seeking truth this way, have given us a law in such cases; but seeing ye take a contrary course, can ye blame any but your selves for this variance? This is a touch of more; whence we see, that the Romans wanted not admonition.

26. With the book of this Nilus, is usually printed another of Barlaam, a Greek Monk, to the same purpose. In *cap. 16.* he recapitulateth all the particulars that he had handled, saying, I have shewed, that each one of the Apostles were immediately appointed by our Lord Christ, to be a Pastor and Teacher of the whole earth. 2. That blessed Clemens was created by Peter, not Bishop of the whole world, but of Rome especially and properly; and that the Roman See was neither first nor last; and by the Laws of ancient Fathers and godly Emperors it became the first. 3. That these also had decreed, that the Sec of new Rome, even as the other, should have power in Ecclesiastical affairs. 4. That it was commanded by no Law, nor was any Custom, that the Patriarchs should be ordained by the Pope, neither was it ever so done. 5. That the Pope had no power over Councils, but they gave Laws unto his Church. 6. That the holy Fathers appointed distinctly what parts should be subject unto the Pope, and which unto each of the Patriarchs. 7. That no Patriarch, nor the Pope, may decree without the knowledge of all, any thing of more weight. 8. That such honor should be given unto the Pope, obeying the decrees of the Fathers; but if he obey not, men should flie from him as a wolf and adversary. 9. That Christians should believe the Catholick Church or faith, but not any particular Church, since it was not so ordained from the beginning. 10. And lastly, That such as refuse or despise the traditions of the Apostles, and profess to believe a particular Church or faith, are members cut off from the body of the Catholick Church, and dead members. Here, for clearing the second Article, I add the words of *cap. 3.* where he objecteth, (as the Romans do) That Peter died at Rome, and therefore the Roman Bishop should have as full power. He answereth, By this reason it followeth, Because our Lord Jesus died for us at Jerusalem, the Bishop of Jerusalem, succeeding in the place of the great high Priest, should have power over all; and so much more then the Roman Bishop, as Christ was above Peter: Moreover, how unreasonable is it to say, that none of the Apostles had a Successor, but only Peter? or if any of the Apostles would leave Successors, either the Bishops that were ordained by them, or the Stewards of those

those Churches where they ended their lives, how say ye, that all should be created by the Pope? can ye say, that the other Apostles were ordained by Peter? and if that was not, how can it be demanded, that their Successors should be ordained by him, whom ye call Peter's Successor? but certainly the other Apostles had Successors, of whom none was first or last, but all equal, and of the same rank. Then concerning the eighth point, in *chap. 14.* he saith, The Pope cannot be an Heretick: Unto this objection he answereth, What say you? I see him dead, and you say, he cannot die. *Object.* Many Patriarchs have been Hereticks, but not one Pope. *Answer.* Let Macedonius say, No Patriarch of Constantinople before me was an Heretick, therefore neither am I one; or rather, to use a more familiar example, if any would plead the cause of that filthy woman, who was Pope, and say, Because never a woman was Pope before her, therefore neither was she one; what sound reason is in such arguing? In *chap. 15.* he clearly distinguisheth between the Catholick Church and the Roman; and as no man did ever name the Roman Church, when he meant the Catholick Church; so no man, being right in his wit, did ever name the Roman faith, when he meant the Catholick faith; and that Catholick or common faith, we have hitherto preserved, and God guarding us, we will observe it unto the end, saith he.

27. In the end of this Century John Vitodura, a Franciscan in the Monastery of St. Montis, wrote the History of his time; speaking of Pope John, he saith, O what a Successor hath blessed Peter in the See of the high Priesthood, who forgetting the office of humanity, piety, and of a shepherd, liveth a tyrannical life! how could Peter think, that the estate of his Chair and Church could be so enormously perverted, in the latter days, from the rule of righteousness? he was not to be praised, because, it seemeth, he sat not in the pestilential chair. And *ad An. 1344.* he saith, O God, how great avarice and worship of Idols hath defiled and deformed the Church! how could, or how would Peter and the other Apostles, or their Successors, the Martyrs and Teachers, which laid the foundations of the militant Church, and abode immoveable in the faith and actions of Christ, how could these (I say) have believed, that in our time, the estate of the Church, that was so famous and glorious, could be made filthy in such a manner, with the pestiferous root of avarice? Alas! she is torn and wounded in all her members, and none is for binding her fractures; none to comfort her, or to cure her wounds; she is consumed in her crimes; she is fallen so grievously into the pit of vices, that she cannot rise by her self, nor is there any to raise her; all have gone astray, like wandering sheep; every one hath gone after his own way, which is not right; because her fathers would not be befooled with the love of earthly things: So the word of Jeremiah is fulfilled, *From the highest to the lowest, all are set on covetousness:* And the word of Micah is true, *The Princes judge for gifts, and the Priests teach for a reward, and the Prophets divine for money.* This poisonous root, avarice, with its small branches, execrable simony, plunder, theft, and especially devouring usury, hath infected and devoured the world in such measure, that John hath spoken most properly in his Canonical writings, *The whole world lieth in wickedness.* And *An. 1345.* at that time the secular and religious Clergy, which had resumed in the Imperial, and other places, lying under the Papal interdiction, did obtain absolution from the Roman Court, when other Clarks did continue freely, and without fear, in celebrating; and such absolution was purchased easily, for a florene: Oh how lamentable and execrable a breach is made in the Church at this time! that saying of the Gospel is now-made null, *Ye have received freely, give freely.* And *ad An. 1348.* speaking of the same Papal interdictions, he saith,

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Some of them for absolution of men, and for reconciliation of Churchyards, did collect incredible and immoderate sums of money, and did extort from them which were to be absolved, which is miserable and horrible to be spoken; for in the hearts of very many it caused scandal, scruple of the faith, perplexities, detractions, grumbings, infidelity, clamors, commotions, fear and suspicion of simoniacal wickedness; for they said, The Clergy despise, tear and defile, scatter and confound the Church of God, and Spouse of Christ; they divide her integrity, they wound her charity, they harden her benignity and meekness, they weaken her zeal, they shut up her liberality with the knots of covetousness, by withdrawing her from voluntary gifts not regarding the curse of Gehazi and Simon, being hardened in their wickedness: Oh how vile is the Church become in her principal members! all beauty is gone from her; because they which should enlighten her with true doctrine, do darken her with the blackness of error and mist of vices: And the people say, (I use their words) If it be lawful to celebrate for a penny, it were far better and precious to celebrate without pennies; this they say, thinking that simony is committed in these exactions: Oh how great a wickedness and madness, to exact forty, fifty or sixty florens for the absolution of a City, and relaxation of a Church-yard! I am silent of other things; simple and secular people do abhor all these things.

The conversion of Lithuania.

28. Jagielo, Duke of Lituania, was married to Hedwigis, Queen of Poland, *An.* 1386. with condition, that he should embrace the Christian faith, and annex that Dukedom to the Crown of Poland; he and his three Brothers, Borissus, Snidrigielo, and Vidold, were baptized at Cracow, *Febr.* 14. The next year he called a general convention of all the people of Lituania at Vilna, in the beginning of Lent, and took with him the Bishop of Gesna, and some Priests: There he propoundeth unto them the forsaking of their Idolatry, and the embracing the Christian Religion; he allured them with exhortations and promises; but the Priests being ignorant of the language, could teach them nothing at all: The barbarous people were loath to leave the customs of their Ancestors; but when they saw, that at commandment of the King, the fire in the Temple of Vilna to be extinguished, and the Altar broken, and the Serpents (which they had worshipped) to be killed and dead, and their holy groves destroyed, without the hurt of any man, the people wondered, and said, How is it, that our gods do not revenge themselves on these wicked Christians? if any of us had done the like, we had perished by the wrath of the gods: Then were they willing to follow the Religion of their Prince; and because it had been wearisome to baptize them all, this honor was given to some of the Nobles, to baptize them severally; and the vulgar sort were set in companies, and the Priests cast water upon them, and gave unto every company a name, saying, I baptize ye in the name, &c. and so in one day 30000 barbarous people were baptized. *Ale. Guaguin. in Ker. Polon. To. 1.*

29. Nicolaus de Lyra, a Jew by birth, and then a converted Christian, wrote Annotations on all the Bible, which were in great account among the School-men; but in many Articles of faith he differeth from the Papists now, as appeareth clearly by these passages. When Jerome had written in *Prolog. in lib. Tobie*, The book of Tobiah, which the Jews (following the catalogue of divine Scriptures) have reckoned among those which they call Hagiographa, de Lyra saith, He should rather have said, among the Apocrypha, or he taketh the Hagiographa largely: And in his *Postilla*, he saith, When I have written (as God hath helped) upon all the Canonical books of the holy Scriptures trusting in his help, I intend to write of the other books which

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are not of the Canon, to wit, the book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, and the books of Maccabees. We must know, that the books of the sacred Scriptures, which are called Canonical, are of such authority, that whatever is written there, it is held true without controversie, and consequential also, what is manifestly concluded thereupon; for as in the writings of Philosophers, truth is known by reducing unto the first principles that are known in themselves; so in the Scriptures of Catholick Doctors, truth is known, in so far as things to be believed, can be reduced unto the Canonical writings of the sacred Scripture, which we have by revelation from God, who cannot lye; therefore the knowledge of these writings is necessary unto the Church; for which cause, of the exposition of them, it may be said, what is written *Eccles.* 24. *All these are the book of life*; that is, all the books that are expounded in the preceding work, are contained in the book of life; that is, in the books of truth revealed by God, who is life; for as divine predestination is called the book of life, so this Scripture, revealed by God, is called the book of life, both because it is from him which is life essentially, as is said, and it leadeth unto the blessed life. And next it is to be considered, that the books which are not of the Canon, are received to be read by the Church for information of manners; but their authority is not such, that they are thought sufficient to prove things in controversie, as Jerome teacheth in the Prologue on Judith, &c. On *Deut.* 17. at the words, *Thou shalt not decline*, he saith, Here an Hebrew Glossa saith, If he say unto thee, The right hand is the left hand, or the left is the right, thou must receive such a sentence: But this is manifestly false, since the sentence of *no man*, of *whatsoever* authority, is to be received, if it be manifestly false or erroneous; and this is clear by what is said in the text, *They shall judge unto thee the truth of judgement, and they shall teach thee according to his law*. Hence it is clear, that if they speak false, or decline from God's Law manifestly, they should not be heard. On *Psal.* 124. or rather 125. on these words, *Like mount Sion*, he saith, because, as mount Sion is unmoveable, so they who trust in the Lord, are not moved from the stability of faith; therefore it followeth, *shall not be moved for ever*, to wit, who dwell in the spiritual Jerusalem by faith formed by love: And the cause of this stability followeth; *The mountains are about it*; that is, the Angels are deputed to keep the Church, and the Lord is round about his people; as he saith in *Matth. ult.* *Behold, I am with you unto the end of the world*. On *Daniel*, at the last words, he saith, The last two Chapters, to wit, of Susanna and the History of Bell and Dragon, are not of the Canon; therefore now I leave them, and intend to take in hand the other books which are Canonical. On *Matth.* 1. at the words, *Judah begot Phares*, he rehearseth an opinion of Jerome, which he confuteth; and he addeth a general reason, saying, The sayings of Saints are not of such authority, but we may think the contrary in those things, which are not determined by the sacred Scripture; therefore Augustine in *Epist. ad Vincent.* saith, of the writings of the Saints, This sort of writings is to be distinguished from the Canonical Scriptures, and testimonies are not brought from them so, that we may not think the contrary. On *chap.* 10. at the words, *He gave them power over unclean spirits*, he saith, If it be asked, Why Preachers do not such miracles now? Gregory answereth, Because when the Catholick faith is sufficiently proved by the miracles of Christ and his Apostles, it is needless to reiterate such proof any more. And a little after, *Ye have received freely*, to wit, grace, which God hath bestowed on you, whether grace making acceptable, or grace which is freely given; *Give it freely, even as ye have received*; for for spiritual acts, as for administration of the Sacraments, preaching, and the like, nothing should be received as a price. This is against the

practise of that time, as we have now heard in the testimony of Jo. Vitoduran, On chap. 16. He calleth Peter blessed, because the confession of true faith leadeth unto blessedness. . . . and I say unto thee, i. e. for thee and thy companions, thou art Peter, i. e. a confessor of the rock, which is Christ, and upon this rock, which thou hast confessed, i. e. upon Christ, will I build my Church, and the gates of hell, i. e. persecution of tyrants, the assaults and tentations of evil spirits, shall not prevail against her, to turn from the true faith: Whence it is clear, saith he, that the Church consisteth not by men, in respect of power or dignity Ecclesiastical or Secular, because many Princes, and chief high Priests, and others inferiors, have made apostasie from the faith; and therefore the Church consisteth in those persons, which continue in true knowledge and confession of the faith and truth. By these few words he overthroweth the Popedom, as it is taught now. And then he saith, These keys are not material, but are a spiritual power, which is two-fold; one a power of discerning sin from what is not sin; as under the Law, the Priests discerned between leprosie and not leprosie: But observe, that although one cannot discern this without knowledge, yet knowledge is not the key, but a power of judging by knowledge, which he must first have; and therefore, although knowledge is not the key, yet it is necessarily requisite unto the due exercise of the key. The other key is the power of receiving into the Kingdom, or of shutting out, according to true judgement; for the unworthy should be excluded, and the worthy should be received. On Ephes. 1. at the words, Before the foundation of the world, he saith, The election is from eternity, but the effect thereof is in time; which effect, is the sanctification of the reasonable creature; therefore it followeth, that we should be holy . . . according to the pleasure of his will; from which dependeth election and predestination, and not for our merits, not onely in deed, or actually, but also in the foresight of God.

The third age
of School-
men.

30. The third age of the School-men began from the year 1320. or thereabout, and continued until 1516. of the condition whereof we have had somewhat by the way; but because we promised to speak of it, here we add more particularly. The School-men of this age had a three-fold power, teaching in Schools, preaching in Pulpits, and giving Indulgences; of their Inquisition is enough before: For the little modesty of former ages, was now turned into impudence; for because in their Inquisition, they had refused the holy Scriptures to be their rule, now in their Schools they durst say, The Scriptures are the buckler of Hereticks; and therefore all Laicks must be discharged from reading the Scriptures, under no less pain, then to be accounted Hereticks: They blamed the Scriptures of obscurity, imperfection, ambiguity, and compared it unto a nose of wax. Will, Tindal, in his book of obedience, Edit. at Marlborough in Hesse. An. 1528. fol. 16. saith, The Scripture (say they) is so hard, that thou couldest never understand it but by the Doctors; that is, I must measure the measuring yard by the cloth. . . . They will say yet more shamefully, None can understand the Scriptures without Philautia, that is, Philosophy; a man must be well seen in Aristotle, before he can understand the Scripture, say they. And fol. 62. They pervert the holy Scripture, and all Doctors, wresting them unto their abominable purpose, quite contrary to the meaning of the Text, and circumstances going before and after; which divellish falsehood, lest the Lay-men should perceive, is the very cause why they will not suffer the Scripture to be in English. Then also it began to be doubted among them, whether the Pope be a god or a man, or neither of the two; to be the Vicar of Christ, was thought to be a small honor. In Proam. Clementin. Iohannes Epist. the Gloss. at the word Papa, saith,

Nec Deus est nec homo, sed neuter inter utrumque: And in the margin, *Papa nec Deus est nec homo*. Pope Pius the V. in his Edition, *An.* 1572. was ashamed of these words, and left them out: But Pope Gregory the XII. in his recognition, *An.* 1580. omitteth the words of the margin; and in the Gloss the words are thus, *Papa, id est, admirabilis; & dicitur à Papa, quod est inter-jectio admirantis; & verè admirabilis, quia vices Dei in terris gerit. Inde dixit ille Anglicus in pœtria nova, Papa stupor mundi, & circa finem, Qui maxima rerum, Nec Deus es, nec homo, sed neuter inter utrumque, Etymologia verè nominis est, pater patrum*. But the man of sin is yet advanced higher; therefore in these extravagants *Ioha. XXII. tit. 14. c.* *Cum inter nonnullos*, the Gloss saith, To believe that the Lord God, our Pope, cannot ordain otherwise, it is heretical. Ye may see such other passages in *Morn. Mysser. pag. 444, 445.* and *Spalaten. de Repub. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 6. §. 15.* cited out of their books. So those times were darkened with clouds of most gross ignorance, and diabolish illusions. And who can any more doubt but the Pope is the Antichrist? we have heard not onely the profession of their opposites, and the confessions of those which were held to be Popes, and called Antipopes, calling one another the Antichrist; but likewise we see the gloriation of the Popes, admitting that title, The Lord God, our Pope; and not only laying the Scriptures in their footstool, but despising them, and preferring their own Canons and traditions in comparison of the sacred Scriptures. But to make more clear what was the order of the Schools in that age, hear yet more from Will. Tindal, in that book and place cited; One of you teacheth contrary to another; when two of you meet, the one disputeth and brawleth with the other, as if it were two scolds: and for as much as one of you holdeth this doctrine, and another that, as one followeth Duns, another St. Thomas, another Boneventure, Alexander de Hales, Raymond, Lyra, Brigot, Dorbel, Holcot, Gorran, Trumber, Hugo de S. Victor, de Monte Tegio, de Nova Villa, de Media Villa, and such like out of number; so that if thou hadst but of every Author one book, thou couldst not pile them up in any ware-house of London; and every Author is contrary to another; in so great diversity of spirits, how shall I know, who lieth and who saith truth? And fol. 18. speaking of the same School-men, he saith, Ye drive men from God's word, and will let no man come thereunto, until he have been two years Master of Art; first they nosel them in sophistry, and in *bene fundatum*, [in the margin he saith, The School doctrine, as they call it] and there they corrupt their judgements with apparent arguments, and with alledging unto them texts of Logick, of natural Philantia, Metaphysick, moral Philosophy, and all manner of books of Aristotle, and of all manner of Doctors: One holdeth this, another that; one is a real, another a nominal. What wonderful dreams have they of their predicaments, universals, second intentions, quiddities, heccities and relatives? and whether this proposition be true, *Non ens est aliquid*? whether *ens* be *equivocum* or *univocum*? *Ens* is a voice only, say some; *ens* is *univocum*, saith another, and descendeth into *ens creatum & increatum per modos intrinsecos*. When they have this way brawled 8, 10, or 12. years, or more, and after that their judgements are utterly corrupt, then they begin their Divinity, not at the Scripture, but every man taketh a sundry Doctor; which Doctors are as sundry and divers, the one contrary unto the other, as there be divers fashions and monstrous shapes, none like another among our Sects of Religion; every Religion, every University, and almost every man hath a sundry Divinity: Whatsoever opinions every man findeth with his Doctor, that is his Gospel, and that only is true with him, and that he holdeth all his life long; and every man to maintain his Doctor, corrupteth the Scripture, and fashioneth it after his

The Pope is
the Anti-
christ.

own imagination, as a Potter doth his clay. [And in the margin; Yet in this they all agree, That no man is saved by Christ, but by holy works; and that Christ hath given up his God-head unto the Pope, and all his power; and that the Pope may give Christ's merits to whom he will, and take them from whom he will.] Of what Text thou provest Hell, another will prove Purgatory, another *Lymbus patrum*, and another the Assumption of our Lady; and another will prove out of the same Text, that an Ape hath a tail: and of what Text the Gray-Frier proveth, that our Lady was without original sin, out of the same shall the Black-Frier prove, that she was conceived in original sin; and all this they do with apparent reasons, with false similitudes, and with arguments and perswasions of mans wisdom. . . . The wisdom of one is, that a white coat is best to serve God in, another a black, another a gray, another a blew; and while one saith, God will hear your prayer in this place, another saith, in that place; and while one saith, this place is holier, another saith, that place is holier; this Religion is holier then that; this Saint is greater with God then that; and an hundred thousand such things, &c. And if ye will, hear a Papist writing of those times, *Corn. Agrip. De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum c.4. & de vanitat. scien. c.97.* describes them thus; Scholastical Divinity, by little and little, is turned into Sophistry; while the latter Theosophists, and hucksters of God's word, which are Divines, but by a bought title, of so sublime a faculty, have made a kind of Logomachy, moving questions, forging opinions, and doing violence unto the Scriptures by intricate words, putting a strange sense upon them, readier to winnow then examine, presuming to device many seminaries of contentions, whereby they furnish matter of strife unto the wrangling Sophists, when they abstract forms, call the words *genera & species*, some cleave to the things, and others to the names; and what they take from one, they ascribe unto another, and some take it indifferently, and every one studies how to prove his own heresie; and they turn the sacred faith into sport and infidelity (whereof *Tho. Aquin.* did complain) among the wise of this age, while they dispise the Canonical Scriptures of the holy Ghost, and chose unto themselves many questions of divine things to foster brawlings, wherein exercising their wits, and wasting their time, they will have all the doctrine of Divinity to consist in such things. If any will oppose unto them the authority of the holy Scriptures, he shall hear anon, The letter killeth, it is pernicious, it is unprofitable; but say they, we must search what is hid in the letter; and then turning to their interpretations, glosses and syllogisms, they allow any sense rather then the proper sense of the words. If you do urge them instantly, you shall receive reproaches, and be called an ass, which understands not what is hid in the letter, but as a serpent, eateth the earth only; so that among them, none are thought to be Divines, but who can contend to purpose, and give an instance in every matter, and quickly devise new meanings, making a noise with so monstrous words, that he be understood by none: and then are they called Subtle, Angelical, Seraphical and divine Doctors, when they talk so that no man understands them. These wicked Hypocrites, and presumptuous Sophists, which (as Paul saith) teach not Christ of good will, but for strife, have brought in so many heresies, that the Philosophers shall sooner accord then these Divines, which have killed all that glory of ancient Divinity with opinions of men and new errors, and labyrinths of infinite expositions which they have devised; under disguised titles, they profess detestable doctrine, and falsely usurp the name of sacred Divinity; and abusing the names and doctrine of the holy Doctors, they introduce Sects, as it was said in the Church, *I am Apollo's, I am Paul's, I am Cephas's.* pretending regard of them by whose means they began to know; and swearing to the words of their Master, they dispise all others, not regarding what

is said, but who hath said it: And no Divine is thought to be truly learned; which hath not addicted himself unto some Sect, and maintains it stoutly, and covets to be named and advanced by the title thereof, as a *Thomist*, *Albertist*, *Scottist*, *Occamist*; for it is no credit unto such Masters to be called Christians, since that name is common to Butchers, Cooks, Bakers, and every body; and these Sectators are divided again many ways. . . . Moreover, they do forge so many strange things of God, so many forms of the God-head, and so many Idols of phantasies concerning divine things; and they pull Christ our Savior into pieces with the wickedness of their opinions, and clothe him with so many vizards of sophisms, and as an Idol of wax, they forge and reforge him into any shape they please, by their absurd suppositions, that their doctrine may be called meer Idolatry. I pass over the debates and heresies concerning the Sacraments, Purgatory, Primacy, the commandments of Popes, and obligations thereunto; concerning Indulgences, Antichrist to come, and many such things, wherein they shew mad wisdom, with the presumption whereof they are puffed up, like the Giants in the Fables. Then coming to the Preachers, he saith, They make stories of the Saints, with pious lyes; they counterfeit reliques, they devise miracles, and (which they call examples) plausible and terrible fables, they number prayers, weigh merits, measure ceremonies, sell indulgences, distribute pardons, make merchandise of good works, and by begging, they eat the sins of the people; and they spake as assuredly of the apparitions, adjurations, and responses of the dead, as if they had learned them from the books of Tundalus and Brandarius, or from St. Patrick's cave; they play the Tragedies of them in Purgatory, and the Comedies of Indulgences in Pulpits, as on a Stage, with so Soldier-like boldness, so thraasonical boasting, so arrogant eys, changing their countenances, stretching out their arms, with so various gestures, as the Poets feign Proteus, transforming themselves; they thunder unto the people with windy tongues, and Stentor's voice: But they which are more ambitious among them, and would have the gallantry of eloquence, and perfect knowledge, these in crying, (I would say, declaring) sing poesies, tell stories, dispute opinions, cite *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Juvenal*, *Persius*, *Livius*, *Strabo*, *Varro*, *Seneca*, *Cicero*, *Aristotle*, *Plato*; and for the Gospel and word of God, they prattle meer toys and words of men, preaching another gospel, adulterating the word of God, which they preach not in sincerity but for gain and reward; and they live not according to the truth of the word, but after the lusts of the flesh; and when in the day they have spoken of vertue erroneously; they bestow the night in the Stews; and this is their way to go unto Christ, &c. Erasmus in his Annotations on *1 Tim. 1.* at the word *Vaniloquium*, speaketh of the School-men at that time thus; What shall I say of ungodly questions, which are made concerning the power of God and of the Pope? whether God can command any evil, as to hate himself, and forbid all good, even the love and worship of himself? whether he can make a thing infinite in respect of all dimensions? whether he could have made this world, even from eternity, in a better condition then he hath made it? whether he could have made a man that cannot sin? There is more work concerning the power of the Pope, while they argue of his two-fold power, and whether he may abrogate what is decreed in the writings of the Apostles? whether he may decree what is repugnant unto the doctrine of the Gospel? whether he may make a new Article of faith? whether he hath more power then Peter had, or equal power? whether he hath power to command the Angels? whether he can make empty that which is called Purgatory? whether he be a man only, or as God? whether he partaketh of both natures, as Christ doth? whether he be more merciful then Christ, seeing we do not read that Christ did ever bring

Indulgences.

any out of Purgatory? whether among all men, the Pope alone cannot err? Six hundred such questions are disputed in great volumes and their schools are earnest about such questions; and time, the swiftest of all things, is wasted with these questions, which are propounded ridiculously, and determined timerariously; our time is short, and it is a difficult thing to act the duty of a Christian rightly. The third power of the Friars, was to proclaim and sell Indulgences: Because this falleth in often, I will here, only repeat the words of Pa. Paulo, in the first book of the Council of Trent; This manner of giving money for pardons, was put in practise after the year 1100. for Pope Urban the II. having granted plenary Indulgences and remission of all sins, to whosoever would fight in the holy Land, to recover and set free the Sepulchre of Christ out of the power of the Mahumetans, it is followed by his Successors; of whom some (as always new inventions are enlarged) granted it unto those who would maintain a Soldier, if they could not or would not go personally in these wars; and thereafter Indulgences were granted unto such as would take Arms against Christians not obeying the Church of Rome; and many times infinite exactions under these pretences. And *lib. 8.* he saith, It is sure, and cannot be denied, that in no Christian Nation of the East, either in ancient or modern times, was ever any use of Indulgences, of any kinde whatsoever; and in the West no proof of them can be brought before Pope Urban the II. from his time, until the year 1300. it appeareth that the use of them was sparing, and only imposed by the Confessor, to free men from punishment; after the Council at Vienna, the abuses did increase mightily. *Pol. Virg. de inven. rer. lib. 8. cap. 1.* saith, They reap no small harvest by these Indulgences; especially Pope Boniface the IX. in whose time such pardons were granted with a full hand, not only at some times, but (as Platina witnesseth) were sold dayly, and every where, as any other merchandise; not without the damage of the giver and receiver; seeing by these, as the vendible remedies, or foul diseases, many did the less abstain from sin, and the power of the keys became contemptible; and that was not without cause, because, as Jerome saith, where a reward is the means, or interveneth, spiritual gifts become the more vile; which, oh, if that age only had seen. So far he.

31. When the Tartars prevailed first in Asia, the Kingdom of the Turks was overthrown; and they were divided among themselves into seven families; at last they became all subject unto the house of Othoman or Otman, *Laon. Chalcocon. lib. 1. de Reb. Turc.* He was a victorious and cruel Tyrant; and was declared first Emperor of the Turks, about the year 1300. all his Successors have kept his name. He conquered Prusa, a City of Mysia, *An. 1303.* and made it the seat of the Empire. His Son Orcanes expelled the Tartars; and others of them, through dissensions among Christians, have raised that great Empire of Asia, and subdued the Empire of Constantinople, as partly is said, and more followeth.

CHAP. IV.
OF BRITAIN.

1. **K**ing Edward sent the marble Chair of the Scots unto London, and left nothing that he thought could excite the minds of our Nation to any remembrance of former condition; so he promised unto himself a final conquest: but a fresh trouble ariseth upon occasion of his tyranny. Robert Bruce, the Son of the former competitor, and John Cumine, the Cousin-German of John Baliol, beholding at Court the contempt which the Scots did suffer, and considering how Edward had abused them against their native Countrey, they thought upon a revenge; yet they they durst not communicate their thoughts: At last John, perceiving the other pensive, and thinking the same might be the cause of his sadness, adventured first to discover his minde; and he blamed himself, and the other also, that their Countrey-men had fallen into such miseries by their procurement, and in the mean time were both frustrated. There they promise taciturnity and mutual fidelity; and they covenant, that John shall never pretend any title unto the Crown, but assist Robert to recover it; and he shall have all the Lands belonging unto Robert, and be second unto him in the Kingdom: these things were written, sworn and sealed. Robert followeth King Edward still, waiting opportunity. Behold! John adviseth the King by Letter, that Robert had such a design; and for the more faith, he sent the sealed contract. Edward summoned Robert upon treason; he did purposely nominate a long day, that he might also catch his associates, if there were any, and that Robert may fear the less. Robert was not suspicious of the Cumine, and would not flie. A guard was set to attend him. Before the day appointed, his Cousin, the Earl of Montgomery, sent him a pair of gilded spurs; whereby he conceived, his Cousin advised him to flie. The same night he, and two others, came away quietly, in the winter time, and on the seventh day lodged in his own house at Lochmaban: There he meeteth with his Brother David and Robert Fleemine; as he was telling them the cause of his suddain return, they fall upon a Post carrying Letters from John Cumine unto Edward, desiring him to hasten the business with Robert, seeing delay may prove dangerous. Robert hasteth to Dunfrise, and finding John Cumine in the Church of the Franciscans, he challenged him of the premises. Cumine denied all, even that these were his Letters which were taken from the Post. Then Robert struck him with a dagger, and left him as dead. In his coming out James Lindsay meeteth him, and understanding by his words that the other was dead, he goeth into the Church, and killed him and his Brother Robert Cumine. The Scots would have crowned Robert, but such was their belief, they thought him incapable, because he had killed a man in a Church. Therefore the Abbot of Scone posted to Avenion, and brought a pardon in *April, An. 1306*. Then Robert was crowned at Scone. The Abbot brought also a dispensation unto the Scots, from the oath given unto Edward; and withal, he assured them of the Pope's favor and assistance. As also the Pope wrote unto King Edward, that he presume not any more to trouble the Scots, because that Kingdom was before permitted unto the Roman Bishop; and therefore it belongeth only unto the Pope to give it unto, or take it from whom he pleaseth. *Pol Virg. Hist. l. 17*. No monument of Antiquity is extant for the Pope's title to the Crown of Scotland; and whether the Abbot made this proffer of subjection, or the Pope did so usurp it, it is uncertain. Nevertheless, Odomar Valentine, Deputy of King Edward, and the Cumines (which were potent and numerous) took

Troubles between Eng-land and Scotland.

Arms against Robert. He feared the power of his adversaries, and knowing that many Scots loved him not for his former service against them, so he was in no small perplexity; but he amassed all the forces that he could: He had hard fortune at the first, and was sundry times worsted, so that only two of his friends, Malcolm Earl of Levin, and Gilbert Hay, abode with him; his followers were searched out, and put to death; his Brethren Nigel and Alexander, with his and their wives, were sent into England. *Buchan. Hist. lib. 8.* Then the controversy was hot at Rome, between the Pope and Edward, for the title of the Crown of Scotland. Edward, by his Proctors, alledged, that the Kings of Scotland were his vassals, and through many ages had done homage to his Ancestors; and therefore, seeing now they had so hainously trespassed against him, he might censure them at his pleasure. This claim is manifested before; and Baldred Byssate did appear in the contrary, as relateth *Io. Ffiser. in Britan. Eccles. primord. p. 647.* The Pope alledged, that according to his universal power, when there was no Heir, the Kingdom did fall unto the patrimony of St. Peter, nor did it appertain unto any other in temporalities. This debate was not ended in Edward's days. *Io. Fox in Act. & Mon.* Robert was then lurking in the West Isles; but if he had continued there, he feared the Scots would despair of him; wherefore he sailed to Carrick, and took that Castle from the English, and spared none of them: then fearing to be entrapped by the multitude of them in that part, he hasted into the North, and took Innerness. The Scots hearing that he had taken two such Forts so far distant, not his friends only, but his enemies were encouraged, and drew unto him; and he was so potent, that he compelled John Cumine, Earl of Buchan, to seek peace at Glen-esk; for the Scots in the Cumines Army, durst commend the valor of King Robert, and others were discouraged. Edward had intelligence, and prepared an Army, but died at Lancaster. Edward the II. (turnamed Carnarivan) summoned a Parliament to be held at Dunfrise; few came, and it behoved him to go into France. From that time King Robert was diseased in body, yet he prevailed against the Cumines and English; and his Brother Edward prevailed in other parts of the Countrey. Edward the II. was led by a base Minion Peer of Gaviston; whereupon variance arose between him and his Nobility, until Gaviston was banished; but lo, an honorable banishment! he was sent Deputy into Ireland; and within two years was brought back into his former credit: then the Lords slew him at Warwick, to the great offence of the King. *Tho. Cooper in Epito.* But the King was reconciled unto his Nobles; and levied an Army of English, French, Scotch, Frisons, Gelders, and others, to the number of three hundred thousand men; Robert could gather but thirty five thousand: by the providence of God, which gave good success unto the wisdom and stratagem of King Robert, the English were soiled at Bannokburn, *An. 1314.* forty two Lords, two hundred twenty seven Knights and Baronets, and fifty thousand Soldiers were slain, the rest fled; Scotland was delivered; and the Scots pursued, and wasted England unto York. That year was great dearth in England, and a great murrain; the common people were glad to eat dogs, cats, and the like. Also Ireland sent unto Robert, desiring him to come and be their King: He sent his Brother Edward with an Army of Scots; he was received and crowned. After four years the English went against him, and slew him; and the rest of the Scots return home. At that time Pope John sent one Nuntio into England, and another into Scotland, to treat of peace; and for charges, he craved four pence of each mark, under pain of his curse: But neither would the Scotch nor English obey; and Edward refused to pay the Peter-pence. *An. 1323.* Edward levied another Army, and went into Scotland

Scotland with 100000 men. King Robert remembered the example of Fabius, and thought so great an Army could not continue long time, therefore he retired into the high Lands. Edward wandered from place to place, till his Army was like to starve for hunger; many died, and the rest returning home and tasting meat, scarcely escaped death. James Douglas followed the English, and slew many of them; and Edward was almost taken captive. *I. Fox.* Then a peace was concluded at Northampton, *An. 1327.* that the Scots should remain in the same estate, as in the days of King Alexander the III. the English should render all subscriptions and tokens of bondage; and have no Land in Scotland, unless they shall dwell in it; and if they will not dwell there, the Scots should give them for their present possessions 30000 marks of Silver. All this time the English were not of one accord; for the King followed the counsel of Spencer, Earl of Arundel; the other Nobility caused the King to banish him; but the next year he was restored, to the great disturbance of the Kingdom: at last they conspire to imprison the King; and Hugh Spencer suffered death. *Tho. Cooper.*

2. When King Robert came to great age, he ordained in Parliament his Successors, to wit, his Son David, a child of eight years old, which was espoused to Johanna, Daughter of Edward the II. and if he should die without child, he ordained his Son in law, Robert Stuart, to succeed. After he had exhorted the Estates to keep amity and unity, he gave them three counsels; 1. To beware that the Isles *Arbudes* be never given unto one man. 2. That they never hazard all their strength in one fight with the English. 3. That they make not long truce with them. After him Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, was chosen Regent of Scotland; he was a good Justiciary, and by no means would spare thieves and robbers: so that when a Gentleman came from the Pope's Court, and thought himself secure, because he had obtained the Pope's pardon, Thomas caused to apprehend him; and said, The pardon of sin belongeth unto the Pope, but punishment of the body is in the King's hand. *Buchan. lib. 9.*

3. *An. 1328.* Charles the IV. King of France, died without children; then Edward the III. King of England, his Sisters Son, claimeth the Crown of France, as nearest Heir: The French prefer Philip de Valois, the Uncle's Son; and they exclude Edward, by a Law which they call *Salica*, excluding women from succession. At the first, when the Estates of France had received Philip, Edward did him homage for his Lands in France; but when he was denied of a just demand, wars began between these two Nations, which ceased not altogether until the year 1495. as *Tho. Cooper* sheweth, or rather until the days of Queen Elizabeth; for sometimes the French prevailed, and sometimes the English, even so far as to be crowned at Paris, and held Parliaments, and had Deputies governing France: Sometimes were truce of thirteen years, or of ten years, but never an absolute peace before Queen Elizabeth. In the year 1393. the King of Armenia came into France, and shewed how the Turks and Scythians were not only oppressing Hungary, but were aiming at the conquest of all Christendom, and in the mean time Christians were devouring one another: with such words he perswaded both the Kings into a truce for four years. *Froissard. Hist. lib. 4.* But I leave Civil affairs, and return unto the Church.

The title of England unto France.

4. In the year 1306. an English Eremitic preached at Pauls in London, that some Sacraments that were then in use in the Church, were not of Christ's institution: therefore he was committed to prison. *Io. Bale ex Io. Baconthorp in Sent. lib. 4. dist. 2. q. 1.*

5. That John Baconthorp wrote on the Sentences, where he followeth the

truth in many things; especially he refuteth sundry subtilties of *Io. Scotus*, as *Baptista Mantuanus* hath marked.

Iste tenebroſi damnat veſtigia Scoti,

Et per ſacra novis it documenta viis.

Hunc habeant quibus eſt ſapientia grata; redundat

Iſtius in ſacris fontibus omne ſophos.

He wrote *de Domino Chriſti*, where he proveth, that the higheſt Biſhop in every Kingdom ſhould be under Princes. *Bale Cent. 4. ſect. 82.*

6. Richard, Primate of Ireland, (*alias Armachanus*) was his diſciple, and taught the ſame doctrine; he tranſlated the Bible into Iriſh: In a Sermon at Paul's Croſs in London, *An. 1356.* he ſaid, In the eſtate of innocence none had been a beggar; therefore according to that eſtate, unleſs the law of neceſſity do preſs men, none deſireth nor ſhould be a beggar, as neither was Chriſt willingly a beggar; the Law alſo forbiddeth it, *Deut. 15. There ſhall not be a beggar among you.* He diſcovered the hypocriſie of Friars, in that though they profeſſed poverty, yet they had ſtately houſes, like the Palaces of Princes; and more coſtly Churches then any Cathedral; more richer ornaments then all the Princes; more and better books then all the Doctōrs; they had Cloiſters and walking places ſo ſtately and large, that men of Arms might fight on horſe-back, and encounter one another with their ſpears in them; and their apparel richer then the greateſt Prelates: Theſe Sermons are extant. The next year he appeared before Innocentius the VI. and ſome of the four Orders of Friars appeared againſt him; and he proved his propoſitions ſtoutly and manifeſtly againſt them, that in many reſpects they had leiſt their firſt rules; but (ſaith Walsing. in *Edwar. III.*) the Engliſh Clergy ſent not unto him according to their promiſes; but the Friars wanted not plenty of money, and ſo *lite pendente* before the cauſe was decided, the Friars obtained a confirmation of their priviledges. Armachanus died there at Avenion, and was canonized.

7. William Ockam was a diſciple of *Jo. Scotus*, but he became adverſary of his doctrine; he was the Author of the Sect of *Nominales*, whereby new occaſions of controverſies aroſe, to withdraw men from the ſtudy of faith: He was a follower of Pope Nicolaus the V. and therefore was excommunicated by Pope John. Then he thought it more ſafe to live under the Emperor's protection; and he ſaid unto the Emperor Lewis, Defend me, Cæſar, from the injury of the Pope by thy ſword, and I will defend thee by the word, by writing, and invincible reaſons: and ſo they did ſo long as they lived. He wrote a *Compendium Errorum* of Pope John the XXII. and a dialogue between a Clark and a Soldier; wherein he handleth theſe queſtions; 1. Whether the Pope hath any primacy by right from God? 2. Whether Peter had any primacy, or was ever Biſhop of Rome? 3. Whether the Pope and Church of Rome may err? Concerning the Emperor, he diſcuſſeth, 1. Whether one man may diſcharge the offices both of Prieſt and Emperor? 2. Whether the Emperor hath his power from God only, or from the Pope alſo? 3. Whether the Pope and Church of Rome have any power from Chriſt, to commit any juriſdiction unto Cæſar and to other Princes? 4. Whether Cæſar after his election, hath power to rule the Republick? 5. Whether Kings anointed by a Biſhop, receive any power from him? 6. Whether theſe Kings be any way ſubject unto their anointer? 7. Whether the ſeven Electors give as great authority unto the elected Cæſar, as ſucceſſion giveth unto other Princes? &c. All which he diſputeth on both ſides, and concludeth always againſt the Extravagants. He wrote alſo againſt Pope Clemens, and calleth him an Heretick, the Antichriſt, an hater of Chriſtian poverty, a foe of the Common-wealth.

wealth, an enemy of the most Christian Nation, &c. *Morn. in Myfter. pag. 451, & 465.* In *Dialog. par. 2. tract. 1. lib. 3. cap. 16.* he saith, The books of Judith, Tobias, and the Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, and the book of Wisdom, are not for confirmation of any matter of faith; the Church readeth these two, Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, for edification of the people in manners, but not for confirmation of points of faith. *Ibid. par. 1. lib. 5. cap. 25.* he saith, A general Council is a part of the universal Church, but is not the Church universal; therefore it is vain to say, that a general Council cannot or against the faith. And *cap. 28.* If a general Council shall er, yet some Catholicks shall remain, which either privately or publickly (as shall be expedient) shall be bold to defend the Orthodox faith . . . for God is able of stones, that is, of the unlearned Laicks, despised poor ones, and distressed Catholicks, to raise up children of Abraham. And *lib. 6. cap. 84.* Councils are not called general, because they are called by the Pope . . . if Princes and Lay-men will, they may be present in the general Council, and deal of matters treated therein. In *Prolog. compend. error.* he saith, Alas! the time of which the blessed Apostle prophesied, when men will not suffer wholesome doctrine. . . . this prophesie is altogether fulfilled in our days; for behold, many pervert the holy Scriptures, deny the sayings of the holy Fathers, reject the Canon of the Church, molest, persecute, and bring into bondage, and without mercy torment and afflict, even unto death, them that defend the truth; so that we may rightly say of our times, which Daniel long since pronounced, *Iniquity hath gone from Babylon, from the Elders and Judges, which seemed to govern and rule the people;* for many that should be pillars in the Church of God, and defend the truth of God even unto blood, cast themselves headlong into the pit of Heresies. In the same Prologue, he submitteth his writings unto the censure and correction of the Church, but he addeth, of the Catholick Church, and not of the malignant Church.

8. Brigida, or Brigitta, was descended of the blood royal of Scotland, *Ph. Morn. in Myfter. pa. 480.* another then she which was in the days of S. Patrick, about the year 520. she was married unto the King of Sweden; a most devout woman, (saith Platin.) and canonized as a Saint and Prophetess. Being perswaded by the friers with the same of Rome, she went thither, in the days of Pope Urban the V. hoping to finde great comfort there; but in her revelations she calleth the Pope, a murtherer of souls, a destroyer of Christ's flock, more abominable then the Jews, more odious then Judas, more unjust then Pilate, worse then Lucifer: She saith, His seat is to be drowned like an heavy stone, and his assessors were to burn in fire and brimstone unquenchable: She rebuked the Bishops and Priests, that through their default the doctrine of Christ was not preached, yea, it was abolished; and they had changed all the commandments of God into two words, *Give money.* In the end she saith, she heard the Virgin saying to her Son, Rome is a fertile Land; and Christ answered, It is so, but of tares; she saith also, that her coming to Rome was to cast away, rather then confirm the opinion that she had conceived of it. These revelations have been often printed.

9. Thomas Bradwardin was a Fellow in Merton Colledge of Oxford, and afterwards Chancellor of London, and commonly called, *The profound Doctor;* about the year 1330. he had many disputes with the School-men against the errors of Pelagius; and reduced all his Lessons into three Books, which he entituled, *De causa Dei:* He beginneth thus; I have been solicited earnestly by the petitions of great and many men, that what I had spoken only by voice in disputes, concerning the cause of God against Pelagius, and concerning the power of causes, I would tie it unto durable writ; but here are

two things, as the lovers of God do provoke and encourage me into the cause of God; so the friends of Pelagius, being far more in number, do hinder and terrifie me; for (which I speak not without inward sorrow of heart) as of old, eight hundred and fifty Prophets of Baal, were against the one Prophet of God, and innumerable people did cleave unto them, so it is now in this cause; How many, O Lord, fight now, with Pelagius, for free will against thy free grace, and against Paul the spiritual Soldier of grace? how many do to day despise free grace, and proudly think that free will is sufficient to salvation? or if they do use the word of grace, they do but perfunctoriously feign it to be necessary, but they boast that they deserve by the power of free-will to be what they are; salvation seemeth unto them to be not a free gift, but a bought good; because, O God Almighty, these wilde men, presuming of the power of their free will, refuse the aid of thy working in their workings; and say with those, *Depart thou from us*. Moreover, Lord, how many advance the liberty of their own will, and will not serve thee? or if they confess with their lips, that thou workest with them, yet with these thy proud and hateful subjects, they will not have thee to reign over them; yea, and prouder then Lucifer, they are not content to be equal with thee, King of Kings, but most impudently they would reign above thee; for they fear not to say, that their own will goeth first in action, as the Lady, and thou followest as the Servant. O Lord my God, I cannot think it without sighs, how many and great Judges endeavor carefully to absolve and reconcile the Pelagian errors that were condemned in ancient times, and banished out of the bounds of all the Church? how many presumptuous advocates plead for them? how many damnable proctors they procure on their side? how many, not having two arguments of any art, do turn to killing arguments, and at least to advance the cause of Pelagius, attempt to cast down thy cause with their cries, horrors, reproaches, vice, laughter and gesture? how many and how innumerable people favor them? for almost all the world goeth after Pelagius; arise, Lord, judge thine own cause. Then he sheweth how he was comforted in a vision or dream, that by the grace of God he should prevail against Pelagius: And a little after he addeth, With how many martyrdoms, with how many wounds did the holy Fathers cut down the wood of the Pelagian heresies? and how many venomous branches do still spring and wax out of these old roots? As it was, so it is yet; for first, when their Arch-Heretick Lucifer would not be under and with God, Michael threw him down; then arose Cain, thinking that a sinner is not justified of God freely, by grace given freely, but by his antecedent merit; when he, in the just judgement of God, was cast down, arose Nimrod, who (as Joseph witnesseth) advised men, that they should not ascribe unto God what came happily unto them; but that it was given unto them for their own virtue; and that they trust in their own virtue, and not in God; the multitude was ready to obey their commands, and thought it grievous slavishness to be subject unto God; and so he called men from the fear of God, and made them proud, to the contempt and injury of God: nevertheless, he brought that sacrilegious presumption into tyranny: When the Patriarch Abraham refused it, these arose, speaking vain and great things, boasting that their lips and words were their own, and disdain that God should rule over men: Their children, the Sadduces, (Joseph is witness) did affirm, that both good and evil are propounded to the election of men; and each one chuseth this or that, according to his own will, without God. When these were rebuked by the Prophet, arose some Hebrews, Greeks, and Roman Christians, saying, that according to their merits, they had received the grace of faith; these were refuted by the Apostle. Then

*The beginning
and progress
of Pelagianism.*

arose

arose Pelagius, which proudly took arms against the grace of God, and his help; and when he was condemned by the Catholick Fathers, Julian and Celestius renewed the same heresie; and when it was quenched again by the Orthodox Fathers, it was stirred up again by Cassianus, and was lashed by Prosper. About that time the same heresie waxed in Britain, for which (as venerable Beda in his Ecclesiastical History, and Henry Honington in *Hyflor. Anglor.* reporteth) Germanus of Antisiodore, and Lupus of Treda, Bishops, although the Divels raised a most terrible storm against them by Sea, yet they came over, and confuted it stoutly. But behold, when the heresie was a little cut down, pestiferous twigs did spring up again, as the same Historians have written; which the same Germanus, and Severus Bishop of Tours, coming into Britain, did cut down again. Moreover, before and after these times, the *Scottians*, by sending wholesome Epistles into the bounds of the Roman See, did purge out the reliques of this plague; as witnesseth the same Beda, and holy Prosper maketh mention of them. And although this vile fig-tree hath been so oft cut down, so oft rooted up, burnt and turned into ashes, and even trod under foot, yet it ceased not to wax so broad, so thick, and by the vitious juyce of it, how much more subtilly, so much more dangerously doth it spread; therefore I, being zealous for the cause of God, do put willingly my hand unto this fire; for I am not ignorant, that these pestiferous Pelagians will with raging mindes, and hideous cries, bark against me, and will seek to tear this paper with violent teeth; as those are wont to carp at other mens writings, which have nothing of their own hand: But, as Josephus telleth, did not the Chaldeans and Mesopotamians, for this cause, rise against Abraham? did not the ancient Prophets suffer many things from the false prophets for the cause of God? did not some ignorants accuse Paul of madness, and wrest all his excellent Epistles? did not Julian, the disciple of Pelagius, with so many accusations, brawl against Augustine, the most glorious follower of the Apostles, and the most stout defender of grace against the ungracious Pelagians? and did not Julian boast, that he would winnow his books, and discover and shew the impiety of his writings? did not other maintainers of Pelagius in France, when Augustine was defunct, presume to disprove his writings? did not many writers oppose the most wholesome doctrine even of Christ and the Fathers? and what am I? I know I am not better then our so great Fathers, nor greater then my Lord why then should I refuse to suffer with them? &c. Hence it appeareth, that errors have been always abroad in the world, and some have opposed them; and they who love God, should and will oppose the errors, as they are able. Afterwards he was Confessor to King Edward the III. and then Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

10. About that time a book was written in English, called, *The Complaint and Prayer of a Plough-man*; the Author of it is said to have been Robert Langland, a Priest about the year 1360. *10. Bale Cent.* 6. 37. After a general complaint of the iniquity of the time, the Author writeth zealously against auricular confession, as contrary to Scripture, and utility of the Republick, and as a device of man; against the simony of selling pardons; against the Pope, as the adversary of Christ; since Christ commandeth, to bless them who curse us, and to love our enemies; but the Pope fighteth, and curseth for small offences: Christ forbade a Priest to be a Lord over his Brethren, as the men of these new religions do; yea, whosoever will live as Christ hath taught, he is accounted a fool; and if he speak of Christ's doctrine, he is called an Heretick, and is cursed. He complaineth there of the unmarried Priests, committing wickedness, and by bad example provoking others;

of images in Churches as idolatry; of false Pastors, which feed upon their flocks, and feed them not, nor suffer others to feed them; which punish a poor man for his sin, and suffer a rich man to continue in iniquity for a little money; which punish the violation of mans Law, more then the contempt of God's Law; which are more worthy to be condemned then Pilate, seeing he would once not have Christ condemned; but they condemn him now (said he) in his Doctrine and Servants, whom these Priests accurse and burn; they have forsaken both the old and new Testaments, and taken them to another Law, the Canon Law; and they comment on God's Word according to their own Laws; they are wolves in lamb skins; they stand more for their riches which they rob off Christ's flock, then they care for the sheep; they are become shop-men to the rich Merchant the Pope, in selling his wares, pardons in every Countrey, to make him rich; they promise the blessings of Heaven, without pain, for money. Again he speaketh of the Pope, that he calleth himself the Successor of Peter, whereas Peter did acknowledge Christ, and kept the hefts of his Law; but the Pope hath undone Christ's Law, for advancing his own Decretals: he calleth himself the Vicar of Christ; whereas Christ said, *wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them*: but the Pope hath made himself a Pseudo-christ, or Antichrist, since he professeth himself to be the Vicar of Christ, and indeed hath undone the ordinances of Christ, and maketh himself to be worshipped as God on earth, as proud Nebuchadnezzar sometime did; therefore all men should leave this Nebuchadnezzar, this false god, and false christ, and his laws, which are contrary to Christ's teaching. He writeth of Purgatory, that if such a thing were, no Pope could feel such pains, for he might deliver himself as well as others; and yet he hath no power to keep himself nor others out of bodily pains in this world, which (after their own sayings) are far less; and the Pope may go down to hell as another man; and whereas he taketh upon him to absolve any man, without inward repentance, he extolleth himself above God. This complaint is at length in the *Act. & Monim.* written by *Io. Fox*; and these are the chief heads of it.

*Laws against
the power of
the Pope.*

11. In the twenty fifth year of King Edward the III. (which was 1364.) Statutes were made, If any procured from Rome a provision to any Abbey, Priory, or Benefice in England, which is said to be in destruction of the Realm and holy Religion, or if any man sued out of the Court of Rome any process, or procured any personal citation upon causes, whose cognisance and final discussion pertaineth to the King's Court, these shall be out of the King's protection, and their lands, goods, and cattels, shall be forfeited unto the King: The narrative of the Act sheweth the cause of it; and the King and Commons of the Realm had oft complained, that his Realms were impoverished by the Pope, giving Benefices to strangers which never dwelt in England; the King and Nobility were robbed of their right of patronage; the cure was not served; and the will of the first founders was not followed: The King had oft complained, but in vain; therefore he resolved to make his Kingdom free from this bondage. *Morn. in Nisler. pag. 480.* sheweth, that when Pope Gregory the XI. heard of it, he cried, This enterprize is a renting of the Church, a destroying of Religion, and usurpation of his right and priviledge: Wherefore he sent immediately unto Edward, requiring him to annul these Acts. But when the Schism arose, no Pope did insist in it, until Pope Martin the V. sent more sharp Letters unto King Henry the VI. And he answered, An Act of Parliament cannot be annulled but by another Parliament; and he would assemble a Parliament within a short space for the same cause; but he did it not, saith *Pol. Virg. Hist. lib. 19.* In the thirteenth year of Richard the II.

this

this Act was revived, in these words; If any person, within or without the Realm, shall seek from the Court of Rome preferment to any Benefice of Cure, or without Cure, the preferment shall be null, and the person shall be banished, and his goods shall appertain unto the King; and the same punishment shall strike against them, which receive or entertain any such person. As also it was ordained, If any person shall bring or send any summons, sentence, or excommunication, or if any shall make execution of any such summons, sentence, or excommunication, against any person whatsoever, shall forfeit all his lands and goods forever, and himself shall be imprisoned, and incur the pain of death; yea, although such a person had obtained the King's licence for petitioning at the Court of Rome, he shall forfeit a years rent. It is also observed, that before the year 1367. the high offices in England, as the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, &c. were wont to be, for the most part, in the hands of the Clergy, (as also in Scotland until the Reformation) but about that time the English Nobility procured, that all these offices should be given unto temporal Lords.

Offices of State.

12. At that time God raised up John Wickliff, a courageous witness of truth; he was Fellow of Merton Colledge, and Master of Baliol Colledge in Oxford, and Reader of Divinity there, about the year 1370. He began first to oppose in questions of Logick and Metaphysick, but such as strawed the way to other things which he intended: When he set upon controversies of Divinity, he protested publickly in the Schools, that his aim was to bring the Church from Idolatry to some amendment. In his book, entituled, *The path-way to perfect knowledge*, near the end, he sheweth what travel he had in translating the Bible into English; he gathered many old Latine Bibles, for (saith he) the late books are very corrupt; and he conferred the translations with the ancient Doctors and common Glosses; and especially he was helped by the late translation of Lyra in the old Testament: and the fourth time, he employed many cunning men, at the correcting of his fourth translation: Then he wrote that book which I have now named, wherein he giveth the sum of every book of the old Testament, with some general and useful observations. He reckoneth the books according to the Hebrew; and sheweth also some use of the Apocrypha, for examples of piety, patience, constancy, &c. and denieth that they are for proof of faith. In *chap. 2.* he saith, The truth of the Gospel sufficeth to salvation, without keeping the ceremonies made of God in the old Law; and much more without keeping the ceremonies of sinful and unknowing men, that have been made in time of Antichrist, and unbinding of Satan, as it is *Apocal. 20.* and he calleth it heresie to say otherwise. In *chap. 1.* he saith, Christian men and women, old and yong, should study fast in the new Testament; for it is of full authority, and open to the understanding of simple men, as to the points that be most needful to salvation; and the same sentence, in the darkest places of holy writ, is both open and dark, which sentence is in the open places; and each place of holy writ, both open and dark, teacheth humility and charity; and therefore he that keepeth humility and charity, hath the true understanding and perfection of all holy writ; as Augustine proveth in his Sermon of praising charity; therefore no simple man of wit, should be feared unmeasurably to study the text of holy writ; for they are the words of everlasting life, as Peter said to Christ, *John 6.* and the holy Ghost stirred holy men to speak and write the words of holy writ, for the comfort and salvation of meek Christian men; as Peter in his Epistles, and Paul *Rom. 15.* witness: And no Clark should be proud of the very understanding of holy writ; for that very understanding, without charity, which keepeth God's hests, maketh a man deeper damned,

as Christ Jesus, and James witness; and the pride and covetousness of Clarks, is the cause of their blindness and heresie. In *chap. 10.* Though Kings and Lords knew no more of holy writ, then three stories of 2 *Chron.* that is, of Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, they might learn sufficiently to live well, and govern their people well by God's Law, and eschew all pride and idolatry, and other sins: But alas! alas! alas! whereas King Jehoshaphat sent his Princes, Deacons and Priests, to each City of his Realm, with the Book of God's Law, to teach openly God's Law unto the people. . . . some Christian Lords send general Letters unto all their Ministers and Liege-men, that the pardons of the Bishop of Rome, which are open lies, (for they grant many hundred years of pardons after doomsday) be preached generally in their Realms and Lordships; and if any wise man gain-say the open errors of Antichrist, and teach men to give their alms to poor needy men, to escape the pains of Hell, and to gain the bliss of Heaven, he shall be imprisoned as a man of unchristian belief, and traitor to God and Christian Kings and Lords. And whereas King Hezekiah was busie to cleanse God's house, and put away all uncleanness from the Sanctuary. . . . some Christians Lords in name (and Heathens in conditions) defile the Sanctuary of God, and bring in simoniacal Clarks, full of covetousness and heresie, and hypocrisy and malice, to stop God's Law, that it be not known and kept, or freely preached; and some Christian Lords keep many Prelats and Curats in their Courts, and in secular offices, openly against God's Law and mans, and withhold them from their ghostly office, and helping of Christian souls. . . . let these unwise Lords know, that Eli the Prophet (one only) had the truth of God, and King Ahab, with 850 Priests and Prophets of Baal, had the false part; and after Micheas, one alone Prophet of God, had the truth against 400 Prophets of Baal, that counselled Achab to war, to his own shame and death: so now, a few poor men, and Idiots in comparison of School-Clarks, may have the truth of holy Scripture, against many thousand Prelates and religious, that be given to worldly pride, covetousness, simony, hypocrisy, and other fleshly sins; and the rather, seeing poor men desire only the truth and freedom of the holy Gospel and Scripture, and accept mans law and ordinances only, in as much as they be grounded on holy Scripture, or good reason and common profit of Christian people. . . . But it is to be feared, full sorely, that Kings and Lords now have been in the former sins of Manasses; God grant that they repent verily, and make amends to God and man, as he did in the end. And near the end of that Chapter, he saith, Now in England it is a common protection against persecution of Prelates, and some Lords, if a man be accustomed to swear needless, false, and unadvised oaths, by the bones, nails, and sides, and other members of Christ, and be proud and lecherous, and speak not of God's Law, and reprove not sin about him; and to abstain from needless oaths, and not lawful, and to reprove sin by way of charity, is cause enough why Prelates and some Lords slander men, and call them Lollards, Hereticks, raisers of debate and treason against the King. . . . How much blood have Lords shed in wars, for pride and covetousness, by counsel of false Prelates, Confessors and Preachers, it passeth mans wit to tell fully in this life: but of shedding blood, and slaying poor men, by withdrawing alms, and giving it to dead stocks or stones, or to rich Clarks and feigned religious, were to speak now, if a man had the spirit of ghostly strength: now men kneel and pray, and offer fasts to dead Images, that have neither hunger nor cold, and despise, beat and slay Christian men; what honoring of God is this? &c. The Bishops and Friars could not endure such doctrine; but so long as Edward the III. lived he was safe; for that King loved him; and as
some

some write, the above named Acts were by his information made against the Pope and Prelates: when the King became old and unable, his second Son, John Duke of Lancaster, was Regent, (for the King's eldest Son was dead, and his Son Richard was yong) he approved the doctrine of Christ which Wickliff did teach; so did Henry Percey Lord Marshal, William Rigge Chancellor of the University, and many more of account. Simon Langham Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, summoned him to appear at Lambeth, *An.* 1376. The Duke of Lancaster went with him, and the contention was great; yet nothing was done against him at that time. In the beginning of the reign of Richard the II. John the Regent, and the Lord Marshal, gave up their Offices; then the Bishops thought to have the more advantage against Wickliff: Nevertheless, he continued preaching, 1. The holy Eucharist, after consecration, is not the body of Christ, but figuratively or sacramentally. 2. The Church of Rome is not the head of all Churches; nor had Peter any more power given him by Christ, then any other Apostle had. 3. The Pope hath no more power of the keys, then any other within the order of Priesthood hath. 4. If God be, temporal Princes may lawfully and justly take their temporalities from Church-men sinning *habitualiter*. 5. The Gospel is a rule sufficient by it self, to rule the life of all Christians here, &c. These and such other Articles were brought to Pope Gregory the XI. by him and twenty three Cardinals, they were condemned as heretical: And the Pope sent his Bulls unto the University, to Simon the Arch-Bishop, and unto the Bishop of London, that they should apprehend the Heretick, as he spoke; he wrote also unto the King to assist the Bishops. A convocation was held at Lambeth; where Wickliff appeared, professing himself to be a true Christian; he explained the Articles; and he denied some to be his assertions, saying, they had wrested his words. At that time, whether the Queen-Mother had discharged the Bishops to do him violence, (as some write) or that the Londoners took his part, (as others say) or both, he was dismissed; only they charged him, that he should preach no more of that doctrine. The Schism of the Antipopes gave some respite unto Wickliff; and Simon was slain in a dissension between the Nobility and the Commons: His Successor, William Courtney, was more fully against him, and prevailed so with the King to banish him: and in the fifth year of the yong King procured an Act, that Hereticks (as it pleased them to speak) should be imprisoned until they justified their cause: This Act mentioneth great numbers of them throughout all the Kingdom, convening to Sermons in Churches, Church-yards, Market places, and other places, where are great assemblings of people. Philip Repington, a Batchelor of Divinity, had been summoned for the same doctrine; but after this Act he forsook it, and became Bishop of Lincoln, and a cruel persecutor of the truth which he had professed. John Ashton also fell away. Nicolas Herford, another Batchelor, made his appeal from the Bishop unto the King and his Council; but William caused him to be apprehended and imprisoned; he escaped, and continued preaching as before. John Wickliff, in the time of his banishment, wrote unto Pope Urban a confession of his faith; wherein he affirmeth, that seeing the Bishop of Rome calleth himself the Vicar of Christ, of all men he is most bound to follow the Law of Christ in the Gospel; since the greatness among Christ's Disciples consisteth not in worldly honors, but in exact imitation of Christ in life and doctrine; and he advised the Pope to leave unto the Secular Powers all temporal rule, as Christ did; and he prayed, that he and his Cardinals might follow the Lord Jesus, and faithfully teach his flock. But the Pope of Rome was so busie against the Pope of Avenion, that neither of them had leisure

to attend such matters; and Wickliff did return: It happened that he became sick, and there was little hope of his recovery; the Friars sent four of their Order, and four elder men unto him; and wished him then, in the hour of his death, to recant his former opinions. He desired his friends to set him up, and then said with a loud voice, I shall not die, but live, and declare the most wicked facts of Friars: they left him with confusion; and he did recover, and wrote a Treatise against the Order of Friars; of which Treatise Doctor James maketh mention, in his Book called, *Wickliff's conformity to the Church of England*. An. 1382. they assembled a Convocation against him, to condemn his Doctrine and Books; in the very hour of their first meeting, all England was shaken with an earth-quake, that all who were assembled, thought it expedient to surcease for that time. At last he died in peace in Lutterworth (where he had been Parson) An. 1387. Such a God is the Lord, that whom he will keep nothing can hurt. John Bale hath a catalogue of his Books in five full pages; and *Æn. Silvius in Histor. Bohem.* testifieth, that more of his Books were extant, than of Augustine. The late Papists do impute many errors unto him, and so did the Council of Constance; but others have cleared him of those imputations, especially the above named Antiquary, Doctor James. And that the reader may see the falshood of those criminations, this is one, that he condemned all oaths, therein favoring of Anabaptism: But by the testimony which I have cited out of *The path-way*, it is clear, that he speaketh of customary and false swearing; and in that same Chapter he saith, that to swear by any, is the honor of God alone; and therefore it is Idolatry to swear by any Saint or creature: and by this one instance it may be judged of others. The Council of Constance ordained, to take up his body and burn it; and so the English Prelates took up his bones forty and one years after his death to burn them; such was their rage against the professors of truth. At that time happened a rebellion in Ireland; Richard the II. went to suppress it; while he was there, Thomas Arundel Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops, stole away the hearts of his subjects from him, (because he had hearkened to the doctrine of Wickliff) and persuaded them to advance Henry Earl of Derby to the Crown; to the end, that both they might be rid of such a Sovereign, and have a King for ever obliged to authorize their bloody designs against God's people: but all their treason and cruelty could not smother the truth. It is bitterly enough marked, (saith *Io. Bale Cent. 6. 25. in Appen.*) that the Earl of Salisbury despised confession, and the Popish Sacraments at his death. Sir John Montague threw down all Images within his Lands. John Purvey wrote Books in defence of his Master's Lessons; he wrote a Commentary on the Revelations, where he saith, Seven years are past, since the Pope of Rome was generally made known to be the Antichrist; [to wit, from the year 1382. *Behold how God bringeth light out of darkness!*] I had not written such things against Antichrist and his Prelates, if they had not imprisoned me, lest I did speak against them: There he applieth all the prophecies concerning Antichrist and the Whore, unto the Pope and his Court. The Arch-Bishop had imprisoned this Purvey, and by cruel torments caused him to recant seven godly Articles at Paul's Cross; but when he was at liberty he spoke more boldly; and accused the Pope, for denying that the Word of God is sufficient to salvation without the Decrees and Decretals: He said also, Spiritual men write Books against the Pope, and these Books are either hid or burnt; nor is any man suffered to preach, but which are devoted unto the Pope; and good men are drawn into prison: but (said he) more Books, and more vehement, shall be written against the Pope. For these and such other things, Henry Chichelay,

Successor

A prank of
the Bishops.

Many were
called Lollards.

Successor to Thomas, imprisoned him again. *An.* 1393. Walter Bruite was in question before the Bishop of Hereford, and delivered a book, yet extant (saith Geo. Abbot against Hill. in answer to the first reason) in the Register of that Diocye, wherein he wrote these and many such positions; Bread remaineth in the Sacrament after the consecration; the Pope is the Antichrist; nothing is to be believed (as necessary to salvation) but what may be confirmed by Scripture; the City described in *Revel.* 7. is Rome; justification is freely by Christ alone; miracles now are no assurance of truth; infants dying before baptism, are not therefore condemned; auricular confession is not prescribed in the Scriptures; the Canon Law is ill grounded; the numeral letters of *DXCLERI*, make up the number 666; worship of Images is Idolatry; that men are not rashly to be reputed Saints; the Pope hath no power beyond other Saints, nor is the head of the Church; Papists mistake the keys of binding and loosing; the Pope deceiveth men in his pardons; absolution is to be sought at the hands of God only; Priests use vain prayers in the Mass; exorcisms and holy water are unlawful; Priests do sin, who bargain to sing for the souls of men departed; religious men and women are the devourers of widows houses; selling of Orders and Dirges is naught; the Pope is the Beast with the two horns, like the Lamb, while he challengeth the double sword; temporal goods may be taken from the Clergy offending. The same Author, *loc. cit. sect.* 25. saith, Yea, so far was the Doctrine of Wickliff spread, that Pope Gregory XI. in the year 1378. did direct his Bull to the University of Oxford, against the Doctrine and Articles of that learned man. even Rome it felt ringing of his opinions in that University; neither did his followers die when he died; but long after that Pope Gregory the XII. did direct another Bull to Oxford, in which he useth the same words which his Predecessor had; that is, that Wickliff did follow the doctrine of Marfilius of Padua, and of John of Gandune, of unworthy memory. Which speech is worth the marking, (saith Abbot) to shew, that this man had his predecessors: The Copy of this latter Bull is to be seen in a Book, which that worthy lover of Antiquities, Mr. Hare, gave to our University, saith he.

13. In time of the rebellion against King Richard, amongst all the Bishops, only Thomas Merks, Bishop of Carlile, was for him: In the Parliament they were not content to depose him, but were devising more mischiefs against him. Then said Thomas, None here present is worthy to pass his sentence on so worthy a King, whom they have obeyed as their lawful Prince full twenty two years; this is the part of traitors, cut-throats and thieves: none so wicked or vile, who though he be charged with a manifest crime, should we think to condemn before we hear him; and do ye think it equal to pass sentence on a King anointed and crowned, giving no leave to defend himself? how unjust is this? let us consider the matter it self: I say, ye openly affirm, that Henry Duke of Lancaster, whom ye are pleased to call your King, hath most unjustly spoiled Richard, as well his Sovereign as ours, of his Kingdom. While he was speaking, the Lord Marshal enjoined him silence; and the other Bishops said, He discovereth more Covent-devotion (he had been a Monk) then Court-discretion, in dissenting from his Brethren. Yet at that time his integrity was so respected, that no punishment was imposed upon him; but the next year 1400. when some discontented Lords arose against King Henry, this Thomas was taken prisoner, and judicially arraigned for High Treason; for which he was condemned, and sent to St. Albans. But what shall the King do with him? he could not with credit keep him nor dismiss him; and to take his life was dangerous, when Prelates were thought sacred. The Pope did help the King, by giving unto Thomas another Bishoprick in Samos, a Greek Island. But before his translation was compleated, he died.

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C H U R C H,

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The History of the Church reverting, and of
Antichrist raging, containing the space of 300. years,
from the year 1300. until the year 1600.

C E N T U R Y X V.

CHAP. I.

Of P O P E S.

I.  NNOCENTIUS the VII. was crowned *An.* 1404. Before that time none spoke more against the ambition of the Antipopes; and he had sworn to renounce his place, if the union of the Church did so require; but now he could not hear any speaking of taking away the Schism; yea, because some Romans bewailed the dammages of it, he sent them to his Nephew Lewis (whom he had made Marques of Piceno, and Prince of Firma) as to a Burreo, (saith Platin.) and he caused in his own sight, eleven Romans to be thrown out of an high window; and said, This Schism cannot be otherwise taken away; therefore he was called, the bloody Tyrant. *Tho. Cooper.* For this cause the Romans called for the aid of Ladislaus, King of Naples, and the Pope fled unto his Nephew in Viterbio; thereafter the Romans, fearing that Ladislaus would usurp over the City, brought back the Pope; and he did accurse Ladislaus. Pope Benedict sent unto Pope Innocentius, for a safe conduct unto his Cardinals, that they may treat of an union. Innocentius slightly refused. Wherefore Benedict made his vaunts in sundry missives, that he was desirous of union, and Innocentius had denied a treaty. Then Innocentius became paralytick; and his own Clergy said unto him, It happened unto him justly, according to his demerits. He sate two years. Then the French Nation did represent unto Pope Benedict, the inconvenients of the Schism; and they craved, that he would willingly lay down his Dignity, for the welfare of the Church, if the Pope that shall be chosen at Rome shall do the like. He promised to do so. The Cardinals at Rome, in consideration of the enormities waxing every where by this Schism, took this order; they promise each one, with solemn vow to God, to Mary, to Peter and Paul, and the blessed company of Saints, that if any of them were called to that high place, whensoever the other Pope will quit his place, and his Cardinals will condescend unto the Cardinals at Rome upon a new election, that one may be chosen by them together, in that case he who

who shall be now chosen, shall renounce his Papacy. And they provided, that none shall ever take absolution from this oath : All did subscribe.

2. GREGORY the XII. being eighty years old, was chosen; and the same day, in presence of all the Cardinals, confirmed the same oath by a new subscription. The union was attempted again, by Letters from the one Pope unto the other; they consent to meet on Michaelmas day at Savona in Liguria; but Gregory objected sundry impediments; and when these were removed by Bishops and Princes, he coined more; as may be read at large in *Morna. Myster. pag. 497. & ff.* Benedict still made shew of readiness; when he heard that Gregory made new delays, he went unto Catalonia in Spain, where he was born, professing his desire of union, but there was no appearance of it: In truth, he was necessitated to go thither; for the French King, and University of Paris, would bear no longer with him, and called him a Schismatick, &c. Gregory thought then that the field was won: He called a Council to assemble at Aquileia; and to the end he may attain his designs, he created more Cardinals. Benedict practised the like in Arragon; both of them still pretending unity. The Church of Rome had of late broached this conceit, That the judgement of the Pope is infallible; but now it pleased God to check that fond opinion, and by lamentably sensible examples teach them their error, that if reason cannot persuade them, experience should convince them; or if they will believe none who had written that the Pope may err, yet they shall see it with their eyes, and then let them hold him the rule of faith at their peril. So the Cardinals of both these factions began to distaste the ambition of their Popes; and first, some of the Spanish Cardinals withdrew themselves, and came to Pisa; and others of the other side assembled with them, to the number of 124 Divines, and 300 Jurists: They with one consent call a Council to be held there, *An. 1409.* and by their Letters they require the Emperor, the Kings of France, Hungary, England, Poland, Sicily, Arragon, and other States, to give their concurrence. Only the nearer part of Spain, Scotland, and the Count Armeniacus, followed Benedict. The Council was assembled, to the number of 1000 Divines and Lawyers, as some write. They summon both Popes to appear, either personally or by their Proctors. They both contested against the lawfulness of the Assembly, as not having authority from the head. The Council replied, A Council cannot be called by one of the Competitors; for a party cannot make a general, but a particular Council; but neither of the two would yield to the other; so the Council goeth on; and because none of the two Popes would appear, after many Sessions, and after long disputation of their power, and after canonical process, they all, without exception, condemn Pope Benedict and Pope Gregory, and absolve all men from obedience unto them; they annul all their Acts, promotions, &c. In the tenor of deprivation, they call these two notorious Schismaticks, obstinate maintainers of Schism, Hereticks departed from the faith, scandalizing the whole Church, unworthy the Papacy, and cut off from the Church. And they elected unto the Papal Chair, a Greek by birth, Peter Philargus, the Bishop of Millain; who was called

Experience sheweth that Popes are not infallible.

3. ALEXANDER the V. Of him it is said, He was a rich Bishop, a poor Cardinal, and a beggarly Pope: this last part was said of him, partly because of the division of the Papal revenues, and partly because of his profusion beyond any Prince. The other two Popes would never consent unto this Synod. Bellarmin will neither call this Council lawful nor unlawful, *De Concil. lib. 1. cap. 8.* Then were three Suns, as the Popes were wont to call themselves in comparison of the Emperors, but they were all pale in the clouds, none of them being in their own region; and the Romish Church had

three heads. Alexander had scarcely warmed his Crown on his head; when he gave full remission of all sin unto them, who conferred any thing unto the Monastery of S. Bartholomew by Smithfield; and resorted to that Church any of these days following, to wit, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter Even, or on the Feast of Annuntiation, from the first Even Song unto the latter. *Io. Fox in Act.* He died in the eighth moneth. When he was dying, he protested before a multitude of Bishops and others, that the Pisan Council had proceeded very lawfully, and had decreed most justly. *Platin.* Will not the Papists believe the protestation of their Pope on his death-bed? Then the Cardinals thought to be more circumspect in chusing his Successor; they assembled at Bononia; where Baldesar Cossa, a Noble man of Naples, was the Pope's Legate, and Commander of the City; he had a great number of Soldiers both within and without, under pretence of preventing all tumults, but indeed, that if he could not attain unto the Papacy by solicitation, he might atchieve it by arms. *Platin.* He pressed the Cardinals to name a Pope. They went to election, and named one; he refused him: they name another; he refused to accept him: they did name more; none were to his liking: They ask, Whom will he name? He said, Give me the Cape of blessed Peter, and I shall give it unto the Pope: Then he put it on his own shoulders, and said, I am Pope. The Cardinals thought this an informable election; but none durst speak against him. *Bellar. de Ro. Pon. lib. 4. cap. 14.* saith, It could not be easily judged, by which of these three was the true and lawful Pope: why? because every one of them had most learned Patrons. This same Pope,

4. JOHN the XXIV. (*alias* XXIII.) feared that the Cardinals would enterprize something against him, and therefore presently sent Legates unto Germany, entreating the Princes to accept Sigismund unto the Imperial Throne; he thought so to gain his favor. *Platin.* He, obtaining this desire, proclaimed a Council at Rome, under pretence to crown the Emperor, but intending to establish himself. The Schism continued, until the Emperor procured a Council at Constance, *An. 1414.* John, hoping that the Emperor would acquit him for his former favor, consented, and gave his Bull for assembling the Council; and in that Bull, he acknowledged the lawfulness of the general Council at Pisa; and called Pope Alexander, the President of happy memory. In the Council he laid down his Papacy; and the Emperor gave him thanks, and kissed his foot: But when he saw no appearance to be restored, he thought best to provide for himself by flight; and he would revoke his renuntiation. The Emperor caused to pursue him. Frederick Duke of Austria apprehended him, and delivered him unto the Emperor; and he committed him unto the Count Palatine of Rhine, who kept him three years in his Castle at Hedleberg. John was judged as unworthy as any of the other two; for he was accused to have hired Marfilus Parmensis, a Physician, to poison Pope Alexander; that he was an Heretick, a Simoniack, a Murderer, an Inchanter, an Adulterer, a Dice-player, a Sodomite, a notorious Atheist, and contemner of all Religion; he sold for 50000 ducates the head of John Baptist, which was in St. Silvester's Monastery at Rome. John Naucler saith, About forty Articles were proved against him. Then the Council dealt with the other two Popes to renounce their authority, as followeth. Pope Gregory, being then decrepit, sent his Proctor, and renounced his power; and was made Legate of Piceno; and died shortly after. Benedict would never acknowledge the Council; and when he died, after the Council was ended, he required an oath of his Cardinals, that they should chuse another Pope after his death.

5. MARTIN the V. was chosen by the Council on Martin's day.

An. 1417.

An. 1417. he was convoyed by the Emperor and Council, with great solemnity, into the great Church of Constance, and from thence unto the Monastery of St. Augustin to be crowned; the Emperor led his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the Marquess of Brandenburg on the left hand, both on foot. He confirmed the Acts of the Council. The Emperor entreated him to abide in Germany, because of the diversity of Religion, or (as he spoke) for divers enormities there. The French Nation allured him to go with them. He said, The Churches of the Saints in Rome were decaying, by the long absence of Popes; so he went to Italy, and stayed three years at Florence. At that time John the XXIV. redeemed himself out of prison for 30000 crowns, and went unto Florence. Pope Martin feared that he would renew the Schism; but John kissed his foot, and was made Cardinal of Tusculo; yet could not patiently live in so private a condition, and died of melancholy. Then Martin had but one Antipope, and sought by all means to have him out of the way; but Alfonso King of Arragon maintained Pope Benedict the rather, that Pope Martin had declared Lewis, Duke of Anjou, to be King of Sicily. When Benedict had sate thirty years, and was dead, his Cardinals chose Pope Clemens the VIII. who sate four years; until Pope Martin, seeing the unlucky success of King Lewis, did agree with Alfonso concerning Sicily; then these two compound with Pope Clemens, that he shall have the Bishoprick of Majorca; and his Cardinals shall enjoy their hats, except some recusants that were committed; so the Schism was ended. Pope Martin was hot in the wars against the Bohemians. Angelus de Clavasio, a Minorite, in his *Summa*, at the word *Papa*, writeth, that this Martin, after consultation, granted licence unto a man to marry his own Sister. He sate fourteen years, and died *An.* 1431.

6. EUGENIUS the IV. was miscarried with ill advice, and troubled all things concerning God and men. *Platin.* By his covetousness he so provoked the Romans, that there was a great fight within the City, and he thought it his best way to steal away in a Monkish habit; when the Citizens knew that he was going down the river in a boat, they threw stones at him; but by means of his Captain Sfortia, he regained all that he had lost, and became very haughty. He loved wars, which may seem strange in a Pope, saith *Platin.* He was afraid of the event of the Council at Basil, when he saw it increase with multitude of Princes and Bishops from Spain, France, Germany, Hungary, &c. and had made an Act in Sess. 2. A Council is above a Pope; and all men of whatsoever condition, even Papal, ought to obey it; therefore he went about the translating of it to Bononia; but the Emperor, and all the Princes and Bishops there, charged him, that if he did not approve the Council, which was ordained by the former Council, and was called by the former Pope, and now had sate so long time by his own consent, the Nations there assembled would dethrone him: This Letter made him approve the Council by his Bull, *An.* 1434. When Sigismund died, Eugenius assembled his Cardinals and faction at Ferrara, and then (as followeth) at Florence, and would have taken all power from the Council; but the Council did so despise his threatnings, that they condemned Pope Eugenius as unworthy of Peter's Chair; and they chose another, to wit, the Duke of Savoy, who had lived an Eremita for some years; him they called FELIX the V. This was a new schism; some followed the one, and some the other, and some were neutral; so they were two Popes, and two Councils contrary unto one another. Behold the unity of the Roman Church! all the Acts and consecrations of Pope Eugenius were judged null at Basil, nor was he ever absolved from their curse; they called him, a rebel against the sacred Canons, a noto-

rious scandalizer and disturber of the peace and unity of the Church, a simonist, a perjured wretch, incorrigible, a schismatick, and obstinate heretick. On the other side Eugenius wrote his Letters from Florence unto all Princes, shewing that Amedeus, *alias* Pope Felix, had advised with the inchanters, and had received response that he should be Pope, and therefore he had lived an Eremita for a space, to deceive the world with hypocrisie; he called him, a wolf in a sheeps skin; the Image of Nebuchadnezzar; the Idol of Beelzebub, standing in the Church of God; Lucifer, who said, he would set his seat in the North, &c. *Ph. Morn. in Myster. pag. 544.* He published sundry Acts and writs, wherein he did aver, that he was so far from being obliged to follow and obey a Council, that he did then deserve most, when he contemned the Acts of a Council; and he said, it is heresie to think, that a Council is above a Pope, although all the University of Christendom would affirm the same: So by the Bull of Pope Eugenius, the infallability of the Church is preserved in the Pope only, and the Pope only may make a true Church; or rather we may infer, The Pope is the Antichrist: For as Augustine, *Lib. 20. De ci. Dei, cap. 19.* saith, The Antichrist shall sit (as it is in the Greek) *non in templo Dei, sed in templum Dei, tanquam ipse sit templum Dei, quod est Ecclesia, sicut dicimus, sedet in amicum, id est, amicus;* that is, not only in the Church, but over the Church, as if he were the Church. When his Bulls and practises could not prevail against the Council, he enticed the Dauphin (who thereafter was Lewis the XI. King of France) to go with 30000 Soldiers against Basil, as followeth. John Palæologus, Emperor of the East, sent word, that he would come unto the Council to treat of union; (but his aim was to procure aid against the Turks) then Charls the VII. sent ships into the Ionian Sea, to bring the Emperor and his Clergy into France, and that way to convoy him unto Basil: But Eugenius prevented them with ships and money sent unto the Emperor, as it were to defray their charges by the way, and with promises to pay all their charges in Italy; and his Admiral said, That the Pope and the Council were reconciled: the other ships come too late, and shewed, that the Council was not reconciled with the Pope; the Patriarch and other Bishops perceived some fraud, and refused to go into Italy, until reconciliation was made there among themselves: whereupon the Admiral of the Papal ships would have fought with the Councils ships; but the Emperor would not suffer them to fight within his dominion; and also he pressed the Bishops to go aboard; it was in the winter time, and after they had been beaten with storms, they arrived at Venice; the Patriarch Joseph was sickly, and the Emperor left him, and went to Ferrara; within few days Joseph followed; and while he was yet in the ship, the Emperor sent to inform him, that at his first meeting with the Pope, he must fall down and kiss his foot; the Emperor (said the messenger) providing for your honor, hath dealt these three days with the Pope, that it should not be so; and he adviseth you hereof before hand. This news seemed strange unto the Patriarch; for he had resolved to acknowledge the Pope as a Father, if he were older; or as a Brother, if he were equal in years; or if the Pope were yonger, he would accept him as a Son: yea, and before he came from home, he had said unto some of his friends, that if he were once in Italy, he hoped to purchase more reputation, and to recover the honor of his See; and now when he is ordered to kiss the Pope's foot, he was amazed. About noon six Bishops come unto him to congratulate his arrival; and to exhort him, that he would not refuse to give unto the Pope the obeysance that all men give him. The Patriarch answered peremptorily, that he would not salute the Pope after that maner, yea, and all maner which nature doth not allow; since they are Brethren, they should

should embrace one another after a brotherly maner. The Bishops return to shew this answer unto the Pope; and in the mean time, the Patriarch asked the advice of the Greek Bishops; they, in one voice, said, It was not lawful, nor comely, nor profitable; and they told him, that he might have known the Pope's pride before, when his Legate sought the precedency in Constantinople, as they also had given him to understand at that time, but he would not regard their advertisement. Before night the Papal Bishops came again, and pressed the same curtesie. The Patriarch said, By what reason can the Pope demand this? what Council of the ancient Fathers hath so ordained? if he call himself Peter's Successor, the Successors of other Apostles are here; and did any of the Apostles kiss Peter's foot? who ever heard that? The Bishops replied, Kings and Emperors, and Cardinals greater then the Emperor, do so unto the Pope now through many ages. The Patriarch answered, It is but a late custom, and I will rather return home then do it; I am in the ship, and I will not go out of the ship, if that be required of me. Briefly, because the Patriarch would not so abase himself, the Pope was content to accept him with mutual embracings and kisses, yet but in a chamber, in presence of a few Cardinals. Of their proceedings in the Council, I shall speak hereafter: For the present thus much only; among the Articles covenanted between the Emperor and the Pope, this was one, that if the Turks shall invade Constantinople, in the time that the Greeks shall be in Italy, the Pope shall send a navy for aid: But in two several summers Amurathes did invade Constantinople by Sea, and the Pope could not be perswaded to send one ship; the Emperor sought but two, and Eugenius would send none. The History marketh, that God did preserve Constantinople at that time; and immediately Nicolaus, Duke of Piceno, took two Cities, Bononia and Friuli, from Eugenius. *Sgyrop. Hist. self. 5. cap. 12.* In the year 1443. the Pope made agreement with the chief Romans, and returned to Rome in September; he would have gone into St. Peter's the second day, but all the people were in an uproar, crying, Away with new tributes, and the authors of them; Eugenius had laid new tribute on the wine: He did not dare to go out of doors that day, but discharged the late Impost; the next day he went forward, the people crying, Long may Eugenius live. On the nineteenth day thereafter, he called an assembly at Lateran; and excommunicated all the Prelates at Basil. Vladislaus, King of Hungary, had made peace with the Turks: Eugenius sent his Legate, Cardinal Julian, and perswaded the King to break the peace; because without his leave, he could not contract with the enemies of Christ. At the first onset, the company of Asia, on the north wing of the Turks Army, were put to flight by John Hunniades, Prince of Transilvania, and General of the Hungarians: Then Amurathes took out the Book of the Articles of peace, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he said, These are the Articles, O Jesus Christ, which thy Christians have covenanted with me, and have sworn holily by thy name; and now they have violated their faith attested by thy name; they have falsely denied their God; and now Christ, if thou be God, I beseech thee avenge thy own wrongs and mine, and shew the punishment of perjury unto them, which as yet have not known thy name. He had scarcely uttered these words, when (behold!) the fight was suddenly changed. *Ph. Morn. in Nijsser. ex Bonfn. Hist. Hungar. dec. 1. lib. 6.* A bloody fight followed at Varna, where the Turks prevailed; that ye may see (saith *En. Sylv. lib. 1. epist. 81.*) how oaths should be kept, not only with the household of faith, but with enemies also. That day the yong King, and Julian the false Cardinal, and many of the Hungarian Nobility, were slain; and the Prelates, that were in the field for encouraging the Soldiers, fled, and fell into marshes; and all the tranches and ditches were

*Perjury is
punished,
though the
Pope ap-
prove it.*

filled with blood of Christians, *An. 1444.* from thenceforth wars prospered not well with the Hungarians. The same Pope raised wars in Italy, and died *An. 1447.*

7. NICOLAUS the V. was chosen, Pope Felix being alive; wherefore many remained neutral; and the wars that were begun, continued until the year before the Jubilee. The Emperor, with his Diet at Oschoffenburgh, did charge all Germany to acknowledg Pope Nicolaus; and he commanded the City Basil to dismis the Council before the Feast of St. Martin, *An. 1548.* The Pope Nicolaus sent Æn. Sylvius to perswade Pope Felix to renounce his title; they agree, that Amadeus shall be a Cardinal, and Legate of Germany, and of his own Countrey; and all his Cardinals and Bishops shall keep their places. To procure the favor of the Germans, Nicolaus published a Bull, *Ad sacram Petri sedem*, and another, *Vi pacis*, dated in July *An. 1449.* wherein he prescribeth some moderation of Annates; he approveth and confirmeth all the provisions and Acts of the Council at Basil, and of Pope Felix the V. and their other censures, excommunications, absolutions, &c. This Bull is annexed unto the Acts of that Council, after the *Decretum quinque conclusionum*, Such were the times, that the Popes framed their Decrees and Bulls according to their own interest, and not according to equity, nor the voices of them who had called on the holy Ghost: That Council was also confirmed by Pope Sixtus the IV. All troubles being thus calmed, so many went to Rome in the year of Jubilee, that on a day Peter Barbus, Cardinal of St. Mark, riding on a mule toward the Vatican, and reencountring with the people on Hadrians bridge, could go neither forward nor backward for the throng, his mule and two hundred men with three horses, were extinguished, and many fell from both sides of the bridge into the water. *Platin.* The next year Mahumet, having received many foils at Constantinople, was preparing all his forces against it. Then Constantine Paleologus sent unto the Pope, and craved help of men and money. Nicolaus refused, unless the Emperour would cause the Greeks to submit unto his Papal Authority. Antonine Bishop of Florence, at the same time, saith; The Pope thought it not reason to spoil Italy of monies, for aid of a Nation potent enough, if they would bestow their money to hire other Nations. *Anton. par. 3. tit. 22. cap. 13.* But the Greeks would rather suffer any extremity, then be subject unto the Pope; so that City was lost unworthily, *An. 1453.* Then Nicolaus hoped to reap a rich harvest; he sent Bassarion, a Greek, (whom Eugenius had enticed unto his side at Florence, and had given him a red hat, with the Bishoprick of Tusculo) to be Patriarch of Constantinople; the Greeks would not accept him, but chose Gennadius Scholarius. Many Greeks came then into Italy; and many Italians began then to study the Greek Language. *Bodinus in Dæmono.* sheweth *ex Iac. Sprenger.* a rare dispensation granted by this Nicolaus: A German Bishop (whom the Pope loved) was sick, and had learned from a witch, that another witch had done him ill; nor could he be healed, unless that sickness were cast upon the woman which had done it, and then she assuredly was to die: The Bishop sendeth unto the Pope for an Indulgence to practise this. Nicolaus granted it, with this clause, *Of two evils, the greatest is to be eschewed.* He sate eight years.

8. CALLISTUS the III. instantly after his coronation, produced a Book, wherein he had many years before written these words; I Callistus, Pope, vow unto the Almighty God, and the holy individual Trinity, that I shall pursue by wars, interdictions, curses, and by what other means I shall be able, the Turks, which are enemies of Christ's name. *Platin.* So he sent sixteen ships, under the conduct of the Patriarch of Aquileia, into Asia. At that

time a great Comet appeared; which the Mathematicians deemed to portend a great plague: wherefore the Pope ordained, that the bells be tolled at noon; and then all people to fall upon their knees, and pray that the plague might fall on the Turks; but it fell at home: for as the wars were taken in hand suddenly, so they ended soon and shamefully. *Ibid.* Callistus ordained the feast of Christ's transfiguration on August 6. granting the like indulgence unto the observers thereof, as of *Corp. Christi*. Jo. Naucler. He multiplied the number of canonized Saints, adding Edmund an English Minorite, and Vincentius a Spanish Minorite, &c. When the before named Bessarion heard of this enrolling, he said, These new Saints make me doubt of the old. He ordained a general Letany and procession the first Sunday of every moneth; and that every one observing it, shall have indulgence for seven years. He added unto the Mass a prayer, for victory against the Infidels; which who-soever shall say, shall have three years indulgence. If he had minded sincerely to aid the Christians, he had a fair occasion; for at the same time John Hunniades, or Vaivoda, overcame Mahumet at Alba, (saith *Naucler*, or as others write, *Belgrad*) and was not able to pursue his victory, his Army was so fore weakened. *Antonin. par. 3. tit. 22. cap. 14.* Shortly thereafter the valiant Hunniades died at Zemplen, *An. 1456*. But Callistus was more desirous to have his Son, or Nephew, Lignius Borgias, to attain the Crown of Sicilies; for Alfonso King of Arragor died, and his base Son Ferdinand succeeded in all his Kingdoms; but the Pope proclaimed the Kingdom of Sicilies to be vacant, and fallen again unto St. Peter, and so the Pope may dispose of it at his pleasure: he commanded Ferdinand, under pain of his curse, that he call not himself King of Sicilies; but if any can pretend any right unto it, it should be examined at Rome: and he dissolved all oath of obedience unto Ferdinand. *Anton. ibid. cap. 16.* They were levying on both sides; and in the mean time Callistus died, when he had sate three years.

9. PIUS the II. was before Æneas Sylvius; with the change of his name, he changed his manners. He had been Scribe at the Council of Basil; and was one of the twelve *Censores Concilii*; when any thing was done by Deputies of Nations, Æneas was one for Italy; when Eugenius was deposed, and Felix was chosen, Æneas was sent, by the Council, unto the Emperour, to declare the equity of the election; and the Emperour admiring the dexterity of his wit, chose him to be his Secretary. In his first book, *De gestis Conc. Basil.* he hath a large discourse, proving that the Pope is subject unto the Council; there he saith, The Church is the Spouse of Christ, and the Pope is but his Vicar; now (saith he) the Spouse is above a Vicar, neither will will any man subject his Wife unto his Vicar: There he proves that these passages of Scripture, Thou shalt be called Cephass, and I will give thee the keys; and I have praied for thee; and feed my sheep, give no priviledge unto Peter, but are wrested by flatterers, contrary to the mind of Christ, and exposition of the Fathers. There also he saith, Christ is the head of the Church, and the Pope is not the head; unless one will say, that he is the Ministerial head, or Vicar of the Head for edification, and not the harm of the Church; and therefore as an offending member may be cut off, so the Pope may be deposed: And that a Council may be assembled without the consent of the Pope, he proves both by reason and practice. But when Æneas was made Pope, he sent abroad a Bull, with the Title of Retractions, revoking what he had written against other Popes; and praising them. In another, beginning *Execrabilis*, and dated in the second year of his Papacy; he condemneth all appellations unto a future Council, as execrable and pestiferous; and he condemns all Universities, and favourers of such appellations. In ano-

ther that beginneth *In minoribus agentes*, and directed unto the University of Colen, *An. 1463.* he professeth repentance for writing the Dialogue, and other books for authority of a Council; and saith, He had persecuted the Church ignorantly, as Paul did; and he would prove the authority of a Pope above a Council, from the same passages of Scripture which he had brought to the contrary. In the end he saith, he doth reverence the Council of Constance; and yet that Council had decreed that a Council is above the Pope. And so Pius verifieth what Pope Gregory, on *Iob lib. 11. cap. 10.* saith, A Doctor neglecting to practice what he hath taught, and will not do the good that he hath averred, beginneth to teach the lewd things that he loveth; and in the just judgment of God, now he shall not have for good, who refuseth a good conversation; because when the heart is inflamed with the love of earthly things, it speaks alwaies of earthly things; as truth saith in the Gospel, Out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh. This Pope absolved Ferdinand King of Arragon, from the curse of Pope Callistus; yet so, that he gave his wifes sister in marriage unto the Pope's Nephew; and also gave him the Dutchy of Maldeburg and Celan. *Platina* saith, This Pope's sister had four sons; and the King made the two youngest both Knights; and unto one of them he gave his daughter, with the Dutchy of Amalphis. Pius was an enemy to Lewis the II. King of France, because he confirmed the *Pragmatica Sanctio*; and he caused him to annul it. He menaced Borcius, Duke of Mutina, because he favoured the affairs of France. He pursued, with most grievous censures, Sigismund Duke of Austria; because he had imprisoned Card. Nicol Cusanus, unto whom the Pope had given a Bishoprick in Tirolis, without the Duke's consent. He deprived Diether, Bishop of Mentz; because he would not consent that the Pope should exact the Annats in Germany, nor give his Oath that he would never sollicite for a Council; and Pius gave that See unto Adolph of Nassow. *Crantz. in Saxon. lib. 12. cap. 1.* saith, The Pope's confirmation was not regarded; therefore Adolph levied an Army, and by the aid of the Palatine of Rhine, he prevailed against Diether, and spoiled the City pitifully, and brought it into miserable bondage, and all trading decayed there. *Fasic. rer. expeten. fol. 164. Edit. An. 1535.* saith, Pius sighed so oft as he heard the name of Mentz, because he had done so great harm unto that City; and thereafter he restored Diether. Pius brought unto the Patrimony of the Church Tarracino, Benevento, Sora, Arpino, and a great part of Campania; and was alwaies careful to enlarge the Papal authority. He was so intangled with wars, that he seemed not to favour learning, saith *Platina*. In the year 1460. he assembled a Council at Mantua, for levying an Army against the Turks: The Orator of France came thither, and complained that the Kingdom of Naples was taken from the right heir, and given unto the King of Arragon; but the Pope pleaded for Arragon, and would have no business to be treated there, but only preparation against the Turk; and he sent Beslurion into Germany and Hungary for the same effect: But their private jars hindred the common cause, saith *Laon. Chalcocon. lib. 8. 10. Naucier.* saith, Many souldiers came from Germany, France and Spain unto Ancona; the Pope gave them all his blessing, and sent them home again, because they had not brought money enough with them. He writ an Epistle to Mahumet, which is the 396. in number; where he affirms that the Empire of Greece depends on his See, and his Predecessours had given the Empire of Germany unto Charls; and he offered to give that Kingdom peaceably unto him, if he would turn Christian, and defend the Church. He did sit six years. *Platina* reckoneth these following Proverbs to be his, There be three persons of one Deity; and we may

may not confider by what reason it may be so, but who hath said it. When men attempt to measure the Heaven, they may be called bold, rather than true measurers. Fools, and not wise men, are moved with fair words. The first places in Kings Courts are slippery. As all Rivers run into the Sea, so all vices into great Courts. Men should be given to dignities, and not dignities unto men. Some men are in Office, and deserve it not; others deserve, and have it not. A wandring Monk is the Devil's slave. For weighty causes marriage was taken from Priests; but for weightier reasons it should be granted, &c. I have seen some Editions that have not this last Proverb; but it is in the Edition at Venice, *An. 1562. Cum Privilegio Pontificis, &c.*

10. P A U L the II. had been a Merchant in Venice; when he heard that his Uncle Eugenius was Pope, he would then learn Grammer, but because of his age, he made little progress. *Platin.* Nevertheless Eugenius made him Arch-Deacon of Bononia, then Bishop of Cervia, and then a Cardinal; but his ambition stayed not until he was Pope; and then he was not so much void of all literature, as an hater of all learned men; for he deprived them of their Benefices without any just cause; among them Platina was one: These seeking to be restored, craved that their cause might be heard before *Auditores rota*; but he said, Ye would bring us before Judges, as if ye were ignorant that all Laws are in our breast; I have declared so, and let them all go; I am Pope, and may approve or refuse the Acts of others at my pleasure. He was the first Pope that spoke in this manner. *Io. Serres.* After three weeks, when they saw no appearance to be restored, Platina wrote unto him thus; If thou may spoil us of that which we bought with our money, we may also complain of the wrong and unjust ignominy; since we have been rejected by thee, and have received so notorious infamy, we will go to Kings and Princes, and exhort them, for your cause, to assemble a Council; where thou shalt be compelled to give account, why thou hast spoiled us of our lawful possessions. For this Letter Platina was laid in Iron fetters; for the Pope could not hear of a Council: after some space Platina was loosed, upon condition, that he go not out of Rome *Platin.* Eugenius had founded some Canons in the Lateran Church, which were Regulars; Callistus expelled them, and placed Seculars; now Paul put out the Seculars, and restored the Regulars, to the great offence of the Romans. *Idem.* He exceeded all his Predecessors in gorgeous apparel; his Mitre was set with all manner of precious stones; he would be admired by all men; and lest he were too singular, he ordained by a publick Decree, that none should have a scarlet hat, but the Cardinals; and those should always have their horses or mules covered with scarlet; he would have given them more ornaments, if some, thinking well, had not admonished, that the pomp of the Church should not be augmented in prejudice of Religion. *Idem.* All offices were then sold at Rome; he sold the richer Benefices to them who had the lesser, that his Annates might be the more; no respect was had of learning, but only, who will give most: He called the Students of Humanity, (as *Platina* speaketh) Hereticks; and he exhorted the Citizens, that they breed not their children with learning; it is enough (said he) if they can read and write. He devised new offices for his own gain; he kindled wars in several places; he stirred the Germans and Hungarians against the Bohemians; he vexed the Poli in Æquitoli, because they said Christ hath no Vicar. He fate six years ten moneths, and died of Apoplexy, *An. 1471. Agrippa de vanit. scien. cap. 6.* calleth these, Paul and his Successours Sixtus, Alexander and Julius, famous disturbers of Christendom.

11. S I X T U S the IV. General of the Franciscans, restored the Secular Canons, whom Paul had ejected. *Onuphr. in Addit. to Platin.* Paul sowed,

and Sixtus reaped a plentiful harvest; for Paul did ordain that the Jubile should be kept every 25. year, and Sixtus kept it, *An.* 1475. In the next year he ordained, that whosoever kept the feast of the conception of Mary (as was ordained at Basil) according to the order now prescribed by his Notary, should have as large forgiveness as was decreed by Urban the IV. or Martin the V. unto the observers of *Corp. Christi*. This constitution was annexed to the Acts of the Council at Trent; and by a constitution following there, it is clear, that many Preachers in their Sermons and Books, maintained that Mary was conceived in sin, and it is a deadly sin to hold the contrary; wherefore the former constitution had need of a Bull of confirmation, dated *An.* 1483. *Onuphrius* saith, In the days of Paul, Sixtus was so respected for learning, that all the doubts of faith were committed unto him among all the Cardinals; and now he made shew of great things; he proclaimed a Council to be at Lateran for reformation of the Church, and for aid against the Turks. The Emperor Frederick objected, that no good was ever done at Rome for the Church; therefore it were fitter to assemble at Constance, or other City in the confines of Germany: Constance, where so many Popes were deposed, was odious at Rome. Frederick then named Utina in Carnia. Then Sixtus perceived that he could not atchieve his designments, and forgetting the Council, turned to the advancing of his kinsred, of whom he made some Dukes and Princes, *Onuphrius* saith, He loved his kinsmen greatly, and was blamed for granting unto them some things contrary unto reason and equity; to wit, as *Wesselus Groningenfis* (who was an eye witness, in his Book *De indulgen. Papali.*) reporteth. At the suit of P. Ruerius, (whom Sixtus made Cardinal of S. Sixto) and of his own Brother Jerome, he granted unto all the domesticks of Cardinal de S. Lucia, a free licence to commit sodomy in the moneths of June, July and August. *Onuphrius* saith, He devised new tributes, but spared to shew the particulars. *Agrippa de van. scient. cap.* 64. doth shew, saying, Pope Sixtus built a large Stews; and was like to Heliogabulus, who fed herds of whores to his friends and servants and now each whore in Rome payeth dayly unto the Pope a Julian penny; which tribute surmounteth to 20000. ducates yearly; and this is the charge of the Exchequer of the Church, to reckon the rewards of whores: for I have heard them reckoning thus; This man hath two Benefices, a Curates place of twenty crowns, with three whores, paying weekly twenty Julians: Yea, the Bishops and officials of Court are bordellers, and compel the Priests to pay a yearly tribute for their concubines; so that it is a proverb, Have he one or none, he must pay a crown for his concubine; or let him take one if he will: But in the Kingdom of avarice nothing is filthy, if it bring gain. I pass (saith he) that for a sum of money, Bishops give licence unto women, in their husbands absence, to dwell with other men; all which are so manifest and frequent, that it is doubted, whether the shameflessness of Priests, or patience of people be more out of order . . . such patrons hath the bordle craft, &c. But to return; Sixtus would never refuse to grant a Benefice, saith *Onuphrius*; and would give the same Benefice to sundry persons, being importunate; and to take away all jarrings, he appointed John de Monte unto that charge; he was much addicted to wars; and did nothing well, saith *Onuphrius*. When he heard that Hercules Duke of Ferraria had agreed with the Venetians, he was so vexed, that he died within five days, when he had sate fourteen years. *Iob. Sapius* made this Epitaph;

*Sixte, jaces tandem, nostra discordia secti,
Savisti in Superos, nunc Acheront a tenes.
Sixte, jaces tandem, deflent tua busta cynadi,
Scortaque, lenones, alea, vina, Venus.*

Riserat

*Riserat ut vivens cœlestia numina Sixtus,
Sic moriens nullos credidit esse deos.*

12. INNOCENTIUS the VIII. followed him in bloody wars, devising tributes, selling Benefices, advancing his Nephews, &c. At that time Zizimus, (or Games) the elder Son of Mohumet, was overthrown in battel in Bithynia, by his younger Brother Bajazet, and fled into the Rhodes, where the Master apprehended him. When Bajazet knew it, he sent rich gifts unto the Master of the Knights, entreating to keep him in sure ward, and he would give him 40000. crowns yearly, and never move wars against Christians. Lest Games make an escape, he was sent into France, and thence delivered unto Innocentius. *Phi. Cominaus Hist. pag. 944. edit. Hanno. An. 1606.* The Pope profered unto all Christians, if they would leave intestine wars, he would aid them against the Turks; and to encourage them, he told them, that Captain would go with them: But Bajazet sent him 40000. crowns yearly, and so that enterprize was ended. *Onuphr.* He was compelled to make peace with Ferdinand King of Naples; and then pretending that the King paid not his tribute, he accursed him, and gave his Kingdom to Charls the VIII. King of France. He sate four years.

13. ALEXANDER the VI. attained the Papacy by ambition of some Cardinals, whom he corrupted with gifts and promises, so the worst of all was preferred to them all. *Onuphr.* Some in the conclave said, They had most foolishly made him Pope, who was a most wicked man, and great hypocrite, and would vex them all; neither were they deceived, for Ascanius Sfortia (the chief procurator of the election) became phrenetick, others were exiled, some were imprisoned, and some condemned to death by him. Charls the VIII. King of France, was then in his expedition toward Naples, and intended to go against the Turks; for he heard, that Bajazet was not stout, and was in fear of Games; and the Christians did advertise Charls, and invited him. *P. Comin. de bello Neapo. lib. 2.* The Pope envying France, agreed with Alfonso Son of Ferdinand, on condition, that the Pope should send a Cardinal to Naples for his confirmation; and Alfonso should pay as his Father was wont, &c. Then these two sent their Legates unto Bajazet (saith *Guic. lib. 1.*) shewing, that Charls was then in Arms against Naples; and thence intending into Greece, in prosecution of the project of his Ancestors; and they proffered to detain the force of France, if he will aid them with money. Bajazet returned thanks unto the Pope, that he who is the head of Christendom, had advertised him so lovingly of so eminent danger; and intreated him to kill Games by poison, or any other way, and he would give him 200000. ducates, and the woven garment of Christ; as he had sent unto Innocentius the point of the spear, wherewith Longinus had pierced Christ's side. *P. Morn. in Myster.* Nevertheless Charls, in the twentieth year of his age, passed through Italy, with Bernard Stewart Duke of Albany, General of his Army, without resistance; and knowing that Alfonso was with the Pope, he went to Rome, and told the Citizens, if they let him not enter, he would make a way to himself. The Pope hearing how others had accepted him, neither did refuse, nor had power to hold him out: The same night Alfonso fled unto Naples; and Alexander went into Hadrians Tower. A great number of the Cardinals and Senators went forth unto Charls, and lodged him in that part which belonged unto the Columnenses. The Pope was odious unto the Cardinals, and they had a purpose to chuse another: They exhorted the King to batter the walls of the Tower, which he might have done easily; neither wanted he will, but he wanted the dexterity of choise men; so his Courtiers, being corrupted with gifts by Alexander, they agreed upon these conditions:

Pppppp

1. The

1. The Pope should give unto the King four Cities, for assurance of the Kingdom of Naples. 2. No wrong or trouble should be done unto the Cardinals and Gentlemen who had followed him. 3. He should deliver Games unto the King. 4. He should give his Son, the Cardinal of Valencia in pledge, but under a shew of the Pope's Legate. *P. Comin. lo. cit. Io. Serres* addeth, that Charls got the title of the Emperor of Constantinople. The Pope could not refuse these conditions, yet so, that his perfidious minde could not hide it self; for he poisoned Games, and then sent him to Charls; and within few days he died. Charls abode at Rome three weeks, and kissed the Pope's foot, and then his cheek (which Alexander caused to be painted in the Gallery of St. Angelo, *Guicciar. lib. 1.*) and to shew that he had power within Rome, he caused seats of Justice to be set up where he pleased, and did execution on some guilty persons. From Rome he went to Naples; and the Cities received him, Alfonso having fled into Spain. Then Charls presumed of security, and left no Garisons in the City; in the mean time Alexander, by his Legates at Venice, made a new league with the Emperor, Spain, Venetians and others, against King Charls, so that he was forced to return into France; and the Cities of Apulia and Calabria, not being fortified, received the Spaniards. *P. Comin. de bell. Neap. lib. 3.* Then Pope Alexander did salute the King of Spain, The most Christian King; and he would have given him that title, thereby to ingage his favor for ever; but because some Cardinals advised him, that the King of France would be offended, to be deprived of that title, Alexander gave the title of The Catholick King unto Ferdinand. *Ibid. lib. 5.* Then Alexander being delivered from the fear of Charls, began to enrich his kinsmen by all manner of ways, saith *Onuph.* If at any time he was not taken up with publick affairs, he gave himself unto all maner of pleasures, being altogether given unto women; he had four Sons and two Daughters; above all women he loved Vannocia, whom he kept almost as a wife. *Idem.* Other Popes did not avow their children, but he openly honored them: It is offensive to godly ears to hear, and vile to repeat the incest of his family, which *Onuphrius* toucheth; *Guicciardin* hath at large, *lib. 1. & 3.* and *Julian. Pontan. tumul. lib. 2.* hath summarily in his Daughters Epitaph:

*Hoc jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais Alexandri filia, nupta, nurus.*

He kept the seventh Jubile *An. 1500.* and by his Bulls sent pardons unto all men who could not go to Rome, or were careless to go, saith *Onuph.* but *Pol. Virgil.* saith, He proclaimed to keep the Jubile not at Rome only, but in all Provinces; both for his own gain and ease of all Christians, that who would might buy plenary Indulgences, as if they were in Rome. Of this Jubile *Sarnazarus* saith,

*Pollicitus cælum Romanus & astra Sacerdos,
Per scelera & cædes ad Styga pandit iter.*

He professed a great expedition against the Turks, and that he would go personally as General. Gasper a Spaniard was sent into England, who within few moneths amassed vast sums of money; which the Pope received, but forgot the expedition. *Fr. Maſon in Antiq. Brit. lib. 4. c. 13.* he made many Cardinals for money. *Onuph.* he killed every rich Priest at Court, and some Cardinals, that their riches might be brought into his treasury; he had uttered his cruelty against more, for hope of their inheritance, if he who was born for the ruine of Italy, had not been the cause of his own death, by error of his Cup-bearer; for when he had invited some rich Senators, and prepared a poisoned bottle of wine for them, the Cup-bearer gave the wine to the Pope and his Son Cæsar Borgias; the young man fell into a sharp fever, yet escaped;

escaped; but the old Pope could not overcome the poison. *Idem.* He sate 11. years, and died *An.* 1503. Onuphrius (who can commend the worst Popes) saith, He had vertues with his vices; deep judgement; singular memory, and eloquence that was hurtfull to many; none could propound a thing more craftily, defend it more sharply, or bring to pass more readily, what he once attempted: These gifts he defiled with monstrous vices, and with fallhood more than Punike; horrible cruelty; unmeasurable avarice; infinite lust, &c. This gives credit unto his Epitaph made by *Ia. Sannazarus*,

Fortasse nescis cujus hic tumulus fiet:

Aspera viator, ni piget.

Titulum quem Alexandri vides, haud illius

Magni est, sed hujus qui modo

Libidinosa sanguinis captus siti

Tot civitates incluyas,

Tot regna vertit, & duces leto dedit

Natos ut impleret suos.

Humanajura, nec minus Cælestia

Ipsosque sustulit Deos.

Vt scilicet liceret (heu scelus!) Patri

Nata sinum permingere.

Inunc, Nerones vel Caligulas nomina,

Turpes vel Heliohabulos.

Hoc sat viator: reliqua non sinit pudor.

Tu suspicare & ambula.

Who hearing or reading these things, written not by adversaries of his See, but by Popish writers, will not think, That the Pope is the man of sin?

CHAP. II.

Of EMPEROURS.

1. **ROBERT** Count Palatine of Rhine was Emperour, *An.* 1400. with universal consent; but not with such reverence as his Ancestours, because of the alienations granted by Charls the IV. and the late contempt of Wenceslaus. Robert was prudent, and calmed all the jars within the Empire. When he had brought Germany into tranquillity, he went to be crowned in Italy; and to protect Florence against the potent warriour John Galeacius, Duke of Millain, as the Florentines had invited him with large promises; but they fled in the day of battel, so his expedition was unprofitable and dishonourable. Neither could he be moved to stay in Italy, although the Gibelines and the Pope, made larger promises unto him. When he returned, he was no less troubled with the factions of the Anti-Popes, and schism in the Church. He indeavoured to assemble a Council, but the Anti-Popes would not consent. He died *An.* 1410.

2. **SIGISMUND** King of Hungary (and brother of Wenceslaus, as yet alive) for his valour, in fighting against the Turks, was judged worthiest of the Empire. Both the Popes did seek his favour, and pretending the authority of confirmation, sent and confirmed his election. *Platin.* He spared no travel to remove the schism, and went personally unto both the Popes; and seeing no other remedy, he went unto the Kings of France, Spain and England, for assembling the Council at Constance. It was once appointed

to be held *An. 1412.* but it was delayed, because Ladislaus, King of Naples (standing up for Gregory the XII.) had taken Rome, and kept it as Lord thereof: he died the same year, and the Romans returned to the obedience of Pope John. Then the Council was proclaimed, every where, to begin at Constance *Novemb. 1. An. 1414.* We will speak of it by it self. The Bohemians were offended for burning their Preachers, John Hufs and Jerom of Prague; and they feared not to assemble in the fields, to the number of 30000. and communicated, in both kinds, upon three hundred Tables erected for that use; then they rushed into several Churches and Monasteries, and broke down the Images. *Io. Cochl. Hist. lib. 4.* Their King Wenceslaus died, *An. 1420.* without children. Then wars waxed in Bohemia; for Sigismund, as nearest heir, sent Governours to rule it, untill he returned from the Wars against the Turk in Hungary; there he was unfortunate. In the mean time arose John Trosnovius (commonly called Zisca or Cisca, that is, one-eyed) a man of good Parentage, and brought up in the King's Court, and a courageous Souldier; the Hussits chose him to be their Captain; their Army was reckoned to consist of 40000. they possessed the Fortresses of Prague, and were Masters of other Cities and Castles; every where they broke down Images in the Churches. *Ane. Sylvius Hist. Bohem. Cap. 38.* At that time, one coming from Picardy, perswaded many Bohemians, both men and women, to walk naked; and besides other fond errors, they defiled themselves with promiscuous lusts, and called themselves Adamites. Cisca abhorred them, and although they proffered to join with him, yet he scattered them, and killed some of them. *Io. Nauceler.* Before the Governours were arrived from the Emperour, Cisca was grown so strong, that they were glad to seek peace. Pope Martin thought to affright them with his curse; but the Hussits did not fear his thunder. When the wars of Hungary ceased, the Emperour intended to march into Bohemia; if he had gone thither suddenly, it seems, the Bohemians would have submitted; for they sent unto the Emperour in Moravia, to seek peace; and the Emperour condescended unto tolerable conditions; all the people were joissfull, under hope of peace, and liberty of religion. God would have it otherwise, that his good mettle might shine, and be better known unto the world. Sigismund would first punish some offences committed, in Vratislavia, against his Governours; and was severe against the chief of the rebellion. This news coming to Prague, did so affright the people, that they were afraid of the like rigour; and resolving to refuse the Emperour, writ their Letters through all the Kingdom, as if the Emperour intended the like cruelty amongst them. *Ane. Sylvius ibid. cap. 39.* All the people, with uniform consent, put Cisca into Prague, for their defence against Sigismund, *An. 1421.* Whereupon followed eleven battels (or rather preparations) described *loc. cit. cap. 44. &c.* Cisca was alwaies victorious. Unless their enemy had written so, it were almost incredible. The most notable were these; Sigismund came to Prague, and besieged it six weeks: All that space Cisca, and his Bohemians, had the better in every skirmish; and the like was in other parts of the Kingdom. The Emperour was forced to break up from Prague, and to go unto Cutua. Then Cisca left the City, and joined with the Tabbrites (so named from a Town which they had founded, at that time) and not being contented with victory in defence, he took some Towns and Castles from the Imperialists. Then the Emperour went against a Monastery, which held as a Castle for Cisca; nothing doubting to carry it, his Army was so numerous. Cisca came unto their relief; and the Imperialists, at the only sight of their adversaries, were so far from opposing, that they ran away suddenly; and the Emperour durst not stay in any part of all Bohemia.

mia. So Cisca took more Towns and Castles. Before the Town Rabi, his one eye was pierced with an Arrow; but his reputation was such, that he continued in his government, and that Army was led by a blind man; a thing never seen nor read in any other History, saith *Sylvius ibid.* The Emperour levied another Army, and sent for the Elector Princes; then came the Bishop of Mentz; the Count Palatine; some Dukes of Saxony; the Marquess of Brandenburg, and other Bishops of Germany: the Emperour ordered them to enter, with their forces, into Bohemia on the West; and he, with his Hungars, did enter on the East. Blind Cisca goeth to the fields, and when he was ready to join in fight, the Imperialists were so amazed, that they were soon overthrown; and some principal men amongst them were slain. Cisca followed his Victory one day, and brought back rich spoil. A Florentine leading 15000. Horse and Foot, fell among ice, and many of them were drowned. The Bohemians, being so victorious, would chuse a King to resist the Emperour; they sent and invited Vitold, Duke of Lithuania; he was glad to be a King (Cisca was no less discontented) and accepted, and within a short space resigned his Title unto the Emperour; who returned against the Hussites. Cisca is still victorious, and 9000. Imperialists were slain. Now Sigismund thinks he cannot be King of Bohemia, without the good will of Cisca: and that age saw the Emperour (whose name barbarous Nations did fear, and all Europe did reverence) make supplications and prayers unto an old blind Heretick, as *Sylvius* speaks *Cap. 46.* But (saith he) whom man could not overcome, the finger of God did kill. He should rather have said, Whose weakness was strengthened by the power of God, against the malice of men, he could not be undone by craft nor power of men; for Cisca, in his old age, was willing to hearken, and to bring the Bohemians under the command of the Emperour, and so under the yoke of the Pope; but God's appointed time was not yet come, and he would not suffer the Treaty to be closed, nor will leave his people; howbeit they then in despair call themselves Orphans. After the death of Cisca, they were divided into two factions, and led by two Captains, Procopius the elder and the younger. All these circumstances gave some courage unto Pope Martin; he sent a Cardinal, the Bishop of Winchester in England, unto the Emperour, with a charge to renew his forces against the Bohemians, and sign the Germans with the Cross. *An. 1427.* three Armies were levied; from the Sea Coast went the Duke of Saxony; the Marquess of Brandenburg from Franconia; and the third from Rhine, Bavier and Suevia, under the Conduct of Otho Bishop of Trevers. These entred three waies into Bohemia, and joined together; when they heard the Bohemians were approaching (a thing most strange, yet reported as true by *Sylvius cap. 48.*) they were so terrified, that without seeing the enemy, both Captains and Souldiers, without shame, abandoned the Fields and ran away. The Hussites pursued, and got all the Baggage and Artillery; and not being contented, they sally out of the Kingdom, and return with rich spoil. The Legate accused his crossed Souldiers of so base cowardize, and exhorted them to turn their faces against the vile Hereticks; nevertheless they ceased not to flie, untill the Victors left pursuing. *Ibid.* At that time were wars also between Millain and Florence; and between the French and Spaniards in Naples: But Pope Martin not being satisfied with so much spilt blood, sent another Legate, Julian Cardinal of St. Angelo, to perswade the Germans to assume the cross once more against the Bohemians. *An. 1430.* The Bohemians, by their Letters sent abroad, did lament that so many men were slain through the deceitful malice of the Pope; who, like to Satan, was rich in promises unto them which would fight against

innocent people, but is not able to perform; who is not ashamed to proclaim lyes, and slander them as miscreants and hereticks; and refuseth to fight with the weapons of God's word, because he knoweth his own heresies will be disclosed; but truth is never afraid of falsehood, and is mightiest of all things; but he deceiveth both in body and soul all that believe him. And they intreated all men, both rich and poor, for God's sake, and for righteousness, that they would, by some means, procure a safe and friendly communing at some convenient place, and bring their teachers with them, that they may hear one another; and the party erring may be brought to acknowledge their error, and not destroy one another blindly; which if those whom they implore, will refuse to do, on the other side, they will take the Lord to be their help, and will defend the truth unto death: nor will they be afraid of the Pope's curse, who is not God (as he maketh himself) and these many years hath accursed them; but God hath been their help by his gracious blessing, &c. *Ph. Mornay. in Myster.* Nevertheless, the Marquess of Brandenburg is chosen General of another Army; He and the Dukes of Saxony and Bavier, three Bishops Electors, with others, to the number of 40000. horse, and not so many foot, went against Bohemia. The Cardinal went along with them. Where they came, they spared neither age nor sex; and no man (considering their number and apparent power) doubted of their victory: But when the Bohemians came near them, a voice went among the Imperialists, that they should stay no longer; none knew whence the voice was; a suddain fear caused them to flee. Julian ran unto the Dukes and Commanders, exhorting them to fight, not for possessions or worldly glory, but for Religion, Christ's honor, and the salvation of souls, *Æn. Sylv. ibid.* but fear was more perswasive, that they left their colours, weapons, and all that they had, *An. 1433.* At that time the Emperor was at Noremberg; and determined to deal no more with them by Arms, but would provide against them in the Council at Basil; and the Legate Julian went thither. Many other broils were in the Churches of Germany at that time, as *Crantz. in Saxo. lib. 11. cap. 25.* sheweth: For the Bishop of Magdeburg, and his Clergy were exiled: the Church of Trevers was divided between two Competitors fighting, and both accursed; and both in contempt of the keys did their office: the Church of Mentz had controversie with the Citizens, casting out their former Senate, and chusing another; so that the Clergy were forced to leave the City: the Church of Bamberg was in the same condition: the Church of Utrecht, after Sweder's death, had contention for a new Bishop: nor could Pope Eugenius and his Cardinals go safely from Rome to Basil, but were all plundered by the way, even to the skin, *ibid.* The next year Sigismund went to Rome to be crowned; but not with such equipage, nor so looked upon as others were before. The Bohemians sent Procopius the elder, and some others to Basil; but the Nobles would not be content to be ruled by the two Procopii; for they were suspicious of them, as hearkning too much unto the Council; nor was their opinion vain, saith *Æn. Sylv. cap. 51.* Mainard was the Author of this mutiny. They assembled in Parliament, and chose Alscio, a Nobleman of small estate, to be their Governor; but all was done as Mainard would. Sigismund, after his coronation, came to Basil; where he heard some controversies decided: then he came to Ulme; where he understood that a battel had been fought in Bohemia, and the old Commanders were slain; and the faction of the Nobility were prevailing: then Sigismund sent unto Bohemia, requiring them, in a quiet manner, to accept him their King, according to his right. Mainard had privy correspondence with Sigismund; he called all the Soldiers into hovels or barns, (whereof many are there) pretending

tending that he was to march against the Lands of the Emperor, and he would give them in these barns wages for the expedition; but he shut the doors upon them, and burnt them all; and then he brought the rest of the Countrey under the Emperor's command, *An. Sylv. cap. 51*. The Emperor entered into Bohemia, *An. 1436*. with great solemnity; then Images were restored, Altars were repaired, and Monks returned into their Cloisters; some Hussites fled out of the Countrey; a time of recantation was granted unto others; and the most bold among them were punished: But Sigismund could not prevail as he would; for they preached against the Monks and doctrine of Rome; and followed their former order in their Churches; and were rising in Arms against Sigismund, *ibid. cap. 52*. But he died the next year, leaving only one Daughter, which was married to Albert Marquess of Moravia, and now, by marriage, Successor of the Kingdom of Hungary. Sigismund had dealt with John Paleologus, Emperor of the Greeks, to make an union with the Latines in matters of Religion, and thereby he might have aid against the Turks; and likewise through weakness of German Princes, he might be chosen Emperor; such motives were prevalent; but when he was upon his way, he heard that the Emperor was dead, and he began even then to repent of his voyage. When the Princes Electors did convene, Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basil sent their Legates, craving to delay the election until the affairs of the Church were settled. The Electors said, The condition of the Empire cannot permit a delay: Therefore the Orators of both parties did threaten the Electors with their curse. The Electors did appeal from them and their curse, unto the general Council that should be next and lawfully called; so they went on.

3. ALBERT the II. Marquess of Moravia, was chosen unanimously, and was gracious unto all Germany, for he was learned, wise and stout. The Bohemians, which before had fought for Religion, sent unto Casimire, Brother of the King of Poland; and he was willing to accept the Kingdom, but was hindered by Albert; nevertheless, the Bohemians and Silesians continued in a warlike posture. *An. Sylv. cap. 55*. Albert punished the Jews for pertinacy in their Rites. He heard that Amurathes the II. was entered into Servia, and was intending to invade Hungary; therefore when he had dealt with the two Anti-Councils for unity, he went against the Turks. Amurathes hearing of his preparation, returned into Macedonia and Thessalie, subduing all where he came. Albert dismissed his Army; and died in Hungary *An. 1439*. John Emperor of the Greeks conceived hopes of aid in Italy, and arriving at Venice, made choise to seek the aid of the Pope, rather then of the Council at Basil; but at last his experience taught him, that the Pope was seeking but to enlarge his own power; and so having almost begged his bread in Italy the space of two years, he returned with no satisfaction: and having heard the scoffings of some by the way, he had no grace among his people, and was forced to quit his Crown, in favor of his Brother Constantine.

4. FREDERICK the III. Duke of Austria, was chosen *January 1. An. 1440*. in the 25. year of his age, and reigned 53. years. Albert had two Daughters, and left his Wife big with childe. The Hungarians sent unto Vladislaus King of Poland, to accept their Crown; but when their Queen brought forth a Son, Ladislaus, they crowned him, in the fourth moneth of his age. His Mother sent him unto his Uncle the Emperor, to be brought up by him. The Hungarians thought it not expedient to want a King in time of such danger; therefore they followed their first purpose, and brought in Vladislaus: He once put Amurathes to flight, that Amurathes sought peace; and the King, mistrusting his own strength, consented unto peace for ten years: They both

confirmed the peace and conditions by solemn oath, after their several maner; but as it is said of Eugenius, the oath was violated, and the King was killed in the fourth year by the Turks. Then the Bohemians would chuse another King: The Queen did advertise them of the birth and title of her Son; and some did accord: But in open Parliament, by consent of the most, Albert Duke of Bavier was chosen King. Albert refused; saying, He would not bereave a pupil: a rare example. The Bohemians then sent unto the Emperor, intreating him to undertake the Government during the minority of his pupil. He said, he could not; because of the difficulty of his other affairs; and he advised them to chuse Governors among themselves. The Orators, by their own motion, proffer the Crown unto himself. He said, That were unrighteousness, especially in the person of a Tutor. So they did chuse Governors; some of the Romish Religion, and some contrarily minded: These did agree upon a toleration in matters of Religion. *En. Sylv. cap. 57, 58.* Frederick wrote a Letter unto Charls King of France, shewing his earnest desire to cure the malady and schism of the Church; and this cannot be without a meeting of Princes, and chief men of Ecclesiastical and Civil Estates; and therefore as he, by advice of his Prelates and Princes, had appointed a Diet at Mentz *February 2.* following, so he intreated, with sincere affection, that his Brotherhood, for the glory of God, and comfort of the Church, would send Commissioners to treat, advise, and conclude in things of that kinde, belonging to the benefit of all Christian people; but if his Brotherhood would be pleased to come personally, it were most glorious, and would bring forth the more copious fruit. The Letter is dated at Vienne *May 1. An. 1441. Regni 1. In Fascic. rer. expetend. fol. 160.* That Diet was held as followeth in the next Chapter. He ceased not until he removed the schism between the Popes; and then was crowned by Pope Nicolaus; who also did celebrate the marriage between the Emperor and Elenora, Daughter of the King of Portugal, *An. 1452.* He was joyfully received in all the Cities wheresoever he came, because none did fear him; and he went without shew of hostility or great power, saith *Crantz. in Saxo. lib. 11. cap. 32.* and there was universal peace in Italy so long as he was there; but when he left it, peace took her leave: For in Lombardy, Naples, and other parts, they returned to their wonted ambition and tumults. The Bohemians also fell at variance, and forced the Emperor to quit the tuition of their King. And the Emperor was molested by his Brother in Austria, until his Brother died. Constantine Paleologus was molested by his elder Brother Theodor for a space, yet prevailed. After the battel of the Hungarians at Varna, *An. 1444.* where Vladislaus and Cardinal Julian were slain, Constantine went to Peloponnesus to resist Amurathes, but lost it. Then Scanderbeg left his office of Janizar, and took upon him the Government of his Father's Kingdom Epirus; for Amurathes had taken him from his Father, and promised to give him his Father's inheritance. Upon this hope the young Prince abode with the Turk, and did him good service; but when his Father John Castriot was dead, and the Turk oppressed that Countrey, and sought occasion to kill him, his native Countrey and he had their correspondence, and he escaped from the Turk's Court: Then he fought sundry battels against the Turk, and was victorious. At last Amurathes amassed a great Army against him, which he was not able to resist by all likelihood, if the valiant Prince of Transylvania, John Huniades, had not come unto him with a new Army; at that time they were both foiled; yet the Princes escaped, howbeit hardly; and the next year Amurathes died in drunkenness, *Lao. Chalcocon. lib. 6.* In the year 1453. Mahumet, the next Emperor of the Turks, razed Athens, for envy of learning

ing there; then he besieged Constantinople. The Emperour Constantine had no assistance from Christians, partly for troubles among themselves, and partly for the ambition of the Pope; who was offended with the Greeks for not submitting unto him: nor did the Greeks esteem of their Emperour, because he vexed them with grievous taxes: So that City was lost *June 28.* and the fiftieth day of the siege; Constantine was slain; and such cruelties were committed, as the like hath been scarcely written. The same day Galatia was rendered unto Mahumet. Christians were sorry for these losses; but private interests hindred them from attempting a recovery. In the year 1456. Mahumet entred into Hungary; then the renowned John Hunniades, with the aid of the Emperour, went against him with such happy success, (as it pleased God) that the Turks were overthrown at Belgrad; Mahumet was wounded; and Hunniades got all his Artillery and Baggage *August 6.* All Christendom rejoiced at that victory with bonc-fires, as being themselves delivered from the fear of such an enemy. Then the Turks went against the Islands of Archipelagus; and the valiant Hunniades died in *September* next; but Hungary had peace. Frederick set his minde to establish peace in Germany; and suffered much for preventing eminent evils. *Crantz. loc. cit.* saith, His patience was useful for the time, and it was deemed to be his wisdom. Many did lament several abuses in the Church and Commonwealth; they said his answer was, The time of Reformation is not come as yet; nor did it come in his days; and it is not known when it shall come, saith *Crantz.* In this place the watching providence is to be remembred; Ladislaus intended (by a plot from Rome, as it was reported; saith *Æn. Sylv. cap. 71.*) to make an end of all the Hussites at once, in this manner: He was to marry a Daughter of France; the marriage should have been solemnized in Prague; where many Princes and Prelates were to assemble from Germany and France; besides Cardinals, Potentates, and others from Rome; who if they had gathered, might have done as they had projected. When this marriage was in preparation, and the Princes ready to take journey, Ladislaus died, after he had been tied to his bed 36. hours, not without suspicion of poison, in the 20. year of his age: So Bohemia was delivered from that intended massacre, and two Kingdoms were vacant; many pretended right to the Crown of Bohemia; and the Kings of France and Poland were suitors: When all their claims and suits were heard; they, preferring the good of the Kingdom, declared George Pogiobratz their King, ripe in judgement, and a good Warriour. Matthias, the Son of John Hunniades, was then a prisoner; and Ladislaus had caused to bring him from Hungary to Bohemia, to be executed there; but when the King was dead, the Bohemians had nothing to lay unto his charge, and they dismissed him; before he entered into Hungary, the Hungarians proclaimed him their King; thou wilt admire, who readest this, saith *Naucler*, of these two young Princes; the one is carried from his throne (when he thinketh to be married) to his grave; and the other from prison (when he seareth to be beheaded) to a throne; a suddain and strange change. But Matthias lived not long; and unto him succeeded Vladislaus, the Sisters Son of Ladislaus, and married the Widow of Matthias. The Emperor strove then for the Kingdom; after a battel, these two covenanted, that if Vladislaus and his line should fall, Maximilian, the Son of Frederick, should succeed. Vladislaus had one Son, Lewis, who died in a battel against the Turks, *An. 1528.* and then the covenant was accomplished, and the house of Austria are Kings of Hungary. After the death of Ladislaus was strife also for the Dutchy of Austria; three Brethren, the Emperor, Albert, and Sigismund contend for it;

they did name some Umpires to decide the controversie ; but it is hard to judge against the mighty. Frederick carried it. But in the year 1463. Albert besieged his brother, in the Castle of Vienna, so streightly; that the Emperour sent for relief unto George King of Bohemia (whom he was wont to despise as an Heretick) and he sent unto Pope Pius, intreating him, that he would not accurse George with his Thunder ; the Pope yeilded, because of that necessity, saith *Xaucker*. And the Bohemians delivered the Emperour; but so warily, that he neither did perish, nor was victorious. In the year 1466. Frederick went to Rome; some say, to perform a vow; others say, to treat with the Pope concerning Wars against the Turk; whatsoever was his purpose, he returned in peace; and by his means, peace continued in Italy and Germany. At that time Charls (surnamed, The Hardy) Duke of Burgundy, Flanders, Gelderland, Holland, &c. durst hold all the World for his enemies; and spared not to invade and take Towns where he pleased. He had a conference with the Emperour at Lutsemburg; and amongst other purposes, he demanded the Title of the Kingdom of Naples, because it sometime had belonged unto the Empire; and now he intended to make Conquest of Italy. The Emperour knowing and misliking his ambition, gave him fair words and departed the City in the night. Wherefore the Duke besieged Colein: The Emperour came against him with a great Army, yet desirous of peace: They were both induced to agree, and Charls left the bounds of the Empire. But he could not live in peace; he intended to march into Italy, and to molest the Switzers in his way; but he was killed by them, in the year 1476. Then the French, the Switzers and others, repossessed themselves of what Charls had taken from them; and Maximilian, the Emperour's son, married the only daughter of Charls, and kept his inheritance not without troubles. In the year 1480. Mahumet, having conquered the Islands of Archipelagus, invaded Italy; his Bassa Acomath took Otranto and some other places; all Italy was in fear. Mahumet died, and his son Bajazeth was molested with Civil wars; so Italy was freed. In the year 1486. Frederick caused his son Maximilian, to be chosen King of the Romans; and made several Statutes, under great penalties, against all that should disturb the peace of Germany. The year 1492. is remarkable, first for the death of Pope Innocentius, and election of Alexander the VI: Next for expelling the Moors out of Spain, by Ferdinand King of Castile, above 700. years after their first arrival; it is written that 224000. families of the Jews were banished. Thirdly, under the name of the same Ferdinand, Christopher Columbus, sailing Westward, discovered the Isles Azores; as Americus Vesputius, in the year 1499. discovered the West-Indies, which after him was called America. Pope Alexander gave that Kingdom unto Ferdinand. When this gift was reported unto Artabaliba, King of Peru, he said; That Pope must be a fool, who gave unto another what he never had; or certainly he is impudent and unjust, who gives another man's Lands unto strangers, and stirreth up men to the shedding of innocent blood; as *Benzo & Lopez* do record. When all the Empire was in peace, Frederick died *An. 1493*. The Reign of his son was, for the most part, in the next Century.

C H A P. III.

Of Divers Countries.

1. **I**T were tedious to repeat all the strange Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, Ominous signs. which are recorded to have been in this Century, portending the wondrous darkness of the ignorance of these times, as indeed it surpassed all others; since no age had seen more ungodly Popes, nor greater ignorance of the Clergy. The inundations of waters; the frequent pestilence and famine, did also proclaim the wrath of God against the iniquity of men; but the more God did strike the stithies of their hearts, they became the harder; except a small number (in respect of the ungodly multitude) who therefore were had in reproach, and were persecuted.

2. In the beginning of this Century, God made some preparation for a Helps of knowledge. Reformation of the Western Church, and in the midst of it more; which were two mighty helps of knowledge. First, some Greeks came into Italy, to wit, Emanuel Chrysoloras and Argyropulus two Byzantines; Musurus Cretenfis, John Laicaris, Theodor Gaza, George Trapezuntius, &c. The Greek language had scarcely been heard in Italy, the space of 700. years; but then both Greek and Latine Schools were multiplied; and they translated some Greek Fathers into Latine; as, Trapezuntius translated some works of Cyril Alexandrin. of Eusebius, &c. Their Disciples were Leonard Aretin, Guarin Veronen, Poggius Florentin, Philolphus, &c. In emulation of them, were famous in the Latine language, Laurentius Valla, Flavius Blondus, Donatus Acciaiolus, a Florentine, and many more. And the year 1450. is famous for the excellent invention of Printing, in Strawsburg, by a Gold-Smith First printing. John Gutenberg; whom some do call Johannes Faustus. This Art, as it was wondrous for invention; so it was, and is, singularly profitable for store of books; then the Scriptures were seen and read; the writings of the Fathers came to light; Histories were made known; times were compared; truth was discerned; falsehood was detected, &c. Before that time the rich-poor Monks gathered all the books into their Cloisters; and few read them, but others could not have them. This was a great occasion of ignorance, which thereafter was removed by use of Printing.

3. Several Homilies and Treatises came forth against the covetousness, luxury and ignorance of the Clarks and Monks. Herman Ried in a book, *De vita & honestate Clericorum*, saith; In these dangerous times are many Clarks, whio make no account of the authority of the Fathers, nor of reason; they admit not the Holy Scriptures, and they despise the ancient Canons; as Bernard had written unto Eugenius; they do hate and deride men of understanding and Catholicks, because they espy the grievous vices of the Clergy, and in zeal speak against their unfaithfulness; the Clarks call such men fantastick, disturbers of peace, and men of erroneous consciences. Who are zealous to root out the vices of the Clergy, and who alledge the truth as it is written in the Canonical Scriptures; these (I say) are checked and reviled by their own and other Prelates; so that at last they must, even against their wills, be silent and dissemble. So it is verified what St. Jerom said, *in l.b. 1. de norma vivendi, cap. 5.* There is not so cruel a beast as a wicked Priest, for he cannot indure to be corrected, or hear the truth; in a word, they are full of wickedness. Then he complains, that the Priests are worse than hypocrites, since they are so far from hiding their wickedness before men, that they openly avow it; and they are permitted by their Prelates, because they pay yearly

some money unto their Officials: And that the condition of the Church is more dangerous now than ever it was; for in time of persecution were good men; but now the Church hath liberty, and decays for want of zeal and knowledge, &c. *Catol. test. ver. lib. 19.*

4. Felinus, Accursius, Petrus de bella pertica, Bartolus, Johannes Igneus and many other Lawyers, are recorded to have testified against Emperours and Princes, for their weaknes in suffering Bishops to usurp the Temporal Sword, and Dominion of Lands and Cities; and against the imprudence of them who had given so many priviledges unto the Clergy; by which the Popes and Bishops do enlarge their power, and oppresse the Laity. At that time Volquin, in a Sermon, called the Monks Monsters; a Monster (said he) is a head with two bodies, or a body with two heads; and such are Monks; they are Monks and Lawyers, or Monks and Courtiers, &c. And so are Priests and Canons, who have many Benefices, Prebendaries, &c. *ibid.*

5. Vincentius, a Venetian, was then famous in Italy, for opinion of holiness. He left some Prophecies against the Clergy, which, in the end of that Century, were Printed at Paris, with the Prophecies of some others. In one he saith, Antichrist is in the World: in another, he saith, Antichrist shall be a Pope; but to allay the word, he adds, a Pope not lawfully chosen. We may now add, Many Popes have not been chosen lawfully. In another, he saith, If we speak of those who are called Religious, there is not one in all the World that keeps his Religion as he should; they are all become corrupt and scandalous; yea, they are the instruments of perdition, who should be instruments of the salvation of souls. *Ibid.*

6. When the Antipopes would not remove the Schism, a Parliament was in Paris, *An. 1406. Septemb. 11.* where Charls the VI. ordained, That none should pay Tithes to Pope nor Cardinals; and if they attempted to exact them, no former provisions should be acknowledged. In the Narration of this Act, it is said, That the Deputy of the University, did apply unto Pope Benedict these sayings, Withdraw you from every Brother that walks inordinately: And, I know, that after my deaature, Wolves shall come in amongst you, not sparing the Flock: And, Because my Flock was spoiled, and my Sheep were devoured by all the Beasts of the Field, having no Shepherds, neither do my Shepherds seek my Sheep, but the Shepherds seek themselves, and feed not my Sheep; therefore thus saith the Lord, I will cause them to cease from feeding my Sheep, and I will deliver my Sheep from their mouths; and therefore all payment; yea, and all obedience, should be denied unto the Pope: And so they promised for their own part. *Fascic. rer. expeten. fol. 195.* In February following was another Edict, discharging the payment of Annates; and other things that were called *Minuta servitia*. In January 1408. in presence of the King and Peers, and people of the Realm, and of the Embassadors of England, Scotland, Sicilia and Galicia, John Cartchufius, a Norman, in the name of the University, had a Sermon on Ps. 7. *His sorrow shall turn upon his own head, &c.* There he deduceth six conclusions: 1. Peter de Luna, or Pope Benedict, is an obdured Schismatick, an Heretick and disturber of the peace and union of the Church. 2. He should not be called Pope nor Cardinal, nor named with any Title of Honour; and who obey him, are worthy of the punishment pronounced against the abettors of Hereticks. . . . Wherefore the University, with one consent, do wish, that neither the King, nor any of the Realm, would accept any Bulls from Peter de Luna; that the University be commanded to publish the truth throughout the Kingdom; that a Bull of Excommunication, which was lately brought from him unto the King, should be torn as injurious to his Majesty; that the Bishop

The Acts of
France a-
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Bishop of St. Flora, and M. Peter de Corfellis, and Sancienus de Leu, Dean of St. German in Altisfodore, be apprehended and punished, because they consulted with Peter de Luna; and the University promised to shew weightier things concerning the faith, and prove them before competent persons. These petitions were all granted to the University. Benedict hearing these things, fled with four Cardinals into Spain. In August all Prelates and Churchmen, were commanded to publish the Neutrality of the Popes in their several jurisdictions, *P. Morn. in Myster. pag. 516, 518.* And then he sheweth how France stood for the like Neutrality in the time of Pope Alexander the V.

7. At the same time Francis Zabarella, a famous Lawyer of Padua, wrote *de Schismate*; where he spareth not to aver, The followers of the Pope have corrupted the Canon Law with their Glosses; nothing is so unlawful, but they think it lawful unto them; they have exalted the Pope above God himself, whence hath flowed a deluge of evils; the Pope draweth unto himself all the authority of other Churches, and despiseth inferior Prelates; unless God provide for the estate of the Catholick Church, it is in danger; but in a Council remedy must be provided, and the Papal power must be curbed, since he is subject unto the Church; for that power resideth not in the Pope, but in the Church, or in a general Council representing her; the Church neither can now, nor at any time could transfer that power unto one man, but the same remaineth wholly unto her; the Church may depose a Pope; it is a fond thing that they say commonly, *The Pope cannot be judged by men*; since he who is judged by the Church, is not judged by men but by God: The power of calling Councils belongeth unto the Emperor; as is clear by the examples of Constantine, Justinian, Charls the Great, &c. The Emperor should be present in the Council, as was in Nice and others; when matters of faith are treated in them, Laicks, if they be worthy and prudent, may be present in Councils: The Pope cannot hinder the calling of them; since through want of them, the Church hath fallen into so great mischief; and Bishops usurp government as secular Princes: Seeing the Emperor is the principal Advocate, and defender of the Church, he may and should ask account of the Pope's faith, so oft as the Pope is suspected; and he may proceed against him by Law: Peter never had the fulness of power; but unto him, in the name of the Church, the keys were given: We are not obliged to obey the Pope, but when he requireth just things; we should not give unto him such honor, as to equalize him unto God; nor should adoration be given unto him, which Peter refused, *Acts 10.* Whereas it is said, *The Church cannot err*; it is not to be understood of the Pope, nor of the Church of Rome; but of the Church of Christ, which is the Congregation of true Believers: every member of the Church should be vigilant to conserve the Catholick faith. He declareth, that he was moved to write these things for respect to God's glory, and not in expectation of any earthly reward; and he proveth these positions by ancient Councils, *Mornay in Myster.*

8. Theodorick Urias, an Augustinian Monk, in his work *de Consolatione Ecclesie*, declareth the vices of the Clergy; to wit, lust, simony, ambition, contempt of God's word, and neglect of mans salvation. Some of his verses are in *Chronic. Pa. Langui*, which begin *Papa stupor mundi cecidit, secumque ruere Cœlica templa Dei, membra, simulque caput.* There he sheweth how the Pope hath drawn all the Church into damnation; that he filleth the room of Simon Magus, and not of Simon Peter; since under his Government the Sacraments and all holy things are sold as it were lumber; that the Roman Church becometh dayly worse and worse; and turneth from gold into silver;

yea, from silver into iron; yea, from iron into clay; and now it remaineth, that she be turned into dung, and be cast forth, *ibid.*

9. Another Theodorick, Bishop of Croatia, wrote some prophecies in rhimes; there he foretelleth, that the Church of Rome shall be brought to naught; the Pope shall be evilly intreated by his subjects; justice, which hath been shut up in darkness, shall come into light; and the true Church shall flourish in godliness more then she hath done, *Catal. test. ver. lib. 19.*

10. In Italy Nicolaus Lucensis, a Carmelite, preached before Pope Gregory the XII. against the tyranny of Popes; therefore he was cast into prison; but by solicitation was set at liberty, *P. Morn. ex Theod. à Niem. de schism. lib. 4.* Many others in Germany, and more in France, were pursued for witnessing unto the truth.

11. John Hufs denied Purgatory, auricular confession, the Pope's power, and Indulgences; he disproved Dirges; he called prayers for the dead, a device of Priests; he spoke against prayers unto the Saints; against the Images of God, and of the Saints; against confirmation and extream unction; against all holy days, except the Lord's day, &c. *An. Sylvius* imputeth some absurd things unto him; no marvel, for envy is ready to slander. In a word, he saith, John Hufs embraced the sect of the Waldenses. And *10. Cochleus Hist. lib. 2.* saith, Hufs did commit spiritual fornication with the Waldenses, Dulcinists, Wiclifists, Leonists, and other enemies of the Church of Rome. Among so many examples, it is not unprofitable to speak, at more length, of one; and among them all, is none by whose History we may have more instruction. The Masters of the School in Prague were Teutones, until the Books of John Wickliff were brought thither; the learned men of the Nation took it ill, that strangers were ever preferred above them; and now finding some matter whereby they were able to vex those Masters, they dealt with King Wenceslaus, that the School might be governed after the manner of Paris. Those Teutones could not endure this; therefore they and their disciples, to the number of two thousand, did remove into Leipsich. The Bohemians were glad; and John Hufs had the guidance of the School. Shortly thereafter, the Church called Bethlehem was founded, with maintenance for two Preachers, to preach dayly the Word of God in the Bohemian language; John Hufs was chosen the first Preacher: He commended John Wickliff, and openly wished, that when he departed this life, his soul might be with the soul of Wickliff; of whom he doubted not to have been a good and godly man, and then in Heaven. *An. Sylvius* saith, All the Clergy approved John Hufs: But he addeth, that these Clerks were infamous, and thought by that means to escape punishment. Nevertheless the people, partly by reading the Books of Wickliff translated into their language, and partly by the preaching of John Hufs, became so ripe in judgement, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they would dispute with the Priests in matters of faith. The Archbishop Sbinco, sent complaints unto Rome. Pope Alexander directed his Letters, charging the Bishop to forbid all preaching, but only in Cathedral Churches, or Colleges, or Parish Churches, or Monasteries, or Chappels confirmed by the Apostolical See; and that the Articles of Wickliff be not taught privately nor publickly; and that all shall be judged Heretics who shall attempt in the contrary. Against this Bull John Hufs objected many things; especially, that Christ had preached unto the people on the Sea, in Fields, Houses; and the Apostles did so in any place. Wherefore (said he) from this mandate of Alexander, I appeal unto the same Alexander being better advised. Nevertheless, the Bishop discharged him from Preaching. He obeyed, and went out of the City into the Village Hufs,

Hufs, where he had his birth ; but ceased not to preach , and had many hearers. At that time he had not spoken of the Sacrament of the Altar, saith *Æn. Sylvius in Histor. Bohem.* but Petrus Draſensis one of those Teutones that had left Prague, did return from their society , and became Master of the School : He said to Jacobel Mifnenſis , Preacher of St. Michaels (who was then famous for learning and godlineſs) I wonder that you do not perceive the error of the Eucharist , which hath been so long in the Church ; for the communion is given unto the people under one kind ; whereas Christ hath commanded to give both Bread and Wine. Jacobel advising with the writings of the Fathers , especially of Dionysius and Cyprian ; and finding the communion of the cup to be allowed unto the people , he taught them publickly that they should not neglect the partaking of the cup. Many heard him gladly, but Sbinco complained unto the King ; and because he was not violent , the Bishop went to Sigismund, King of Hungary , and beseeched him that he would not permit the Sacrament and Orthodox Faith (as he said) to be changed , although his brother be negligent. There Sbinco died , and Albicus is preferred unto that See : Pope Alexander also died ; so a little liberty was given unto those Preachers ; but quietness continued not long in those furious daies of Antichrist's rage ; for John Hufs was delated again unto Pope John , he sent a Legate to try the cause in Prague. Wenceslaus and his Queen Sophia maintained John Hufs , and he appealed from the Legate unto the Pope ; and then fearing envy , more than doubting of his cause (as may be seen in the testimonial Letters , which the University sent unto the Council at Constance) he sent Proctors unto Rome ; where some were imprisoned for their bold speeches ; and reason was not heard , as is manifest in the answer of the Bohemians, in the Council *An. 1415. May 19.* and John Hufs was excommunicated as an Heretick. *Histor. 10. Hufs fol. 87.* printed at Norimberg *An. 1518.* The Bohemians drew more and more to parties ; and the Wars fell out between Pope Alexander , and Ladislaus King of Naples ; therefore the Pope sent his Bulls of indulgence , unto all who would aid him in his Wars. John Hufs writ against the impiety of these pardons ; and the people, being so informed , spoke also against them , and called the Pope the Antichrist ; who durst proclaim Wars , and take the Cross on his shoulders against the Christians. The Magistrates imprisoned some for such speeches ; but the people joined , and forced the Magistrates to let the prisoners go , except three that were privily beheaded in prison ; when the people saw the blood running out at the dores , came and took away their bodies , and buried them honourably ; and cried, These are Saints which have given their bodies for the testimony of God. They buried them in the Church of Bethlehem as the Relicks of Martyrs , saith *Æne. Sylvius in Histor. Bohem. cap. 35.* The other party being more wealthy (and therefore fearing the Pope) were instant against him ; and prevailed with the King , that John Hufs was banished the Town. The people cried out against the Prelates and Priests , as the Authors of the banishment ; accusing them of simony, adultery, pride, &c. not sparing to lay open their vices , and eagerly craving a Reformation of the Clergy. The King being moved with that out-crying , required greater exactions of such Clarks as were delated, and known to be prophane. Then the other party took occasion to complain of all , sparing none whom they knew to be the enemies of John Hufs. So many Clarks were brought into great distress ; others into fear ; and the most part were glad to fall in , at least not to fall out with the purer sort ; and John Hufshad liberty to return unto his Church at Bethlehem ; the people received comfort ; the King great gain ; and the Priests fell into the net which they had prepared for others. But John Hufs

was the more accused before the Pope; who directed his Bull unto the King, to suppress John Hufs and his doctrine. Briefly, for his cause (amongst others) was the Council gathered at Constance; to which he was summoned by the Pope; and got a Safe-conduct from the Emperour, that he should only answer unto such things whereof he was blamed; and undoubtedly he should return into his own Country in safety. He resolved to appear, and affixed Letters on the dores of Cathedral Churches, Parish Churches, Abbeys and Cloisters, signifying, that he was going to the General Council, to give an account of his faith; and if any man had suspicion of his doctrine, he craved that they would declare it before the Bishop of Prague; or if they pleased, before the Council. Then *An. 1414. August 30.* all the Barons of Bohemia were assembled at the Abbey of St. James in Prague, the Bishop being present. There John Hufs presented a Supplication, craving this favour, that if the Bishop of Nazareth, Inquisitor of Heresie within that Diocess, had any suspicion of his doctrine, he would declare it there; and he protested, that he was willing to suffer correction, if he deserved it: Or, if the Bishop had no accusation against him, that they would give him a testimonial, by which he, being as it were armed, might go the more confidently unto Constance. The Bishop professed openly, that he knew no offence in him; and only advised him, to purge himself of the Excommunication. This was put in form of an Act, and sent unto the Emperour with John Hufs. It hapned that August 27. Conrad the Arch-Bishop, held a Synod with his Prelates; where a Proctor appeared in the name of John Hufs, requiring, that since John Hufs was ready to give an account of his faith, they or any of them who would accuse him of obstinacy, should write in their names; and according to the Law both of God and Man, prepare themselves to suffer the like punishment, if they could not prove it legally against him; as he was ready to answer, with God's help, before the Arch-Bishop and his Prelates, or in the ensuing Council. Answer was made by Ulric Suab, Marshal to the Arch-Bishop, that his Master was busied with the affairs of the King; and therefore the Proctor should wait a little, in some place without Court. This he did, but got no other answer; and therefore he made protestation of his proffer, and craved instrument upon the refusal, from a Notary there present. The History of John Hufs fol. 4. October 15. John Hufs took his journey, being accompanied by two Noble-men, John Lord de Chlum, and M. Wencelat de Duba, and their followers. Wheresoever he came, he notified his coming by Letters affixed on most patent places; craving, that whosoever could impute any error, or obstinacy unto him, they would prepare themselves to the Council, where he was willing to satisfie every one. In all his journey he was friendly received, even by Curats and Priests; so that he writ in an Epistle, that he had found no enemies in any place, but in Bohemia. And if his coming into any City was known, the streets were full of people desirous to see him; namely, at Nuremberg the Curats came unto him, and conferred with him: He said, He was desirous to shew his mind openly, and to keep nothing secret. So after dinner, he talked with them, untill night, before some Senatours and many Citizens; they all held him in singular reverence; except one Doctour and one Curat, who checked all that he spake, although they gave no reason. Stanislaus de Xnoyma, a Bohemian, was going to Constance to be one of his accusers; by the way he died of a Feaver. November 3. John Hufs came to Constance, and lodged with an honest Matron, named Faith. On the morrow the two Noble men shewed unto the Pope, that they had brought John Hufs, and intreated that he might remain without molestation, according to his Safe-conduct.

The Pope answered, Although John Hufs had killed his Brother, no hurt should be done unto him during his abode there. *November 29.* two Bishops and the Burgh-Master were sent for him, to come before the Pope and his Cardinals, to render some knowledge of his doctrine, as he had craved; and they were ready to hear. He answered, He was desirous to shew his doctrine not in private, but publickly before the Council; and yet he would obey this demand; So committing himself unto the Lord Jesus, and protesting that he would rather die for the glory of God, and profession of the truth that he had learned out of the holy Scriptures, then deny any part thereof, he came unto the Pope's Court. There first he was questioned generally of the errors that were spread of him. He answered, Reverend Fathers, understand that my minde is to die, rather then to be found culpable of one error; for this cause am I come willingly unto this Council, to shew my self ready to suffer correction, if any can prove me to be in any error. The Cardinals replied, Thou speakest modestly; and so left him with the Lord de Chlum, under a guard of armed men. Then they sent a subtle Monk; under shew of rudeness and simplicity, to intrap him by questions; but the other perceived his dissembling, and told him so; nevertheless answered to his questions. In the evening the Pope sent the Provost of the Court unto the Lord de Chlum, willing him to go unto his lodging; as for Mr. Hufs; they had provided for him otherwise. The Lord John went speedily unto the Pope, putting him in minde of his promise concerning John Hufs, and intreating him that he would not so lightly falsifie his faith; besides that, he was come hither under the Emperor's Safe-conduct. The Pope answered, All those things are done without my consent; and he said privily, What reason is it that thou shouldest impute this deed unto me, who am in the hands of these Bishops and Cardinals? as indeed, the Pope fearing to be deposed, or to procure the favor of the Prelates, did betray the innocent unto them. So the Baron returned, complaining openly of the injury; but availed nothing. John Hufs was led to the Chapter-House of the great Church, where he was kept prisoner eight days; and from thence he was led unto the Jacobines upon the Rhine, and shut up in the vilest prison of the Abbey, although his cause was not as yet heard publickly. After a short space he fell into a Fever, (by occasion of the stink of the place) so that they despaired of his life; and lest he died (as others in that prison) the Pope sent a Physician to attend him. The Emperor was not yet come to the Town. In the midst of his sickness, his accusers, Michael de Causis and another Bohemian, made importunate suit that the Heretick might be condemned; to this effect they presented unto the Pope some Articles; namely, 1. Of the Communion under both kindes. 2. The giving of the elements amongst the people. 3. He will not acknowledge, that the word Church signifieth the Pope and his Cardinals; but affirmeth, that that signification had its beginning from the School-men. 4. He holdeth, that temporal Princes may take temporal possessions from Church-men. 5. Concerning the equality of all Princes in power. 6. That reservation of causes did proceed from the ambition and pride of Popes. 7. Of the schism and tumults that he had moved in Bohemia. In the time of his sickness, four Commissioners from the four Nations were appointed to hear the accusation and witnesses, who were ignorant Priests of Bohemia, one confuting another. John Hufs sent, and craved that an Advocate might have place to answer for him, since he was hindered by sickness. This liberty was denied; because a Canon forbiddeth, that one accused of heresie should answer by a Proctor. When he had recovered some health, at the command of the Commissioners,

certain Articles were sent unto him, which they said they had gathered out of his Books *de Ecclesia*; but such as Stephen Paletz, a Bohemian, had either forged, or patched by halves. So he continued in prison until *March 28. An. 1415*. When health permitted, he wrote some Treatises; to wit, Of the ten Commandments; of Love and Knowledge of God; of Marriage; of Pennance; and of the Lord's Supper. When Pope John fled, his Servants delivered the keys of the prison unto the Emperor; and the Council commanded to deliver the Prisoner unto the Bishop of Constance; he shut him up into a Tower, with fetters on his legs, that he could hardly walk in the day; and in the night he was tied to a rack near to his bed. All this time certain Noble men of Poland and Bohemia did their best endeavors for his liberty; but all who appeared to favor him, were derided by all men in the City: Wherefore they presented their supplication unto the Council *May 14*, shewing that the Emperor had granted a Safe-conduct unto their Preacher; and he who was Pope for the time had consented unto it; nevertheless, he was so hardly abused, and falsely reviled and slandered; therefore they intreated, that his cause might be brought quickly to an end. The Bishop Luthomissen. answered, In the last words of the supplication he was touched as a slanderer; therefore he craved, that a day might be appointed for clearing those things that were called slanders. The 17. day of the same month was named; and on the next day the Noble men returned their answer, clearing their Preacher of all that the Bishop had objected; as it is to be seen in divers Histories; and their very words are in the Meditations of Mr. Fox on the *Apocalypse cap. 11*. and in the History of John Hufs's life, Printed at Nurenberg, *An. 1558*. They concluded their answer with another supplication; but received no answer before the last of *May*; when they presented the restitution of the Bishop of Nazaret, another of the Bishop of Prague, and a third from the University; all three clearing John Hufs from the calumnies of his adversaries: And the Noble men petitioned, that the man might have liberty to answer personally; or that his accusers should not be so lightly believed. The Patriarch of Antioch answered, in name of the Council, John Hufs shall be brought before the Council *June 5*. and have liberty to speak for himself. But they did not so: Therefore the same day these Noble men presented another supplication unto the Emperor, shewing the uncourteous dealing of the four Deputies; and intreating, that according to the Safe-conduct, he would hear their former supplications. But he was also driven from his Safe-conduct by the Cardinals; because no protection can be given unto one who is suspected of heresie. On the foresaid day, all the Cardinals and Bishops, and Clergy almost, who were in the City, assembled in the Convent of the Franciscans; and there it was commanded, that before the Prisoner were brought forth, the Articles should be rehearsed, and the Witnesses be heard. A Notary, Madonicnetz, hearing that the Bishops had determined to condemn the Articles in absence of the party, went with all speed unto the Bohemian Barons, and told them; they also went unto the Emperor; who sent Lewis Count Palatine of Heidleberg, and Frederick Burgrave of Nurenberg, to shew them who ruled the Council, that nothing be done in that cause, until first the party be heard; and that they should send unto him the Articles, and he would cause them to be examined by good and learned men: So the decret was suspended. At that time the two Barons gave unto those whom the Emperor had sent, certain Books of John Hufs, that his adversaries and their accusations might be tried by them. The Books were delivered to the Cardinals; and John Hufs was brought forth, and acknowledged the Books to be his, saying, If there were

were any error in them, he was willing to amend it. Then they proceeded, having scarcely read one Article when they called for Witnesses. He would have spoken; but they all cried out so against him, that he had no liberty to speak one word; and when the tumult was calmed, that he could answer out of the Scriptures or antient Fathers; some said, It was to no purpose; some mocked him; and some were so outrageous, that he resolved to be silent; and then they all said, Now he is dumb; now by his silence he confesseth. *June 7.* (on which day the Sun was almost wholly eclipsed) they assembled in the Cloister of the Minorites. John Hufs was also brought. His Accusers read some Articles, and undertook to prove them by Witnesses. He protested, that he had never spoken those things. Then said the Cardinal of Florence, Master, you know, that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses every judgement should be stable; and here you shall see many famous Witnesses against you; and, for my part, I cannot see how you can maintain your cause against them. Hufs answered, I take God and my conscience to witness, that I never taught such things, as those men fear not to speak against me, what they never heard of me. The Cardinal said, We cannot judge according to your conscience, but must stay our selves upon evident Witnesses. Then it was objected, He defended the errors of Wickliff. He answered, He never defended any error of Wickliff. When they instanced in some particulars; he said, These are not errors, but agreeable to Scripture. They objected, He had sown sedition between the Ecclesiastical and Political States of Bohemia. He answered, Pope Gregory had taken the Empire from Wenceslaus; and the Colledge of Cardinals, being offended with the same Pope, had written unto the King, that if he would deny obedience unto the Pope, they would bring it to pass, that another Pope should be chosen, who should restore him unto the Empire; which he did; and hence arose the division between the King and the Arch Bishop Sbinco, a follower of Gregory; and, said he, it is easie to be known, that I am unjustly accused in that cause, as the Germans here present can witness. Albert Warren, Arch Deacon of Prague, stood up to speak; but they would not hear him. He was accused of some words in contempt of the Emperor, and was cleared by testimony of the Lord de Chlum. The Emperor then said to Hufs, Seeing we may not defend any man who is an Heretick, or suspected of Heresie, we advise thee to submit thy self unto the Council in all things; then we will provide, that they shall suffer thee to go in peace, with an easie pennance; which if thou wilt refuse to do, the Presidents will have sufficient cause to proceed against thee: for our part, be thou assured, we will prepare the fire for thee with our own hands, rather then suffer thee to maintain any opinions longer. He answered, O most Noble Emperor, I render unto your Highness immortal thanks for your Letters of Safe-conduct; and I take God to witness, that I never intended to maintain any opinion obstinately; and I came hither gladly, that if the meanest of the Council can lay before me any holier doctrine then mine, I will change my minde. Then he was led away by the Sergeants, under the custody of the Bishop Rigen; who had also Jerome of Prague in prison. On the morrow they met again; the former Articles were read in audience of Hufs; and others were said to be collected out of his Books, of Predestination and Perseverance. He answered, acknowledging what they had truly gathered out of his Books, and gave the reasons thereof; he shewed, that in some Articles they had perverted and wrested his words; as may be seen in the cited History; from fol. 15. until 24. Then Peter de Aliaco, Bishop of Cambrey, said, Thou hearest how horrible crimes are laid against thee; now it is thy part

to think what to do; thou must either recant all these Articles, and so thou mayest finde favor; or if thou wilt stand to the defense of them, I fear it will be to thy danger: this I speak to thee by way of counsel, and not in manner of a Judge. The like said other Cardinals. He answered, Most reverend Fathers, I have said already; that I came hither not to maintain any error obstinately; but, if in any particular I have conceived a perverse opinion, I would gladly be reformed: and now I beseech you, that I may have liberty to declare my minde; and if I bring not firm and sufficient reasons, I will most humbly submit my self unto your information. A Cardinal said, Behold how craftily he speaketh; he calleth it information, and not correction or determination. Verily, said Hufs, term it as ye will; I take God to witness, that I speak from my heart. After other speeches, a Priest said, He should not be admitted to recant; for he hath written to his friends, that although he swear with his tongue, yet he will keep his minde without oath until death. Then the Bishop Rigen. commanded to carry him to prison. He writ all those things, being in prison, unto his friends, that the truth might be known, and calumnies be prevented, as he declareth in his Epistles. When he was removed, the Emperor said unto the Presidents, that either he should recant all those things that were laid against him, and abjure all preaching, and be exiled out of Bohemia, or else be punished with fire; and all his favorers in Constance be apprehended and punished, namely his Disciple Jerome. Others said, When the Matter is daunted, his Disciples will be more tractable. July 6. the Emperor sent unto him four Bishops, with the two Bohemian Barons, to know what he would do. When he was brought out of prison, John de Chlum said first; Mr. John, I am an unlearned man, neither able to instruct you a man of learning; nevertheless, I require you, if you know your self to be guilty of any of those errors, that you would not be ashamed to change your minde; but I will not advise you to do any thing against your conscience; but rather to suffer any punishment, then to deny what you know to be truth. John said, with tears, Verily, as I have often said, I take the most high God to be witness, that I am ready with all my heart, if the Council will instruct me by the holy Scriptures, to change my minde. Then said a Bishop, I would never be so arrogant, as to prefer my judgement unto the judgement of the whole Council. John answered, Neither do I otherwise; but if the meanest of the Council will convince me of error, I will perform, with all my heart, whatsoever the Council will injoyne me. Mark, said another Bishop, how he continueth in his errors; So they commanded to put him into prison again. The next day a general Congregation was in the great Church; and the Emperor was present; here was laid down all the vestiments belonging to a Priest. John was brought; and falling down on his knees, he prayed a good space. The Bishop Londonensis went up into the Pulpit; his Text was *Rom. 6. Let the body of sin be destroyed*: all his Sermon aimed, that John Hufs should be destroyed. Then a Bishop read the process against Hufs at Rome, and the Articles of his accusation. When he attempted to answer a word or two unto the Articles severally, the Cardinal of Cambrey commanded him silence; and said, Hereafter thou mayest answer unto them all together, if thou wilt. He said, How can I answer unto all these at once? I am not able to remember them all. The Cardinal of Florence said, We have heard thee enough. Hufs besought them to hear him, lest others conceive amiss either of them or of him. When they would not hear him, he, kneeling, committed all the matter unto the Lord God, and to Jesus Christ; as he hoped at their hands to obtain all his desire. Lastly, It was imputed unto him, that he had said,

There

There is a fourth Person of the Deity; and a certain Doctor heard him speak it. Hufs craved the Doctor's name. A Bishop said, That is not needful. Then he said, O miserable man that I am, who am forced to hear such blasphemy and slander! They said, He hath appealed unto Christ, which is heretical. He said, O Lord Jesus, whose Word is here openly condemned, I do again appeal unto thee; who when thou wast evilly intreated of thine enemies, didst appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cause unto the most just Judge; that by thy example, when we are oppressed with manifest wrongs, we should flee unto thee. The definitive sentence was read, declaring, That by the Council it was ordained, for his heretical doctrine to degrade him publicly from his Priestly Order, &c. When the sentence was reading, he did now and then interrupt them; and so oft he was commanded to be silent: when it was read of his obstinacy, he cried, I was never obstinate; but was always desirous, and now I desire to be taught by the holy Scriptures, and am ready to embrace the truth. When his Books were condemned, he said, Why have ye condemned those Books, since ye have not proved by one Article, that they are contrary unto the Scriptures or Articles of Faith? and what injury is that unto me, to condemn my Books written in the Bohemian tongue, which ye never saw? Often times he looked up to Heaven, and prayed. When the sentence was ended, he, kneeling, said, Lord Jesus forgive my enemies, by whom thou knowest I am falsely condemned, and that they have used false witness and slander against me; forgive them for thy great mercies sake. Many of them laughed at this prayer. Then seven Bishops (who were appointed to see the execution) put on him the Priestly vestures; as they put on the Alba, he spake of the white vesture wherewith Christ was clothed and mocked: So in all the other things he comforted himself with the example of Jesus Christ. When all the vestiments was put on, a Bishop exhorted him to change his minde yet, and provide for his welfare and honor. He went to the top of the scaffold, after the custom, and being full of tears, spake unto the people, saying, Those Lords and Bishops exhort me, that I would profess here before you, that I have erred; which if it were to the infamy of any man, they might happily persuade me; but now I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose ignominy and grudge of my conscience, I can no way do what thy require of me; with what countenance could I look up to Heaven? with what face could I look on them whom I have taught, of whom there is a great number, if by my example it come to pass, that the things which heretofore they have known to be most true, should now be made dubious? I will never do it, nor give any such offence, that I might seem to think more of this vile carcase, which is condemned to die, then of their salvation. A Bishop said, Behold how he continueth in his pernicious errors. Then he was commanded to come down to the execution: And a Bishop took the chalice from him, saying, O accursed Judas, why hast thou forsaken the way of peace? we take from thee the chalice of thy salvation. John said, I trust in God my Father, and in my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I suffer these things, that he will not take away his chalice of redemption, but I have stedfast hope, that I shall drink thereof to day in his Kingdom. The other Bishops took away the other Priestly things; and each of them accursed him. He answered, He willingly suffered their curses for the name of Christ. At last those Bishops began to contend, with what instrument his shaven crown should be unpriested, with a razor or cizers. John then turned unto the Emperor, and said, I marvel, that when they are of a like cruel minde, yet they cannot agree in the manner of their cruelty. At last they cut off the skin with cizers;

and said, Now the Church hath taken from thee all her ornaments and privileges; and nothing remaineth, but that thou be delivered into the hands of the Magistrate. Then they caused a crown to be made of paper, almost a cubit deep; upon it they painted three black divels, with this title above them, *HERESIARCHA*. When he saw it, he said, My Lord Jesus for my sake hath born a crown of thorns, why then should not I bear this light crown, be it never so ignominious? truly I do it willingly. When it was set upon his head, a Bishop said, Now we commit thy soul unto the Divel. John, lifting up his eys to Heaven, said, But I commend my soul into thy hands, O Lord Jesus, who hast redeemed me. Then said the Bishops unto the Emperor, This most sacred Synod of Constance, leaveth unto the Civil Power this John Hufs, who hath no more to do in the Church of God. The Emperor commanded the Duke of Bavier (who was standing in his robes, holding the golden Apple with the Cross in his hand) to receive the Prisoner from the Bishops, and deliver him unto the Sergeants. When he was led to the place of execution, he saw before the Church-dore his Books burning; he, smiling, exhorted all men, that they should not think that he died for any error or heresie, but only for the hatred of his adversaries, charging him with crimes most falsely. All the City followed him in Arms. When he came to the place of execution, he kneeled down, and lifting up his eys to Heaven, he prayed and said certain Psalms, namely, the 31 and 51; they who were near him, heard him repeat oft the verse, *Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit*. The People said, What he hath done before we know not, but now he prayeth devoutly. Some said, It were good he had a Confessor. A Priest, sitting on a horse's back, answered, He may not be heard, who is a condemned Heretick. While he prayed, and lifted up his eys to Heaven, his paper hat fell off his head; a Souldier took it up, and said, Put it on again, that he may burn with his Masters the Divels. When he arose from praying, he said with a loud voice, Lord Jesus assist me, that with a patient and constant minde, by thy most gracious help, I may indure this ignominious death, unto which I am condemned for preaching thy most holy Word. Then he declared unto the people the cause of his death, as is before; in the mean while the Executioner was stripping off his clothes, and turned his hands behinde his back, and tied him to the stake with wet ropes: whereas it hapned, that his face was toward the East; one cried, That an Heretick should not have liberty to look East-ward: So he was turned. When his neck was tied unto the stake with a chain, he said, I will gladly receive this chain for Christ, who was tied with a worse chain for my sake. Under his feet they set two wet faggots mixed with straw; and from the feet to the chin he was inclosed in wood. Before the wood was kindled, the Baron of Oppenheim and another Gentleman went and exhorted him, that he would remember his salvation, and repent of his errors. He said, What errors should I renounce, whereas I know my self guilty of none? as for those things that have been falsely alledged against me, I know that I never did so much as think them; for this was the chief aim of all my preaching, to teach all men repentance and remission of sins, according to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and after the exposition of the holy Fathers; wherefore I am ready to suffer death with a cheerful minde. They left him wringing their hands; and the fire was kindled. Then he prayed with a loud voice, Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me. He repeated these words thrice, and the winde, driving the flame into his face, choaked him; afterwards he moved the space that one may say the Lord's prayer thrice. The head and neck that were above

the chain, they hewed into small pieces, that it might be consumed the sooner. They found his heart untouched among the ashes; they struck it with their rods, and burnt it alone: They gathered all the ashes, with great diligence, and threw them into the river, that the least remnant of him should not abide on the earth. The History of John Hufs. Now that we may know wherein his doctrine differed from ours at this day, I will but hint at them, and add a little of his Prophecies. Of all the Articles that he professed to believe, (more were imputed unto him, as followeth in Chapter V. but he denied them) none was different from our present Doctrine, but the opinion of Transubstantiation, which he held with the Romanists. As for his Prophecies: In Prague he saw a Vision; he seemed to paint the Images of Christ and his Apostles; but the Pope came and hindered him, and caused his Servants to blot away the Images: Then he saw other Painters, in great number, paint the same Images again; and the Painters became so numerous, that the Pope and his Cardinals were not able to abolish the Images. In the Council he said publickly, When an hundred years are come, ye shall answer unto God and unto me. Those words were stamped on the coin of the Hussites. When he was shut up among the wood to be burnt, he said, Out of my ashes a Swan shall arise, which they shall not be able to burn, as they do with the Goose: (Hufs signifieth a Goose in the Bohemian Language) By all which, no doubt, he foresaw the Reformation that followed an hundred years after his death. *Encas Sylvius in Histor. Bohem. cap. 36.* relateth this History briefly; and howbeit he call him and his fellow, Jerome of Prague, stubborn Hereticks, as the Council had called them, yet when he commendeth the Epistle of Poggius unto Nicolaus concerning these two, and inserteth another unto Leonard Aretin of Jerome's death, certainly he thought well of these Martyrs, no less then the writer did. This Poggius was a Secretary of that Council. In the last Chapter, I will touch the process against Jerome, studying brevity. And here I will remember a passage or two of the Epistles of Poggius *ad Leonar. Aret.* First, He mentioneth his Epistle unto Nicolaus; then coming to the cause of Jerome, he saith, I profess I never saw any man, who in talking especially for life and death, hath come nearer the eloquence of the Ancients, whom we do so much admire; it was a wonder to see with what words, with what eloquence, arguments, countenance, and with what confidence he answered his adversaries, and declaimed his own cause: That it is to be lamented, that so fine a Wit had strayed into the study of Heresie, if it be true that was objected against him. When many things were heaped against him, to accuse him of Heresie, and those things were proved by Witnesses, it was permitted unto him to answer particularly: he refused a long time; because he should first plead his own cause, and then answer to the railings of adversaries: when this was refused, he said, How great is this iniquity, that when I have been 340. days in most hard prisons, in filthiness, in dung, in fetters, and want of all things, ye have heard my adversaries at all times, and ye will not hear me one hour? ye are men, and not gods; ye may slip and er, and be deceived and seduced, &c. Then every Article of accusation was read publickly; and proved by Witnesses. They asked him, Whether he could object? It is almost incredible to consider how cunningly he answered, and with what Arguments he defended himself: He never spake one word unworthy of a good man; that if he thought in heart, as he spake with tongue, no cause of death could have been against him, not of the meanest offence: He said, All those things were false, and feigned by his adversaries: He declared his own studies and

life, full of vertues. And he spared not to commend John Hufs; calling him a good, just and holy man; who had spoken nothing against the Church of God, but against the abuses, pride and pompt of the Clergy and Prelates; for whereas the revenues of the Church should be employed on the poor and strangers, he judged it unworthily bestowed on harlots, feasting, feeding of horses and dogs, superfluous raiment, and such other things unworthy of Christian Religion. He quoted many Doctors for his opinions. In the end Poggius saith, O man, worthy of everlasting remembrance among men! This Epistle is also in *Fascic. rer. expetend. fol. 152.*

12. In other places many others suffered death for teaching and speaking against the worshipping of Saints; against transubstantiation; the tyranny of the Pope, &c. These Articles were always objected unto them, although they differed from the Romish Church in many other things. Amongst those were Henry Crunfelder Priest of Ratisbon, *An. 1420.* Henry Radgeber Priest there, *An. 1423.* John Druendo, of Noble birth, and a Priest, was burnt at Worms, *An. 1424.* John Draendorf the same year; Peter Thoraw at Spire, *An. 1426.* John Rockenzan, *An. 1430.* Matthias Hager, *An. 1458.* &c.

*Overtures of
Reformation.*

13. The Emperour Sigismund required Peter de Alliaco, Cardinal of Cambrey, to put in form some Articles concerning the Reformation of the Church, that might be propounded unto the Council of Constance; this was four moneths before the going away of Pope John, which was judged a most fit time to treat of that purpose. He began his Preface with the words of Bernard in *Serm. 33. in Cantic.* A rotten malady creepeth to day through all the body of the Church, and the further the more desperately ... seeing from that time the Church hath become worse and worse continually, after the fearful darkness of so many schisms; unless timely provision be made, more fearful things may be feared to ensue, according to the Prophecies of Abbot Joachim. Then he sheweth what he thinketh needful unto Reformation. 1. That General and Provincial Councils be kept; especially General Councils, for amending all Persons and Estates: neither should remedy be looked for from the Church of Rome; because many are suspicious that she dissembleth, and is unwilling to have Councils, that she may reign the more at her own pleasure, and usurp power over other Churches: Because before Constantine, it was not free unto the Church to hold General Councils openly; then arose many Heresies: therefore it is no marvel, that in these last times, when Councils have been contemned, that she is fallen into divers schisms, and other infinite evils, as experience teacheth. General Councils are necessary for Reformation of the body of the Church, especially the Roman, which must be Reformed. Whereas the Gloss saith in *Dist. 19. c. Anastasius*, The Pope should ask the Council of Bishops, When matters of faith are to be inquired? it is to be understood, not only of the articles of faith, but of all those things also that concern the universalestate of the believing Church; and otherwise it is dangerous to commit our faith unto the arbitrement of one man. And if ever they were necessary, far more now, to procure an union of the Greeks with the Latines; to repress the enterprises of the Turks, who having destroyed the Empire, will rush into the Church, and straw a way unto the Antichrist, as now many most godly men fear both these dangers at hand. 2. For Reformation of the Roman Court, it is sufficient, that there be but one Cardinal out of every Province, because the Cardinals are the causes of schisms; and the Pope should provide to relieve, ease and to remove the grievances of the Nations; he should abate the exactions, his pomp and luxury; he should not excom-

excommunicate, but in weighty causes; as was done in the primitive Church. 3. Prelates should not be chosen young, imprudent nor ignorant; but of ripe age; apt to teach; exemplar in manners; moderate in lives; not meddling with weapons or worldly business; abstaining from pomp in clothes and horses, and feasts; hating all simony; they should moderate the Lent, in respect of some persons and circumstances; they should bring the Divine Service to devout brevity; repress the number and variety of Images in Churches; put order to new Feasts and Saints, that men cease from work only upon the Lord's day, and the most famous Feasts that have been appointed by the Church; because when people are idle, sin is multiplied in Taverns, dancings, and other abuses. 4. He cometh to the Reformation of Monks, in respect of their multitude and pernicious diversity; and he taxeth the Romish Court, that they dispise Divines, and advance only such as can bring gain; so that now it is come into a Proverb, The Church is not worthy (if Papists will have the word *meretur* expounded so) to be governed, but by wicked men, &c. He complaineth also of Pagan abuses, and diabolical superstitions at Rome; but (saith he) as there were seven thousand who never bowed to Baal, so we may be confident, that there are some desirous of the Churches Reformation. This Book is in *Fascic. rer. expetend.* and was presented unto the Councel November 1. *An.* 1415. But they who should have reformed, were to be reformed; and so little or nothing was done.

Note.

14. Thomas Rhedonensis, a French Carmelite, and (as Antoninus saith) a famous Preacher, went to England, France and Italy; and in his Sermons said, Rome is the mother of abominations; the Church hath need of great Reformation; Prelates should leave their pride and luxury, and follow the example of Christ and his Apostles. For such preaching he was burnt in Rome, at the command of Pope Eugenius, *An.* 1436. Baptista Mantuanus, speaking of this mans death, *lib. de vitab. at. c. ult.* saith, Ah mad envy! what doest thou? thou hast not killed him; for his soul cannot die; but by hurting his earthy body, he is the sooner partaker of eternal life, *Catal. test. ver. lib.* 19.

15. Laurentius Valla, a Senator's Son of Rome, and Canon of St. John of Lateran about the year 1420. wrote a Book (which he calleth a Declamation) against the pretended donation of Constantine. In the end thereof he shews the estate of the Church, saying, I say, and I cry, (for I trust in God, and do not fear men) In my life time hath been in the high Priesthood no faithful nor wise Steward; he hath not given bread to God's family; the Pope annoyeth with wars, people that love peace; and stirreth up Princes and Cities; he maketh his advantage not only by the loss of the Republick, so as Verres or Catilina durst never attempt the like; but of the Church and holy Ghost, so that Simon Magus would abhor it. . . . In no place is there any Religion; no holiness; no fear of God; and, which maketh me tremble when I speak it, wicked men bring the excuse of all crimes from the Pope; for in him and his Court is the example of all wickedness; that against the Pope, and them that are nearest unto him, we may say with Isaiah and Paul, *The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles for you*; ye who should teach others, teach not your selves. The late high Priests, abounding in wealth and pleasures, seem to contend to be as ungodly and foolish, as the ancient Bishops were holy and wise, and by their shame to surmount the praises of the former. There also he complaineth, that they have corrupted the faith with old wives fables; and that they are not ashamed to preach, what a Christian should be ashamed to name. And he saith unto the people, When we discern bad money, we throw it away; and we will not discern a bad Lord, but will keep him still. All the Book is such. For this Book he was forced to flee: But he was received honorably by Alfonso King of Naples, and was his Secretary. *Orthæ. Gra. in epist. post declam.*

*A Council is
above the
Pope.*

16. Thomas de Corfellis a Frier, had a large Oration in the Council of Basil: *En. Sylvius* hath inserted it in his Commentaries. There he proves, that the Council is above the Pope; the Pope may err, and experience shews it; when the Pope abuseth the keys, he may be deposed; if he hear not the Church, he is a Publican and Heathen; a general Council representeth the Church; some, for vainglory and reward, do flatter the Popes, and teach new doctrines; and are not ashamed to say, That the Pope is not subject unto the authority of an holy Council; and the Pope may judge all, and be judged of none; but should be left unto the judgment of God only, even although he draw after him souls, by droves, into Hell. They consider not, that these be the words of Popes, enlarging their own phylacteries, or of their flatterers: And because these words are easily refuted, they run unto the words of Christ; not regarding the meaning of the Spirit, but the fancies of their own brain, and the prattle of the words, *Thou art Cephas*; by these they will make the Pope the head of the Church: And, *I will give thee the keys*: And, *I have prayed for thee*: And, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth*: And, *Feed my Sheep*: And, *Cast thyself into the Sea*: And, *Thou shalt be a Fisher of men*: And, *Christ commanded to pay Tribute for him and him*. All which these men do wonderfully proclaim; but they do altogether despise the Expositions of the holy Teachers, &c. *En. Sylvius* in his *Comment. de gestis Concil. lib. 1.* makes oft use of this Oration.

17. In the same Council Lewis, Cardinal of Arelatenfis, did maintain these positions: More credit is to be given unto a private Presbyter, if he have better warrant of Scripture or reason, than unto a Pope or whole Council: Councils have erred, and have been corrected, and contented to be directed by a Presbyter; as the most famous Council of Nice, was by Athanasius, when he was a Presbyter: Councils consist not only of Bishops, but of Presbyters also; for in the Council of Chalcedon are said to have been 600. Priests, which is a name common to Bishops and Presbyters: and in other Councils they speak neither of Bishops nor Priests, but of Fathers, which is also a common name: And the power of the keys is given unto the whole Church, in Bishops and Presbyters; and now, according to the testimony of Hierom, Bishops are above Presbyters, by custom rather than by constitution; for even Paul calleth Presbyters Bishops, in his Epistle to Titus: These that are called Bishops, stand in awe of Kings for their worldly wealth, more than of God for their souls; whereas the multitude of Presbyters here present despise the world, and their life, for the love of the truth. He insisteth much on this point, because Antonius Panormitan would not give a decisive voice unto the Priests, *En. Sylvius ibid.*

18. Paul Episc. Burgenfis and Spanish Orator (whom *En. Sylvius* calleth *Decus Prælatorum*) held in that Council, that a Council is above the Pope; and when it is lawfully assembled, even without his consent, he hath not power to dissolve, discharge or adjourn it. This he proves by the Law of God and of Man; at last he useth an argument from natural reason and testimony of Aristotle; and said, In all well established Kingdoms, that is chiefly looked unto, that the Kingdom may do more than the King; if it be contrary wise, it is not a Kingdom, but a Tyranny: It is so with the Church, she should have more power than the Pope. Whereupon *Sylvius* writes more fully, saying; The Pope is in the Church, as a King in his Kingdom; but it is absurd that a King hath more power than all his Kingdom; therefore the Pope should not have more power than the Church. But as sometimes Kings, for their evil administration and Tyranny, are excluded from the whole Kingdom; so, without doubt, the Roman Pope may be deposed by the Church; that

that is, by a general Council. In this matter I make no account of them, who give so large Power unto Kings, as if they were tied unto no Laws; those are but flatterers, and prattle otherwise then they think: For although it be said, Moderation is always in the Prince; that is to be understood, when there is reason to decline from the words of the Law. He is a King who watcheth over, and procureth the common good; who delighteth in the prosperity of the Subjects; and who, in all things he doth, aimeth at the welfare of his people: and if he do not so, he may be called not a King, but a Tyrant, looking only unto his own interest If we see a King despising Laws, robbing his Subjects, deflowering Virgins, and doing all things at his pleasure; will not the Peers of the Land convene, put him away, and advance another, who shall swear to rule by Laws? So reason and experience do teach. The same should be in the Church, that is, in the Council; and so it is manifest, that the Pope is subject unto the Council, saith *Sylvius*.

19. A Greek Abbot had a Sermon at that Council; and began thus, Lo, Souldiers cast away the works of darkness. There he rebuketh the Clergy, that they had lost their spiritual armor; and he exhorteth the Fathers to Re-form the Clergy, or else the Church will perish, *Catal. test. ver.*

20. James de Guitrod, a Carthusian, lived about the year 1440. among other Books, he wrote *De septem statibus Ecclesie in Apocalypsi descriptis*. There he accuseth the Pope and his Court, that they do continually hinder the Reformation of the Church; and that they do alwaies tremble at the naming of a Council. He wrote another Book, *De errorib. Christianorum modernis*; where he noteth not onely the vices of People and Clergy, but their Idolatry; their Pilgrimages and gadding to Images; their Miracles feigned for avarice. He saith, Christian Religion is in derision with Infidels, because of so many impieties and vanities of Christians. Men accept and love one another for their works; but God accepteth the work for the man; and therefore every man should first indeavor to be reconciled unto God, before he can hope that his works can be accepted. In another Book, *De causis & remediis passionum*, he rebuketh the pride of Prelates; and saith plainly, They have the place of Antichrist, and not of Christ; and their pride is the pride of Lucifer.

21. John Gochius, Priest of Mechlin, then avouched, that the writings of Albertus, Thomas, and other Sophists, taken from the muddy channels of Philosophy, do more obscure then enlighten the truth; they fight against the Canonical truth, and against themselves; they smell of the Pelagian Heresie. The Scriptures should be followed; and all other writings should be examined by them, even the Decrees of Popes and Councils: Monkish vows are not profitable unto godliness, and are contrary unto Christian liberty: Works are not satisfactory unto God's justice; but we are justified through the only mercy of God, by faith in Christ, and not by our deservings: Sin remaineth in the godly, but is not imputed unto them, and is forgiven for Christ. He refuteth them who do mince sin in the godly, *Catal. test. ver. lib. 19.*

22. Nicolaus Cusanus, Bishop of Brixia, is by *Æn. Sylvius* called Hercules of Pope Eugenius; and he lamenteth that so noble a head had strayed into the schismatical side. This Cardinal Cusan, in his Books *De Concordantia Catholica*, which he directed unto the Council at Basil, maintaineth these positions: All the promises which Christ spoke unto Peter, as, *I will give thee the keys; I have prayed for thee*; and such other things, should be understood of the Church universally, and not particularly of Peter or his Successors; especially since many Popes have been Schismaticks and Hereticks:

Every Prelate hath place in the Church, according to the Dignity of his Seat; and so the Bishop of Rome hath attained such precedency in the Church, as Rome had antiently among the Nations: Or if they have place according to the holiness of him which first sate there, certainly Jerusalem should have the primacy; where the great high Priest did wash his Church with his blood: And why should not Ephesus, the seat of St. John, be preferred to Alexandria, the seat of Mark? and so of the rest. The Council dependeth not upon the head thereof, but upon the consent of all the Assessors; although the Bishop of Rome were present there, he hath not more power there then a Metropolitan in his Provincial Synod. Without all controversie, a universal Council is above the Bishop of Rome; whose power is sometimes said to have been from Christ; yet in more places we finde that his primacy is from man, and dependeth on the Canons: wherefore, as he may be judged and deposed by a Council, so he cannot abrogate nor change, nor destroy the Canons of Councils. In *lib. 3. cap. 2. & ff.* by many testimonies of Antiquity, he proveth it false, that Constantine gave, or could give the Empire of the West unto the Pope. These testimonies are extracted and subjoynd to the Declamation of *Laur. Valla in Fascic. rer. expetend.* I here also Cusanus saith, Neither is it true, that the Pope gave it unto Charls, or transferred it from the Greeks unto the Germans; and it is most false, that the Princes Electors were instituted by the Pope; and that they discharge the office of Election in his name. In the contrary, The Emperor dependeth on God alone; and it is not necessary that he be confirmed by the Pope; nor may the Pope depose him. The Emperors, in old time, called the General Councils; as other Princes have taken care of Provincial Synods. When he was Legate in Germany, he hindred and discharged the carrying of the Sacrament in their Processions, *Crantz in Metrop.* He addeth, Because the Sacrament was ordained for use, and not for ostentation.

23. In the year 1442. the Emperor Frederick had a Diet at Mentz; where they spoke of casting off the Pope's yoke in time of the schism: But in the time of Pope Nicolaus, this Neutrality was taken away by the mediation of *En. Sylvius*; and therefore he got a red hat. Nevertheless, because the conditions that he had made, in name of the Pope, were not fulfilled, the Germans assembled again; and by advice of Diether Bishop of Mentz, they would provide for themselves, according to the *Pragmatica Sanctio* against the tyranny of the Roman Church; and they agree upon Decrees concerning the election of Prelates; the collation of Benefices; the pleading of causes; the granting of pardons; the exactions of tenths, &c. And if the Pope shall discern against them, they resolve to provide for themselves by an appellation.

24. Martin Meyer, Chancellor unto this Diether, wrote an Epistle unto Cardinal *En. Sylvius*; and complaineth, in his Master's name, that the Canons of Constance and Basil were not observed; that Calixtus, as if he were not tied to the covenant of his Predecessors, did oppress Germany; he contemneth the election of their Prelates; and reserveth their Benefices, of all sorts, unto his Cardinals and Secretaries; expectative graces are given without number; Annates, or mid-fruits, are exacted rigorously; yea, more is extorted then is owed; the Government of Churches is not given unto them which deserve best, but who payeth most; new Indulgences are sent daily for squeezing money a thousand means are devised, whereby the See of Rome draweth gold from us, as if we were witless Barbarians Our Princes, being awakened, have resolved and decreed to cast off this bondage, and to defend their former liberty. In the end he congratulateth

his late advancement, and lamenteth that so many evils hapned in his time: But (saith he) God will have it otherwise, and his decree must have place. By these words, Meyer giveth to understand more then he speaketh. This Epistle is printed with Sylvius his description of Germany.

25. The Greeks wrote unto the Bohemians in this manner: The holy Church of Constantinople, and Mother of all Orthodox Believers, unto all the Masters, and each of the famous Brethren, and Sons beloved in Jesus Christ, in Bohemia, salvation by the Son of the glorious Virgin, and an hundred-fold increase of spiritual fruit. The holy Church of the heavenly Bridegroom, which is the Head of the whole Church, hath not greater pleasure, then that she heareth that her Sons walk in the truth; therefore when, not without most great pleasure, and as it were a pledge of common fruit, the fertility and growth of them, who courageously suffer persecution for the testimony of true faith, came unto the ears of the same godly and bountiful Mother, especially by a Brother and Son, Constantinus Anglicus, the bearer of these presents, and a reverend Priest, we were more plainly advertised, that ye hearken not unto the novelties that are brought by some into the Church of Christ, but that ye are constant in the foundation of faith, which was given unto us by our Lord and his Disciples: The holy Church hath incontinently written unto you, and intended to exhort you into concord with her; and not according to the forged union of Florence, which was separate from the true and lawful Council; which union should rather be called a diremption from the truth; for which cause we received not that union, but altogether refused it, and according to the immoveable decree of truth, wherein only we can be truly and safely united; for the Church of Christ doubteth not of these things, which she heard reported of you, as is said: Seeing therefore you have judged it expedient, to contravene the perilous novations of Rome, ye shall be of one mind with this Church, by means of the Holy Scriptures, which is the true Judge. For although no good report of you came unto us before, that ye did not resist the Roman novelties; but rather were enemies to the ancient traditions of the Catholick and Christian Church; yet now we are informed more surely, that ye are revived and returned unto the common religion of Christians, and unto true godliness, and that you leave not your Mother; but being zealous, with true love, of your true Mother, have a singular desire to promote and enlarge her; which we understood by the coming of this devout Priest, (as we have said) who hath declared unto us particularly the estate of your affairs; he hath given unto our holy Mother his godly and acceptable confession, and hath received the Doctrine of the true Faith from her, wherein all men should agree, who desire to be saved, which also we will declare unto your charity. Wherefore beloved Brethren and Sons, if it be so, as we believe and trust, hasten the unity together with us; for where can ye be more zealous against tempters, then in the bosom of the true Church, and under the shield of true salvation? and where can ye better refresh your selves, then where the fountain of the water of life is open? All therefore who are thirsty, come unto the waters; come, buy the wine of sober joy without money; and receive milk from the teats of her comfort: we trust then, that in all things ye agree with us; wherefore from henceforth, with singular care and love, we will provide unto you spiritual Pastors, which shall have care of your souls, and feed you with the word of truth, and example of life, and shall not afflict you. Moreover, concerning the Rites of the Church, we will graciously yield unto you, with the Apostle, in these, whatsoever have a good ground, and a pure intention; the granting of which may tend to your edification, and

*A Letter
from Greece
unto the Bo-
hemians.*

shall not be contrary to the honor of this our holy and true Mother, and her communion and obedience; for verily we intend to dispense and deal with good will and discretion, in the difference of Customs and Rites. The Almighty God grant, that we may hear as we have heard, that many others have likewise received the spirit of true life to the increase and multiplying of the beloved Children of the true Mother; and cause you, together with us, to rejoice in the house of the Church, with the same Professions and Rites; yea that we may praise him with heart and mouth forever and ever: Amen. Given at Constantinople, *January 18. An. 1451. Rer. Bohem. antiqui Scriptor. pag. 235. Edit. Hannover, An. 1602.*

26. George Pogiobratz, King of Bohemia, was a good Warriour, and did not fear the threats of the Pope and Emperour; and he restored the ruined estate of the Kingdom. Vratislavia and Silesia refused to obey him, because he was an Heretick, as *Cochlaus* speaks *Hist. Huff. lib. 12.* But Pius the II. then intending Wars against the Turk, did by all means perswade them to yeeld obedience; and the King did require the Pope, to keep the Compaſts of Baſil in favours of the Bohemians. The Pope refused to grant so much. Wherefore the King called the Estates together, and protested before them, that he would live and die in that faith which they did profess, and so did the Nobles, *An. 1462. Cochl. ibid.* Pope Paul gave that Kingdom unto Matthias, King of Hungary: and when he was busie against the Turks, and had recovered several Towns, and had entred into Thracia with good success, Rodulph the Pope's Legate drew him back from the Turks, to invade the Christians in Bohemia; but God protected them against him, although he had the aid of the Pope; and the Vratislavians and some Cities did accept him; yea God defended that Kingdom so, that when George died, *An. 1471.* and the Pope had stiled Matthias King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Estates of Bohemia would not accept him, even howbeit he had married the daughter of George before the Wars, but hated him for his unnatural usurpation; and did chuse Ladislaus the son of Casimire, King of Poland: And the two sons of Pogiobratz prevailed in Wars against Matthias, and the Emperour made them both Dukes. This was so offensive unto Matthias, that he proclaimed Wars against the Emperour; but he was taken away by death, *Pet. Mexia.*

27. Stephen Brulifer, a Doctor of Sorbone and a Franciscan, taught in his lessons, and maintained in disputes, that neither the Pope nor Council nor Church, can make any Article or Statute to bind the conscience of a Christian; that all their authority consists in the urging of obedience unto God's word, in preaching it; and administering the Sacraments which he hath instituted, so that they bring nothing without his command; he called justification by merits, a Divellish doctrine, since the Lamb of God was sacrificed, and hath satisfied God's justice for us. The Doctors of Sorbone would not suffer him amongst them. But he went to Diether, Bishop of Mentz, which had been deposed for speaking against the avarice of Rome, and was restored. *Fascic. rer. exper. fol. 164.*

28. John de Wesalia, a Preacher of Worms, was delated by the Thomists unto the same Diether; he gathered his books, and sent them unto the Universities of Colein and Heidleburg, to be examined. They convened this John before them at Mentz, in *February An. 1479.* After they had viewed his books, they found these Articles, which they called errors: 1. All men are saved freely, by the meer grace of Christ, through faith. 2. We should beleeve the Word of God only, and not the glosses of any man. 3. God hath, from all eternity, written in a book all his Elect; whosoever is not written

ten there, shall never be written in it; and whosoever is written in it, shall never be blotted out. 4. Our Doctours do expound the Scriptures wickedly and falsely. 5. Christ never appointed a Fasting nor Festival day; neither forbad to eat any meat upon any day. 6. When Peter did celebrate the Eucharist, he said the Lord's Prayer, and the consecration, and then did communicate with others; but now the Priest must stand an hour and more when he saith Mass. 7. They are fools who go in Pilgrimage to Rome, for they may find as much good elsewhere. 8. The Word of God should be expounded, by conferring one Text with another. 9. Prelates have no authority to expound Scriptures, by any peculiar right given unto one more than to another. 10. Mens traditions, as Fasts, Feasts, Pardons, set Praiers, Pilgrimages, and such other things are to be rejected. 11. Extream unction, confirmation, auricular confession, and satisfaction are to be contemned. They demanded of him several questions; as, Whether Christ was present bodily in the Sacrament, or spiritually? He answered, Christ's body was there present, and the substance of Bread and Wine remain also. 2. What he thought of the Procession of the Holy Ghost? *Ans.* He beleevd not that he proceeds from the Father and the Son, as from one *principium*, because the Scripture speaks not so. 3. What he thought of the Vicar of Christ? *Ans.* He beleevd not that Christ hath a Vicar; for he said, *Behold I am with you unto the end of the world.* 4. What he thought of pardons? *Ans.* He had written a book, wherein he had shewed, that the Treasure of the Church cannot be distributed by Popes; because it is written *Revel. 14. Their works follow them.* After these interrogatories, and others of that sort, three Doctors were appointed to deal with him privately: He said unto them, As ye deal with me, if Christ were here, you would condemn him as an Heretick; but he would overcome you. After all this, so feeble was he in mind, that he made a recantation. *Orthæ. Grat. in Fascic. rer. expetend.* His condemnation did not please Mr. John de Keiserbergh, nor Mr. Engelin de Brunswick, two learned and upright men: especially Engelin said, They had dealt too precipitately with such a man, and many of his Articles may be sustained; and that his accusation had proceeded only from the envy of the Thomists. *Ibid. ex Examine Magistrati Iohannis de Vesalia.*

29. Dominicus, Bishop of Brixia, writ unto Pope Pius the II. a Treatise with this Title, *Reformatio Curie Romanæ*; he toucheth the malady softly, but truth appears; for he saith, If we consider the antient Popes, and their Acts, so that we follow the evil in them, and then we compare the reverend Cardinals, Bishops and Prelates, and of other degrees with them, surely we will weep with Jeremiah, *Lamen. 4.* Alas! how is the gold obscured! the good colour thereof is changed; the stones of the Sanctuary are scattered in the streets; that is, the Prelates in the broad ways, which lead unto destruction, as Gregory expoundeth. *Item*, This Reformation belongeth unto the Pope especially, who, as the head of others, should procure it, and set his minde on it; but he who will reform others, must look unto himself and unto his family; for the life of the Pastor is an example and precedent unto others; and when the head is sick, the members cannot be well.

30. Sigismund Duke of Austria, could not indure the insolency of Pius the II. his Legate; therefore Pius did excommunicate him. By advice of Gregory Heimburch, a Doctor of the Civil and Canon Laws, Sigismund appealeth unto a Council; and sent his appellation to be published at Rome. Pius understanding that Heimburch was the Author of this appellation, excommunicated him also: And because he dwelt at Nuremburch, and was Advocate for that City, Pius wrote unto the Burgrave and the Senate an

Epistle, where he calleth this form of appellation, a new heresie, and a divellish inspiration, because they, with scoffs of appellation, do appeal unto a thing which is not: He sheweth, that he had excommunicated Hemburg for Treason and Heresie; and he commanded to banish him, and to etcheat all his movables and immovables, and to proceed against him as an Heretick. Hemburg appealed from this Sentence also, unto a future Council; nevertheless he was forced to remove from that City, and went to Bohemia, untill Diether Bishop of Mentz was vexed by the Pope, and sent for him. In the appellation of Sigismund, he sheweth the equity of his cause, and the iniquity of the curse; he appealeth not unto the Pope being ill advised, unto him being better advised; but unto his Successour or unto a general Council, that shall be assembled according to the Decrees of Constance and Basil; and these failing, unto Jesus Christ. In his own appellation he mentioneth the same, and he sitteth the Bull or Letters that were sent unto the Senate. Pius had said, It is a vain thing to appeal unto a thing which is not, and which cannot be above the Pope. He answered, The Council was above Peter; and as it may be appealed unto the See Apostolical, when it vaketh; so it may be appealed unto a future Council. . . . He dare call me an Heretick, because I say, The Council of Christendom is above a Pope; and I say he is an Heretick who maintaineth the contrary. Pius had said, A Council is no where. He answered, The Pope hindreth; no hindrance is on my part, &c. Theodor Faltrius writ, in the name of Pius, against Hemburg, and he answered by *Apologia contra detractones & blasphemias Theodor.* In another Treatise *De Primatu Papæ*, which was Printed at Basil, An. 1555. he calleth Rome Babylon and the Whore; and he maintaineth that the Primacy of the Pope hath no ground in Scripture, nor the writings of the Antients; but is by usurpation only, without the institution of Christ, contrary to the good of the Church, and an intolerable tyranny; and he exhorteth every man to depart from Rome, as they are commanded in the Revelation; and to this effect he hath a comparison of Christ and the Pope, to prove that the Pope is the Antichrist: He accuseth the Teachers, that for fear or hope they dare not contradict the Pope's errors; and by their silence, do confirm his usurped power. In the end he saith, These many years it hath been more safe to doubt and dispute of the power of God, than of the power of the Pope; for men, being drunk with the Wine of this Whore, do expound the Holy Scriptures flatteringly; and wrest them all, to confirm her errors: And because Emperours and Princes, either for ignorance or not reading, or because they are mis-carried with earthly pleasures, do not see this, they are brought into this bondage, to beleieve, as an Article of their faith, that the Pope cannot err, and may do on earth as he pleaseth; and no man may say unto him, What doest thou? And the Pope may command the Angels. *Catal. test. verit.*

31. France was not better pleased with Pope Pius; he sent unto Lewis the XI. saying; If thou be an obedient Son, why maintainest thou the Pragmatical Sanction? Eugenius did admonish thee to forsake it, because it is not according to God: So did Nicolaus and Callistus tell thee, it is a cause of many evils and discords in the Church; and hitherto, thou wouldest never hear the voice of the Church. The King was a little moved by these Letters; but the Parliament of Paris shewed unto him the utilities of the Sanction, namely, if it be abolished four inconveniences shall ensue: 1. The confusion of all order in the Church. 2. The impoverishing of the Subjects. 3. The whole Kingdom shall be emptied of money. 4. The subversion of all the Churches; and they give instances at length. This Commonefaction was divided into

into 89. Articles, by John Cardinal Atrebaten. and is extant among the works of P. Pithæus, saith *P. Morn. in Myster.* But Lewis was perswaded, by the Pope's Letters, to annul the Sanction; yet the King's Attorney, and many Bishops would not consent; and the University did resist the Pope's Proctor, and appealed unto the next General Council. They observed many inconveniences, following upon the annulling of the Sanction, within the space of four years: The Parliament did present these inconveniences unto Charls the VIII. with a new complaint against the abolishing of the Sanction; as may be seen in *Ph. Morn. in Myster. pag. 387.* And Pope Leo the X. in the Lateran Council *sess. 10.* in his Bull, which beginneth *Primitiva*, shews, that the Prelates and Clergy of France, would not obey the King's dissolution of the Sanction, nor give ear unto the admonitions of five Popes, and had cleaved fast unto the Sanction.

32. Antonius de Rosellis was a famous Reader of the Laws at that time, and writ severall Treatises against the Popes. The Authors of *Index Expurgatorius* (as it is published by Junius) have ordained to blot out of his book *De potestate Imperatoris & Papæ*, these words, out of the chapter *Plus videtur*; The Emperour hath, from God, such secular dominion, and bodily correction, over all men, that even Clerks, in respect of Secular things, are subject unto the Emperour. Here they blot away the word bodily. Out of *ca. Ne prolixius, num. 5.* It is Heretical to say, that the universal administration of secular things, belongeth or may belong unto the Pope. *Ex fol. 10. col. 3.* they blot away, The Pope hath not power to Elect, Crown or Consecrate the Emperour, in respect of his Papacy from Christ, but by Commission granted by the Emperours; and this Commission may be revoked. *Ex fol. 16. sect. Et ad primum*, they blot away, The goods of the Church of Rome, which the Pope possleth by the gift of Constantine, do belong in property and possession unto her, but in respect of the jurisdiction or right of the Emperour; the Pope hath the use thereof in place of the Emperours, and the Emperours confirm this, by Oath, at their Coronation; but their Oath being personal, tieth not their Successours; and so they may (I wish they would) refuse that Oath, and return unto the direct Dominion or Imperial right in temporal and civil things.

33. Roderic Sanchio a Spaniard, Bishop of Zamora, and *Referendarius* of Paul the II. in *Speculo vite humane*, saith, The Pope maketh not account of wisdom nor laudable study, nor of peace and quietness in the Christian Commonwealth, but only of earthly things; Prelates neither preach, nor are able to teach, but are very ignorant, given to the belly and venery; and lay heavy burthens on mens shoulders, which themselves will not touch with their fingers; to wit, the Precepts of Canons and Decrees, Censures and Punishments; so many snares, Excommunications, and many such things which were not known unto the primitive Church, or were voluntary. And in the same Book he saith, The Papacy is not instituted for a Human but Divine Princedom; not to rule over men only, but over Angels; not to judge the living, but the dead also; not on the Earth only, but in Heaven; not to command the Beleevers, but the Unbeleevers also. There he applieth, unto the Pope, the passages of the Psalms and Prophets, which are spoken of Christ; and he exalteth the Pope above flammering Moses, and his brother Aaron. *Behold hot and cold from the same mouth.*

34. Dominicus Calderinus, in the daies of Pope Nicolaus the V. would not go unto the Mafs; when he was instantly pressed by his friends, to go with them; he said, Let us go unto the common errors. *Buxtorf. ad An. 1472.*

35. Andrew Bishop of Carnia, did complain of the corrupt estate of the Church, both in manners and Doctrine; and did shew unto the Emperour, and Princes of the Empire, and some Universities, that Reformation could not be attained without a Council. Many did approve his intention; to Basil was designed to assemble there, and thither he went. When Pope Sixtus heard of it, he sent Angelus a Bishop of Suecia unto Basil, with a mandate unto the Senate, to deliver the before named Andrew bond unto him; under pain of his curse, and to account them all accursed, who concur with him in that purpose. The Senate answered, That they could not cast a Bishop into chains, which was not condemned. The Legate excommunicated the City, and returned to Rome. Then the Pope sent Jodocus, Bishop of Sedan, unto the Emperour; and perswaded him to send unto Basil a command, to keep the Bishop of Carnia untill farther advice; and in the mean time the City was absolved. Within few moneths Andrew was hanged. Henricus Iustitoris, another Bishop, writ against this Andrew; and saith, that after private and brotherly admonitions, he had published a book, accusing the Pope both in manners and faith. *Catal. test. verit. lib. 19.*

36. Wesselus Gantsfort was a Master in the University of Paris; and for his free speaking and writing, was forced to return into his native Countrey Groning; then he lived in the Monastery of St. Agnes hill by Swol, where he taught many young men, and had correspondence with sundry learned men. In an Epistle unto a certain Dean, he saith, The Indulgentiaries themselves confess, that there is nothing mentioned concerning these Indulgences in the Scripture nor in the Fathers; and even the late Fathers, before Albert and Thomas, did speak against the Indulgences, when they were but lately begun; Gerson also and Antoninus were not satisfied in that matter; and the Parisianes did openly rebuke the unadvisedness of Clemens the VI. He sheweth there, that when he was at Rome, in the time of Pope Paul the II. he had disputed with learned men concerning the Indulgences; and that a certain Master, having been lately at Paris, did report, that he had heard a dispute of that subject, and all the Auditors were more confused, and none did return wiser: And a Cubicular of the Pope hearing this report, said, That is no new thing. As for his judgement, he saith, Concerning the punishment of souls, I do ingeniously think, until I be better informed, that when sin is forgiven, the punishment is also forgiven; nor is any man tied unto punishment, which is freed from the sin. And out of Lombard he alledgeth a testimony of Ambrose, He only can forgive sin, who only died for sin. And another of Augustine, If God cover sin, he will not take notice of it any more; and if he take no notice of it, he will not punish it, because he hath forgiven it. He addeth, The holy Ghost hath by Peter described the one and only solid Bull of Indulgence, by which an entrance into the Kingdom of God is ministred abundantly; saying, *Add unto your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge and if ye do these things, an entrance shall be ministred abundantly, &c.* In another Epistle unto the Dean of Utrecht, I am informed by my friends, that when the Inquisitor hath done with the cause of Vefalia, he will come next unto me; I do not fear in the cause, but I must suffer trouble, reproaches and calumnies, especially of some Doctors of Colein, whose hatred and envy I do well enough understand by thy danger; for I speak by experience. &c. Whence it is manifest, that at that time many did not speak so openly as they would, because they did fear to strive against the stream. In an Epistle to Egilbert he writes; This is a sure rule of Divinity, Believers should not maintain what is not contained in the rule of faith: But by no passage of Scripture can they shew, that

that when sin is forgiven, the judgement of the punishment is committed unto the Pope's will; for how can they be covered, when they are still imputed? and how are they not imputed, when they are punished? hath God forgiven, to the end the Pope may punish? And where will ye establish this determined will of Christ, that one and the same work of Indulgence shall have vertue sometimes for six years, sometimes for seven, sometimes for seven hundred, sometimes for seven thousand, and sometimes full and absolute. Then answering unto that position, The Church is ruled by the Spirit of God; he saith, It is true, in so far as the Church is holy, but not in these particulars whereof she is ignorant, and in which she erreth; alas! we lament that she erreth grievously, as appears by the unfavoury salt, the delated Husband-man, and the unfaithfull Steward, whom Bernard expoundeth to be Mercenaries in place of Shepheards, yea and Wolves for hirelings, and Devils for Wolves. In his Book *De subditis & superioribus* he averreth, That the Pope may err; and when he erreth he should be resisted: Pius the II. did usurp all the Kingdoms of the earth; and Sixtus the IV. dispensed with all manner of oaths in causes temporal, not only that were already made, but that shall be made; which is nothing else, but to give unto men licence to forswear themselves, and deceive others: Because the Pope and his Cardinals are contrary unto Christ, they are the Antichrist. John Ostendorp, a Canon of St. Levin in Daventry, went once to visit him; and Weselius said unto him, O diligent youth, thou shalt live until that time, when the doctrine of these late Divines, and contentious School-men, shall be forsaken. Weselius died in the year 1490. and Ostendorp lived until the year 1520. Gerhard Gelderhavrius writeth, that he heard his Master Ostendorp report this Prophesie. Ja. Triglandius, in his Church History against Utenboga, par. 3. writeth of him, that when Pope Sixtus the IV. was chosen, Weselius went to visit him, because he had been his good friend in Paris: The Pope bade him ask what he would, and it should not be denied unto him. He answered, I wish, that since now you are universal Pope, you would demean your self in your office according to your name, that in due time you may hear that approbation, *Come thou good and faithful Servant, enter into thy Master's joy*. The Pope said, Why seekest thou not somewhat for thy self? He said, I crave no more but an Hebrew and Greek Bible out of the Vatican. The Pope answered, That you shall have; but fool, thou mightest have sought a Bishoprick, or some such thing. Weselius answered, Because I have not need of so great things. When he died, some Friars burnt all his books and papers; but he had given sundry books unto others, which were collected and printed at Wittemberg, in the year 1522. When Luther saw them, he spake of the Prophet Elias, who thought that he was left alone, and yet the Lord had preserved seven thousand that had not bowed the knee to Baal; so (said he) hath God preserved many thousands from the Idolatry of the Pope. And he wrote of him as followeth; There is one Weselius come forth, whom they call Basilus, a Frislander of Groning, a man of wonderful understanding, and of an excellent spirit, who hath been taught of God, as Isaiah hath prophesied of Christians; for it cannot be thought or said, that he hath learned such things from men, as neither I have: If I had read those books before, mine enemies might have said, Luther hath taken all this out of Weselius, we do so agree. But by these my joy and courage increaseth, and I doubt not but I have learned the truth, since he and I do agree in so constant unity, and almost in the same words, although differing in place and time, and occasions. And I admire by what mishap it is come, that so Christian works were not published by another.

37. Among the lights of that time Rodolph Agricola may justly be reckoned; he was born in Friseland. Ph. Melancthon, writing his life, saith, Josquin Groningenensis had reported unto him, that when he was young, he heard Vesselus and Agricola often lamenting in their Sermons the darkness of the Church; the abuses of the Mass; the single life of Priests; and that they both taught, that men are not justified by works, but by faith, as Paul oft teacheth; and they condemned the multitude of traditions. He died *An. 1489. Buxtorf. Ind.*

38. Paul Scriptor teaching on Scotus in Tubing, when he came to the fourth Book, *Dist. 10.* did speak against transubstantiation; and said, All things should be tried by the Word of God, as a true touch-stone; all Scholastical teaching shall shortly be abolished, and the doctrine of the primitive Church shall be restored, according to the holy Scriptures. Conradine Pellicanus was his Auditor, and testifieth that he heard him reprove many errors and abuses of the Roman Church; therefore the Minorites caused him to be banished; and as Rud. Gualter, in his Epistle before his Homiles on Matthew testifieth, he was put to death, as many did suspect, being not moved with uncertain conjectures. He died at Keiserberg in the year 1499.

39. Nicolaus Rus, a Batchelor of Divinity, preached at Rome, and wrote, The Pope hath not such power as is commonly believed; the Pope should not be heard when he strayeth from the Scripture; his Indulgences are but fraud; those only are true pardons, which God giveth of his free grace in Christ; Saints should not be adored, and far less their bones; they who are called the Spirituality, to wit, the Roman Clergy, have packed up all Religion in men's traditions and vain superstitions, and they are careless of their office, and are Ministers of Antichrist: These things are written in his *Threefold Cord*; where he expoundeth the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments; which he wrote in the Saxon Language, that the common people might understand; he left Rome, and abode there, and had many Auditors. The Pastors of the Waldenses in Bohemia came and visited him: At last he was forced to flee into Liveland, where he died.

40. Jerome Savonarola, a Dominican in Florence, taught these Articles: 1. Men are justified freely by faith. 2. The Communion should be administered in both kinds. 3. The Pope's Indulgences are frivolous. 4. The keys were given unto the Church, and not to Peter alone. 5. The Pope hath not from Christ any primacy above other Bishops. 6. The Pope followeth neither the life nor doctrine of Christ, and therefore he is the Antichrist. 7. He who feareth the Pope's excommunication, is excommunicated of God. 8. He preached against the vices of the Clergy. *10. Fox in Act. & Mon.* Philip Cominaus did confer with him; and testifieth, that he was a man of most upright life. He foretold that God would raise up a King to punish the Tyrants of Italy; and that God would shortly reform the Church; therefore some did hate him; and some believed him; namely, the Senate of Florence was persuaded by his preaching, to give way unto Charls the VIII. King of France. When the league was made in Italy against the French, he foretold that Charls should return in safety of his person, maugre all the power of his adversaries. Charls, returning from Naples, sent for this Jerome; who told him to his face, that God had hitherto convoyed him; but because he had not reformed the Church, as he should have done, and had not hindered his Soldiers from violence and rapine, he should shortly suffer damage; but if yet he would repent, and punish his Subjects according to their demerits, and would tenderly help the oppressed, God would shew mercy upon him. *Ph. Comin. de bello Neapol. lib. 3.* He said also, Charls shall come back into

into Italy, and perform the work that God had appointed unto him, or then most grievous plagues were hanging over his head; and he writ the same unto King Charls; and advertised him, that if he return not to amend his omissions, his Son shall die shortly, and himself shall not live long after him. The Florentines did expect his returning, and would not partake in the league against France; and others contemned the man as an Heretick, and worthy to be cast into the river; but he was so revered, that none attempted any thing against him, even although the Pope and Duke of Millain had by Letters dealt earnestly with the Florentines to put him to death; and on that condition, they promised to restore unto Florence the Towns that were taken from them. Charls would not return into Italy, but intended to reform the Realm and Church of France. Then (as it was foretold) his Son died, and himself was smitten with an apoplexy; he recovered a little, and called upon God, and Mary, and the Saints Claudius and Blasius; and within nine hours he died. After that the adversaries of Savonorola stirred up the people against him, and vexed him grievously; and slew his dearest companion, Francis Valoris. When the Pope heard of this, he sent a Legate unto Florence, and gave them liberty to judge him: So he was examined with tortures (saith *Guicciardin. Hist. lib. 3.*) for speaking against the Clergy and Court of Rome. Upon this examination, a Process was published to this purpose; That he was not moved thereunto out of any evil intent; but this one thing he only requested, that a General Council might be called, whereby the corrupt manners of the Clergy might be reformed, and the degenerate estate of the Church (so far as was possible) might be reduced to that that was in time of the Apostles, or those that were nearest unto them; and if he could bring so profitable a work to effect, he would think it a greater glory, then to obtain the Popedom it self. So Savonorola, and Silvester a Dominican, and Dominicus de Pisis a Franciscan, (which took part with him) were burnt in the year 1499. *Ph. Comin. lib. 5.*

41. Tileman Spangerberg (the Father of John Spangerberg) said unto his Sons and Neighbors; This Religion shall shortly be despised; and ye shall see the Priests and Monks cast out of the Churches and Cloisters contemptibly for their wickedness, especially for their avarice and filthiness; and ye will see a reformation of the Church; for God will not suffer the abominable vices of these men, since they teach not a word of the Gospel, and their conversation is worse then heathenish. And he said unto some Canons, ye are called spiritual men, and should teach the people, but ye do far otherwise; ye do what ye should hinder others from doing; ye are authors of wars, who should exhort others unto peace; ye should save mens souls, and ye destroy both souls and bodies. At that time the Bishop of Hildisheim had wars with the Duke of Brunswick. He died in the year 1499. *Catalog. test. verit. lib. 19.*

42. Santes Pagnine, a Dominican of Luca, deserveth to be remembred; at that time he Translated the Old Testament out of the Hebrew; and left the old Latine Translation in many places, cleaving unto the Original. In his *Theaurus*; or Hebrew Dictionary, he not only cleareth the signification of the words, but declareth many dark sentences, by conferring them with parallel texts; and out of the Commentaries of the Rabbines.

43. We have heard, that from time to time the Empire of the Turks Of the
Turks. hath waxed through dissension of Christians, and that it was seldom or little hindred by them. After the death of mighty Tamerlane, in January 1402. the Turks did prevail powerfully, until the year 1460. when the valiant Scanderberg, of the Countrey of old Achilles, stayed their usurpation some

years. We touched before how Constantinople was lost in the year 1453. it is lamentable to hear or read the merciless cruelties of these Infidels against the Citizens, without respect of sex or age; as they are written by the Greeks. The Emperour Constantine died in the crowd, as they were flying out; the enemy cut off his head, and carried it, on a spear, through their Camps in token of their Triumph; so did they with a Cross, crying, Here is the God of the Christians. So from time to time the Church hath little rest on Earth; partly being vexed by Heathenish Emperours, partly by the proud Popes, and partly by the cruel Turks. These have been the three capital enemies of the Church, whose malice hath been so great against God's people, and it is hard to judge which of them hath exceeded in cruelty; but for number and continuance of mischiefs, the Turk surmounteth the others, even so far, that neither can a History be so perfect, nor Writers so diligent; and far less can this Compend express their manifold cruelties. But for a general view, consider what Dominions, how many Countries, Kingdoms and Provinces they have taken from Christians. The yearly Revenues of their Emperour, are reckoned 8000000, or eight millions of golden crowns; whereof two millions is laid up in treasure, and the rest is for the entertainment of his family and servants. *Cumin. Ventura in Theoro. polit. Laon. Chalcocondylas* an Athenian, *de reb. Turc. l. b. 8.* hath his Revenues in this manner; his Tribute out of Europe is 90. *Myriades aureor. flaterum*; of which no Turk paieth a penny, for it is not lawfull that a Turk pay tribute. Mahumet the II. did first exact the Tithe of handy-work, which the Governors of Towns must bring up, and that is given to the Janizaries; the flocks of Sheep pay a Tribute unto the Janizars also: Moreover thirty millions of golden crowns, is gathered from and for Horse, Mules, Camels and Oxen through Europe and Asia. He sheweth other particulars, and in the end he gives the sum 400. millions; besides 20. millions, which the Governors and Dukes must pay yearly, in the Spring, by way of gift; and the Revenues of Princes, Dukes and Timarati, are valued to nine hundred millions; all paid by Christians, at that time. The bounds of the Turks are from Dalmatia, on the East-side of the Venetian Gulf, unto Thracia the space of 1500. Italian miles; and from the Euxine Sea unto Nilus; and from thence unto the Strait; and in Asia Eastward unto Persia. In Europe, the Princes of Transilvania, Bodogamia and Valachia are his Tributaries; and he hath all the Provinces on both sides of the Danube, near unto Frioli in Italy; and on the North he marcheth with Poland and Muscovy. In Affrick his ditions are (for the most part) barren, except most fertile Ægypt. This Empire is now governed by twenty Bassaws; of which three are in Europe, the most potent is in Greece, another in Hungary, and the third in Temisnara; in Asia are thirteen, three in Affrick, and one in Cyprus. *Cumin. Ventura in Relatio. de Vrbe Constantinop.* Wheresoever they prevailed, they either slue all the inhabitants, or led them away in such misery, that they lived so that death had been more tolerable. *Bathol. Georgueviz* lived amongst them the space of 13. years, about the year 1540. and returning writ a book *Deploratio Christianorum*, which was printed at Wittemberg, *An. 1560.* there he saith, If any man had foreknown that calamity, they would rather have chosen to have died a thousand times; if in any place death be mixed with life, or if life be prolonged, that men may be long a dying, it is under the Turks, the bondage in Ægypt the captivity in Assyria, and exile in Babylon, are light in comparison of this most grievous oppression; for whether Christians do submit unto them, or not, it is all one if these prevail; as in their promises is no fidelity, so is no mercy in their victory; they kill all the Nobility, and scarcely spare any of the Clergy; they throw down all the Churches, or turn them to their blasphemous

phemous superstition; leaving unto Christians old Chappels, which when they decay it is permitted to rebuild for a great sum of money; neither are Christians permitted to have any audible sign of assembling, but only as it were by stealth to exercise their religion; neither may a Christian bear Office in any Province or City, nor carry a weapon; if any blasphemy be spoken against Christ, or contumely against a Christian, he must hold his peace; but if thou speak against their Mahumet, the punishment is fire; or if against their religion, thou shalt be circumcized. If a Christian, on horseback, do meet a Turkish Priest, he must come down, and with low courtesie salute the Priest. Every Christian now must pay the fourth part of all his increase, as well of their Corns and Bestial, as of their handy-work; and every Master of a family, payeth a ducate yearly for every person of his family; if the Parents have it not to pay, they must sell their children; and others are compelled to beg it, or they are condemned to perpetual prison; and still it is free unto the Turk to take the most handsom of the Christian children, and circumcize and bring them in their Cloisters, to be Seminaries of his Janizaries or guard, and of his Souldiers, so that they hear not of Christ nor Parents; yet many of these Janizaries carry under their arm-pits a New-Testament in Greek or Arabick. From amongst the fairest of the Christian daughters, the great Turks hath his Wives and Concubines, and it is religion unto them to do otherwise: So that by custom or contempt of the old Turkish blood, the present Emperours and Janizaries and Bassaws, are descended of the Christians. Both the Christians and the Janizaries, in these Provinces, do heartily wish the revenging Sword of Christians to deliver them from their wofull thraldom; and the Turks stand in fear of it, because of such a prophesie amongst them. *Georgiev. de afflictione Christianor.* The multitude of the Turks are base minded, being debilitate of all learning; for their Laws forbid Schools, and they live in it by Pasturage. *Euphorm. in Icon. animor. cap. 9.* This brief glance of the power and tyranny of the Turks, is usefull for understanding some passages of the Scriptures, as also to move others unto compassion and prayers for the Christians, whose troubles we know not; and to make us the more thankful for our tranquillity and liberty, and more patiently to bear sickness, a little penury, or if it were banishment for Christ's sake, &c. which light things many do impatiently undergo, because they know not the heavy crosses of other Christians. Yea and for cleering the justice of God, in all these heavy burthens of Christians, it may be marked out of *Nicep. Gregoras* and *Chalcocondylas* their Histories, that though these Greeks were very constant, both in the Doctrine and Rites of their Antients, yet amongst their Nobility were manifold divisions and strifes; amongst their Clergy great ambition and contention; and especially, they complain of the wretchedness of the Emperours, and the infinite Taxes which they exacted of the people; so that many did (even before the loss of Constantinople) chuse to live under the Turks; and the rather, because at that time the Turks dealt fairly, with the Christians that would come and dwell in their Towns, and proffered them liberties; and it was upon occasion of these grievances, that some Greeks came into Italy and Germany, in the beginning of that Century.

1. **W**Hilest King Richard was living in prison, Henry the IV. was Crowned King of England. *An. 2. chap. 3.* he ordained, that if any person should obtain, from the Bishop of Rome, any provision to be exempt from obedience regular or ordinary; or to have any Office perpetual in any house of Religion, he should incur the pains of *Premunire*. And chap. 15. He gave authority unto Bishops and their Ordinaries, to imprison and fine all Subjects who refuse the Oath *ex Officio*. Here by the way I add, that in the Parliament of King James, *An. 1610. Stat. 1.* it is said, Whereas the Temporal Sword was never in the Prelates power, untill the 2. of Henry the IV. and then usurped by them without consent of the Commons (for say, They were truly Ecclesiastical, yet it is against the Laws of God, and of the Land, that they should meddle with civil jurisdiction) therefore is an Act past against it, and the Oath *Ex Officio*. In the same Parliament of Henry the IV. it was ordained, that all Lollards [that is, who professed the doctrine which Wickliff had taught] should be apprehended; and if they should remain obstinate, they should be delivered to the Bishop of the Dioc, and by him unto the correction of the Secular Magistrate, to be burnt. This Act was the first, in this Island, for burning in case of Religion, and began to be put in execution the same year 1401. and Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, swore that he would not leave a slip of the Lollards in the Land. At that time did suffer William Sawtree, a Priest, William Swinderby, Richard White, William Thorp, Reinold Peacock, once Bishop of Saint Asaph, and then of Chichester. *10. Fox in Acts & Mon.* Many errors were imputed unto them maliciously; but (as *Ph. Morn. in Myster. pag. 495.* shews *ex Walsing. in Hypodeig.*) they held no other doctrine but of the Waldenses. George Abbot, *contra Hill*, in answer to the first reason, sec. 25. shews, that Pope Gregory the XII. did direct a Bull to Oxford, against the Wiclevists, and there he saith, They did follow the doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, and John of Ganduin. There he mentioneth a Provincial Council held at Oxford, and sharp inquiry decreed by the above named Thomas, against all, even the heads of Colledges and Halls, and others suspected of Lollardy. They might very well suppose (saith he) that the Students of that place were also entertainers of the aforesaid doctrine, since about that very time [in the Margine is, *Anno 1406. October the 5.*] a testimonial was given in the Congregation-House, under seal, in favor of John Wickliff, where these words are, God forbid that our Prelates should have condemned a man of such honesty for an Heretick, &c. By this testimonial it appeareth, that the fire could not consume the truth. In time of the same King Henry many propositions were published, (upon occasion of the schism between the Antipopes) arguing that the Pope should be subject unto Laws, Censures and Councils. And the King wrote unto Pope Gregory the XII. *An. 1409.* thus; Most blessed Father, if the most discreet providence of the Apostolick See would call to minde, with what perils the universal world hath been dammified hitherto under pretence of this present schism, and especially what slaughter of Christian people, to the number of 200000. (as some say) hath been thorow the world, and lately 30000. were slain for the Bishoprick of Leodium, by two Antibishops set up against one another by two Popes, certainly you would lament in spirit, and be grieved for the same; so that with good conscience you would relinquish the honour of the Apostolick See,

rather

Civil power
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elly.

rather then suffer so horrible blood-shed hereafter to insue; following the example of the true Mother, who pleading before Solomon for the right of her Childe, would rather part from the Childe, then the Childe should be parted with a sword, &c.

2. In the year 1407. James Resby was burnt at Glasgow, for saying, The Pope is not the Vicar of Christ; and, A man of wicked life should not be acknowledged for Pope. About the year 1411. was the beginning of the University of St. Andrew's, not so much for publick or private adding of revenues, as by voluntary profession of learned men. In the year 1416. the Abbot of Pontiniak was sent Legate from the Council of Constance into Scotland; and Pope Benedict sent Henry Hardin, an English Franciscan, to perswade Robert, Governor of Scotland, (in time of the captivity of King James the I. he was taken by the English when he was sailing into France) unto their adherence. The Governor consented unto Benedict; but all the Clergy received Pope Martin, and followed the authority of the Council. *Euchan.*

3. In the year 1412. the Commons of England presented a Bill, petitioning King Henry to take the temporal lands from the spiritual men, (so were the Monks named) because the temporalities were disorderly wasted by them; and might suffice to entertain unto the King 15. Earls, 1500. Knights, 6200. Esquires, 100. Alms Houses for the Poor, and 20000. *l.* to the King's Exchequer; so that every Earl shall have 3000. Marks yearly; every Knight have 100. *M.* and four plow-lands; every Esquire have 40. *M.* and two plow-lands; and each Alms-House 100. *M.* with the oversight of two secular men unto each House; all English money. Unto this Bill no answer was made. *Tho. Cooper.* In the year 1414. Thomas Arundel Bishop of Canterbury, put to death and martyrdom, in January, these persons; Sir Robert Actoun, Mr. John Brown, John Beverley, with 36. more; and in March following he was so plagued in his tongue, that some days before his death, he could neither eat nor drink, nor speak: many said, It was justly done unto him; because he had tied the truth, that it should not be preached. *M. Fox ex Tho. Gascoyn.* Unto him succeeded Henry Chicheley, who sat 25. years, and was no less an adversary against the followers of truth: As the Preachers were increased, the stricter inquisition was made; some were burnt, some fled, and some abjured. Among those that were burnt was John Claydon, a Currier in London, and Richard Turning, both in one fire at Smithfield, *An.* 1415. and 36. at Thicketfield. Here Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, deserveth peculiar remembrance for his godliness and warlike courage; about the year 1413. he was called, The Protector of the Lollards. When he was committed unto the Tower, he gave in writing unto the Arch-Bishop a confession of his faith; the Arch-Bishop read it, and said, It contained many good and Catholick points; but he must satisfy them in other heads; as, concerning Transubstantiation; the Sacrament of Penance; the worship of Images; the power of the Keys; the power of the Pope, and Roman Hierarchy. Sir John was so far from giving satisfaction in these heads, that he said plainly, The Pope is the Antichrist; the Arch-Bishop and other Prelates are the members of the Antichrist; and the Friars are his tail; and the usual determination of these other points is contrary unto Scripture, and was devised since poison was infused into the Church, and not before. For these answers, the Arch-Bishop condemned him of heresie, and ordained him to be punished: But the King loved him, and caused the execution to be delayed. In the mean time Sir John escaped out of the Tower; and then a great multitude joyned with him, trusting to be free of danger; but many, both Priests and others, were condemned to

the fire, and would not recant. *P. Morn. in Myſter. ex Waſſing.* and he ſhews *ex Io. Copgra. lib. 2. de Nobilib. Henr.* that Sir John Oldcaſtle ſaid in a Parliament, England will never be in peace, until the authority of the Pope be ſent over the Sea. He was a learned and eloquent man; and publiſhed ſundry Treatiſes againſt invocation of Saints; auricular confeſſion; the ſingle life of Priests; and other errors then waxing: Wherefore he was apprehended, and brought again to London; he was firſt hanged, as if he had been a Traitor, and then burnt as an Heretick, *An. 1417. Io. Fox* hath his ſtory at great length, in *Aſt. & Mon.* If we will believe Waſſingham, at that time there were in England 100000. perſons profeſſing the ſame doctrine. King Henry the V. writ to Pope Martin *An. 1422.* there were ſo many infected with the Heresies of Wickliſſ, that without the force of an Army they could not be ſuppreſſed. Neither yet left he off to make ſtrict Acts againſt them, under the name of Lollards, that they ſhould be puniſhed as Felons and Traitors; and ſo were they purſued: Nevertheleſs, many endured the heat of the fire for worſhipping God alone; for denying the Pope's uſurped power; for maintaining the lawfulneſs of communicating in both elements, &c. Among theſe are numbred Laurence Redman Maſter of Arts, John Aſchwarby Vicar of St. Maries in Oxford, William James, (who is called an excellently well learned young man) Thomas Brightwel, William Haulam a Civilian, Ralph Greenhurſt, &c. Among thoſe which fled, was Peter Pain, who had been a hearer of Wickliſſ, and then went into Bohemia, and was ſent unto the Council of Baſil; where he argued for partaking of both elements; and againſt the Civil Power of the Clergy. William White being examined before William Biſhop of Norwich, *An. 1428.* did hold, (as he had alſo written) that by Law Marriage was granted unto all perſons of the militant Church; but the Pope (who is the Antichriſt) and his Counſellors (which are the Clarks of Lucifer) have aboliſhed this Law, to the undoing of the Prieſthood, after the looſing of Satan, that is, after the 1000. years from the incarnation. *Anno 3.* of Henry the V. the Act was renewed againſt preſentations unto Benefices, to be purchaſed from the Pope; but under colour of prejudice to the Incumbents in going ſo far for them; but by this Act all preſentations from the Pope were annulled. *An. 1439.* under King Henry the VI. Richard Wiche was burnt; the next year Eleanor Cobham Dutcheſs of Gloceſter, was condemned to perpetual imprifonment in the Iſle of Man; and Robert only a Prieſt, was condemned to death. Philip Morice was excommunicated by Pope Eugenius, and he appealed unto the General Council.

Troubles between France and England.

4. Richard King of England, had made Truce with France for 30. years; theſe being expired, Henry the V. ſent unto Charls the VII. King of France, *An. 1415.* claiming the Crown of France. So Wars began. Henry conquered a great part of France. In the year 1419. Charls did diſ-inherit his ſon Lewis; and then the Kingdom was divided, ſome cleaving unto Lewis, who, at that time, was called King of Vierron, becauſe he lived there in Berry. Charls agreed with Henry, that Henry ſhould take to wife the daughter of Charls, and be proclaimed Regent of France, and both ſhould keep what they have; and after the death of Charls, the Crown of France ſhall remain with Henry and his heirs; and that Henry, with the Duke of Burgundy, ſhould purſue Lewis the Dolphin, as an enemy of the Common-Wealth. Theſe two Kings died in one year: Charls died firſt; and Henry (becauſe his ſon was but eight moneths old) ordained his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloceſter, to be Protector of England; and the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy Protectors of France. Theſe two had continual Wars with Lewis. Henry
the

the VI. was Crowned King of England, in the eighth year of his age; and at Paris he was Crowned King of France, in the tenth year of his age, *An.* 1431. Five years thereafter the Duke of Bedford died, and the Duke of Burgundy became an enemy to England; then all things in France, went backward from England; but no cessation of Wars untill the year 1475. when King Edward the IV. invaded France, and then Truce was made for seven years; at that time Lewis gave unto Edward 75000. crowns, and 50000. crowns yearly during the Truce. Henry the VII. renewed the old claim, *An.* 1487. Peace was made *An.* 1492. on condition, that Charls should pay presently a great sum of money, and then yearly 25000. crowns, in the name of Tribute. *Tho. Cooper.*

5. At Saint Andrews, Paul Craw was accused, *An.* 1431. for following John Wickliff and Hus; namely, for denying that the substance of the Bread and Wine is changed; or that confession is necessary to be made unto Priests; or prayers unto Saints departed. When he was condemned, they did put a Bull of Brats in his mouth; to the end he should not speak unto the people, or they should not know for what he was burnt. King James the I. then did set himself to reform the abuses that had crept into the Realm, under the Reign of Robert the III. and his own captivity in England; he made Laws against the disturbers of the common peace, and against them who ride with more men then their yearly Revenues may sustain; he punished Robbers and Rebels. He considered the Clergy, and saw that Benefices were not bestowed on learned men; but as rewards done unto the Pope or a Bishop: And he saw Monks abounding in wealth, and more mindfull of their bellies than of books; and the Churches served by some begging Friars, which were hired by the Titulars to preach now and then; and the Beneficed men did never see their Parishes, unless it were to crave their Tithes. When the King did publicly rebuke such enormities, the Bishops answered, and the Friars preached, Church-men should be left unto the Pope, and to God, neither are they obliged to answer unto any prophane Magistrate. When he could not amend the present possessours, he would provide for the time to come: At Saint Andrews he founded some schools, to be Seminaries of all Estates; and to the end the Schools should be had in the greater estimation, he honoured the Masters with competent maintenance, and their meetings and disputes with his Royal presence. He gave strict command, that the Masters should recommend unto him the most diligent and worthiest Disciples, on whom he might bestow the vaking Benefices; and he had alwaies by him a role of the recommended Students. Likewise he turbed the Monasteries; and said, King David (who erected so many Monasteries) was a good Saint to the Church, but an ill Saint to the Crown, *Buchan. lib.* 10. With consent of all the Estates he made an Act, that all the Subjects should be ruled by the King's Laws only: In Parliam. 3. and if any did fly or appeal from the King's judgment, he should be accounted a Rebel, and punished accordingly. In Parliam. 8. James Kennedy, Bishop of Saint Andrews, was then exemplary; he caused all Parsons and Vicars to dwell at their Parish Churches, for preaching the Word of God unto their people, and to visit them especially in time of sickness. He indeavoured to visit all the Parishes within his Diocy four times in the year; and inquired in every Parish, if they were duly instructed by their Parson or Vicar, and if the Sacraments were duly administered; if the poor were helped, and the young ones instructed in the grounds of Religion. Where he found not this order observed, he punished the Delinquents severely; to the end God's glory might shine throughout his Diocy. *Ex M. S. histor. in Biblioth. Edimb.*

*A glimpse of
Reformation.*

6. James the III. King of Scotland, ordained by Act of Parliament, *An.* 1466. that no Commenda, old or new, should have place within the Realm; and that none shall purchase nor accept any Commenda, under pain of rebellion, otherwise then for the space of six moneths: And that no Pension, new or old, of any Benefice, Secular or Religious, be sought nor accepted from any person without or within the Realm, under the same pain. James the III. Parlia. 1. Hence we may guess at the abuses of Commendaes, and Pensions out of Benefices, as certainly complaints have been made at that time against them. Here, by the way, the Reader may inquire what a Commenda is? and how it began? This we may learn from *P. Soave in Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 2 & 5.* In ancient times, by frequent incursion of enemies, or in time of Pestilence, it came to pass, that when the Teachers died, Successors could not be had in a short space; and lest the People should be destitute of a Spiritual Ruler, the chief Prelates of the Province, or some neighbour Bishop, did commend that Church unto some Minister, until these lets were removed, and a qualified Minister might be had; that betides the charge of his own flock, he would also help the other, as he might; and in the mean time he had no power of the Benefice, but only to preserve it: But afterwards, these Commendataries, pretending necessity and difficulty, had power to meddle with the Benefice; and then being delighted with the Benefice, they would pretend some lets why another Minister was not needful; and so they retained both Benefices, to the prejudice of both flocks. For remedy of this malady it was provided; that a Commenda should not continue above six moneths: But the Pope, by the fulness of his power, would grant it for a larger time; yea, during the Commendatarie's life; especially when Acts were made against plurality of Benefices. So they would keep the words of the Act, but do contrary unto the sense thereof; since a Commenda during life is all one with a title. Yea, not only would the Pope give one Commenda, but more, at his pleasure, and then the style was changed: For whereas at first the words were, *That the Church, in the mean time, may be rightly and orderly admonished, we do commend it unto thee;* then they said, *That thou mayest administrate thy estate and condition the more decently, we commend this Church unto thee.* And, which is yet worse, the Pope would give unto the Commendatary a power to dispose the Benefice after his death; yea, and such Commendataries were exempted from subjection unto the Bishop, and he had no power over them; whereby it came to pass, that the Roman Courtiers were desirous of no Benefices, but by way of Commenda, and not by way of Title; because upon this account they were subject, and upon the other they were absolute; without any tie of looking after the flock, nor edifices belonging thereunto, but only unto their own benefit and will. And the number of such Commendaes turned to such abuse, (saith the same Author) that when all men were calling for a Reformation, Pope Clemens the VII. in the year 1534. was not ashamed to give unto his Nephew Hippolitus Medices, a Cardinal, a Commenda of all the Benefices throughout the World, both Secular and Regular, both Dignities and Rectories, for the space of six moneths after the day of his possession, with power to dispose of all their fruits at his pleasure. By which irregularity, as wickedness may be thought to have come to the highest pinnacle, so in former ages (saith he) such a number of Commendaes was not known, when the Church of Rome durst not seem so shameful. And yet even then, to cover the plurality of Benefices, they had another trick, which in ancient time was devised for the good of the Church, *The union of Benefices.* At first, if any Church was any way robbed of its

Benefice,

Benefice, what was left, was bestowed, with the care of souls, on a neighbor, and both the Parishes were accounted one: But by the craft of Courtiers it came to pass, that without respect of souls, many rich Benefices were united; and by this means plurality of Benefices were covered, if in favors of a Cardinal 30. or 40. Benefices were united, even though in divers Nations. Whence arose many inconveniencies, because the number of Benefices was diminished; and what favor was bestowed upon one person, was also communicated unto his Successor, though not so deserving nor craving it; so that the Court and Chancellery was damnified: Therefore it was provided, that the Pope may unite so many Benefices as he thinketh expedient; yet so, that after the death of him in whose favor these are united, the union shall be null, and the Benefices shall be in their former condition; and so the Chancellery did retain their gain of disposing many Benefices. That Author speaketh thus of these Commendae and Unions generally in all parts, whereby it appeareth, that the care of souls was altogether neglected. But our History sheweth yet more abuses; for some did obtain at Rome an Abbacy and other Benefices; and had power to exact Taxes or Pensions from Prelates and Clerks; and Parsonages were annexed unto Bishopricks, or unto Abbacies: Therefore in the year 1471. an Act of Parliament was made by King James the III. that because innumerable riches were carried out of the Realm by such means, the purchase of Abbacies and other Benefices should be null, if they were never at the Court of Rome before; but such places should have free election. And that no Subject, spiritual or temporal, take upon him to be Collector unto the See of Rome of any higher or greater taxation, but as the use and custom of old was before, in the old taxation of Bagimont. And that there be no union nor annexion made in time to come to Bishopricks, Abbacies, nor Priories of any Benefice; nor that any such union made lately, nor since the present King received the Crown, be of any strength or effect, nor be suffered, but the said Benefices shall return to the first foundation; all under pain of Treason. And in the year 1481. it was provided by the same King and Estates, that no person should purchase Commission from the See of Rome to be preferred unto any Benefice vaking, even though the See of the Benefice be vacant for the time. These Acts were renewed by King James the IV. in the year 1488. with this addition; If any person, spiritual or temporal, shall maintain or defend such purchasers of Benefices, after it is declared to be of the King's patronage, shall also be guilty of Treason. But in the year 1493. it was ordained, that all Prelacies, Abbacies, Priories, and other Benefices, should be disposed as they were in the time of King James the I. and that no person attempt to purchase any Benefice from the Court of Rome, under pain of proscription and banishment. The next year an Act was made, that because still some did go to Rome for purchasing of Benefices, which may be preferred and given within the Realm, and also brought novelties and innovations into the Church, without advice of the King; for remedy hereof, no Subject shall go out of the Countrey, until the spiritual persons intimate the cause of their passing unto their Ordinary; and that spiritual and temporal persons shall shew unto the King, or his Chancellor, the cause of their passing, and obtain licence, under the pain of Treason. Conformable to this practice, Richard Cawdray Proctor, in the name of King Henry the VI. King of England, protested by publick instrument, that whereas the King and his Progenitors, time out of minde, have been possessed with special priviledges, and custom observed from time to time, that no Legate from the Apostolick See should enter into the Land, or any of the King's Dominions, without calling, petition or desire of the

*Restraint of
the Pope's
power in dis-
pensing Be-
nefices.*

King; and for as much as Richard Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal of S. Eusebie, hath presumed to enter as Legate, not being called nor desired by the King: Therefore the said Proctor, in presence of the Council of England (then in the house of the Duke of Gloucester, Lord Protector in the King's minority) did protest, that it standeth not with the King's minde, by advice of his Council, to admit or approve the coming of the said Legate in any way, or to assent to the exercise of this his Legantine Authority, either attempted or to be attempted, in this respect contrary to the foresaid Laws, and custom, &c. By these Acts it is manifest, that the usurpation of the Popes was odious unto the Nations; and that their avarice and innovations were restrained; but the Kings did not exclude them, especially in England; the persecution that was begun in the latter days of Edward the III. continued all the time of King Richard the II. and Henry the IV. and V. though not always with a like cruelty. But in Scotland their Acts had more strength; for when James Kennedy, Arch-Bishop of Saint Andrews, (who founded and perfected the most famous Colledge of Scotland, now called the Old Colledge of Saint Andrew's) died *An.* 1466. his Brother (of the same Mother) Patrick Graham, was elected by the Canons to succeed; but he could not obtain the King's consent; for the Courtiers perswaded him, that he should not admit such elections; because by such means, the greatest honors were in the power of the basest men; to wit, Canons gave Bishopricks, and Monks made Abbots and Priors; whereas (said they) all should depend on the King, that he may reward, punish and forgive, according to the service done unto him. Wherefore that Patrick went to Rome, and easily obtained from Pope Sixtus the IV. not only confirmation of the election, but likewise the Title of Arch-Bishop of Saint Andrew's; and that all the other Bishops should be subordinate unto that See; and power to be Legate for three years for preventing the dangers insuing unto the Church. Notwithstanding all this his authority, he durst not return into Scotland for five years, but abode at Rome; for he knew that the people were exclaiming against the contempt of the Laws. In the year 1472. he would adventure to return; but sent before him the Bull of his Legation. They which were advanced, or hoped for advancement by the King, did fear that this Legation would be to their prejudice; and they ceased not to shew the King, that his authority was contemned by that Bull, his Acts were annulled, and the liberties of the Realm were turned into the hands of the Romans. Then, by Act of Council, an Herald was sent unto Patrick at his landing, before he entred into any house to inhabit him, from attempting any thing in any of these Offices, untill such things as were to be laid unto his charge were examined before the King. Thereafter he was reconciled unto the King; but with expresse charge, that he attempt nothing beyond the custom of his Predecessors: Nor had any in that place so little authority; for he was excommunicated by the Rector; and then again accursed by Husman the Pope's Inquisitor; and the Arch-Deacon Sevez was placed in his Chair; and Patrick was hurried from place to place, as to a stronger prison; whether justly or unjustly, it is not certain, since the cause nor process is not made known, except that he paid not the money for his Bull of privileges. Others were so affraid at his miseries, that they attempted not to recover that priviledge of election from the power of the King; and whom the King did recommend unto the Pope, were all accepted. Hence it came to pass, that Benefices were bestowed upon unqualified men, at the pleasure and suit of Courtiers; so great corruptions followed. *Buchan. lib. 12.*

*The first
Arch Bishop
of Saint An-
drews.*

7. About the year 1465. a Carmelite preached at Paul's Cross, that Christ on earth was poor and begged. The Provincial of that Order, and others, held the same opinion. But others did inveigh bitterly against them, as teachers of pestiferous errors. The fame of this controversie went over the Alps; and Pope Paul the II. writ his Bull into England, informing his Prelates, that it is a pestiferous heresie, to affirm that Christ had publickly begged; and it was of old condemned by Popes and Councils, therefore it should now be declared as a condemned Heresie. In the year 1473. John Goose, or (as some write) John Hus was burnt on the Tower-hill, for the doctrine of the above-named Martyrs. The next year an old Matron about 90. years of age, Johan Boughton was burnt at Smith-field; and her daughter the Lady Young was in danger. *An. 1498.* a godly man at Babram in Norfolk was burnt; and in the same year and place, a Priest was burnt, whom all the Clerks of Canterbury could not remove from his faith: The next year another was burnt at Smithfield. *10. Fox in Acts & Mon.*

8. About the year 1492. Robert Blaketer went to Rome for his confirmation in the Bishoprick of Glascow; he obtained from Pope Alexander the VI. the Title of Arch-Bishop, and that three other Diocies should be subject unto him. Sevez Arch Bishop of Saint Andrews, would not acknowledge him nor his Title, because it was in prejudice of his former Title. Upon this occasion both Clergy and Nobility went into factions; at last they were reconciled, so that they both should be called Arch-Bishops; but Saint Andrews should precede. In the year 1494. by this Robert, was summoned, before the King and Council, thirty persons from Kyle and Cunningham; among these George Campbel of Celnok, Adam Reed of Barskynning, John Campbel of Newmills, Andrew Shaw of Polkennet, &c. The Articles laied unto their charge were: 1. Images should not be worshipped. 2. Nor Reliques of Saints. 3. Christ gave power unto Peter, and not to the Pope, to bind and loose. 4. The Pope is not the Successour of Peter; but where it was said unto him, *Go behind me Satan.* 5. After the Consecration bread remains, and the natural body of Christ is not there. 6. The Pope deceives the people by his Bulls and Indulgences. 7. The Mass profiteth not the souls which are said to be in Purgatory. 8. The Pope exalts himself against God, and above God. 9. Priests may have wives. 10. True Christians receive the body of Christ, every day, by faith. 10. Faith should not be given unto miracles now. 11. We should pray unto God only. 12. We are not bound to beleeve all that Doctours have written. 13. The Pope, who is called the head of the Church, is the Antichrist. They were accused upon other Articles, but such as may be thought to have been venomous accusations (for the practice of these enemies, was ever to make truth odious) or uttered obscurely, or of not so great importance. The Bishop said to Adam Reed, Reed beleevest thou that God is in Heaven? Adam answered, Not as I do the Sacraments seven. The Bishop said unto the King, Sir, lo, he denieth that God is in Heaven. The King said, Adam what saiest thou? He answered, If it please your Majesty, hear the end between the churl and me. Then turning to the Bishop, he said, I neither think nor beleeve as thou thinkest; but I am most assured that God is not only in Heaven, but also on Earth; but thou and thy faction declare, by your works, that either God is not at all, or that he is so set up in Heaven, that he regards not what is done upon the Earth; for if thou didst beleeve firmly that God is in Heaven, thou wouldest not make thy self check-mate to the King, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ gave unto his Apostles, To preach his Gospel; and not to play the proud Prelates, as all the rabble of you do now. And then he said

*The first
Arch Bishop
of Glascow,
a persecuter.*

unto the King, Sir, judge now whether the Bishop, or I, do beleieve best that God is in Heaven. The Bishop could not revenge himself as he would, and other taunts were given him: But the King, willing to put an end, said unto Adam, Wilt thou burn thy bill? He answered, Sir, The Bishop's if you will. With these and the like scoffs, the Bishop and his party were so dashed, that the greatest part of the accusations was turned into laughter, and the King would not condemn them. After that time, none was accused for religion in the space of 30. years.

CHAP. V. OF COUNCELS.

1. I Resume the narration of Councils, not for any profitable information that may be reaped from their Decrees; but rather, that the wickedness of the Popes may appear the more clearly; partly as it was condemned by these Councils, in former times; and partly as it did overrule and abuse some of them by crafty policies.

*A Council at
Pisa*

2. The Cardinals of both the Popes Gregory and Benedict left them, and assembled a Council at Pisa, *An.* 1409. The Bishop Tarracon had a Sermon on the Text, *Purge out the Leaven*, &c. He said, These two were no more Popes, then his shoes were Popes; they are worse then Anna and Caiaphas, and are like to Divels. The definitive Sentence was pronounced, that both Benedict and Gregory were Schismaticks and Hereticks, and worthy to be deposed for their horrible sins. The Acts of them both, in the preceding year, were annulled. Alexander the V. was chosen Pope, and an Epistle was written, in his name, unto the Bishop of Paris; where the other two Popes are called the enemies of God and his Church; and it is declared, that they were deposed for their notorious crimes. *Ph. Mornæ. in Myster. ex Monstrelet vol. 1. cap. 52. 53. & 57.* This Council (saith *Bellarmin. de Concil.*) was a General Council, but it seems neither to be approved nor rejected, since *Antoninus* affirmeth (*par. 3. tit. 22. cap. 5.*) that it was an unlawfull, and not a true Council; and the event proves the same, because it took not away but augmented the Schism: And yet (saith *Bellarmin.*) if it had been condemned, without all doubt, Pope Alexander the VI. had not called himself the sixth, but the fifth; [*Mark this reason.*] yea it is almost the common opinion, that Alexander, and his Successour John, were true Popes, as indeed of those three they were most revered. *So be.*

*A Council at
Rome.*

3. In the year 1410. Pope John assembled a Council at Rome; a Mass of the Holy Ghost was said after the custom. The Pope sitting in his Chair, behold an ugly and dreadfull Owl, coming from behind him, flew too and fro, with an ill-favoured shouting; and standing sometimes upon a middle beam of the Church, looked with staring eyes upon the Pope. All the people marvelled that such a night Fowl, came in the day amongst such a multitude, judging it an ominous token; for behold (said they) how the Spirit appears in the shape of an Owl! As they beheld one another, scarcely could they keep their countenances from laughter. Pope John began to sweat, and to fret within; and not finding by what means he could save the matter, he arose and went away. In another Session the Owl appeared again, and ever looked towards the Pope; he was ashamed, and commanded to drive her away; but she was not afraid of their cries, nor the things that were thrown at her, and never removed untill they killed her. They who were present did

did scoff at the Council, and went away and nothing was acted. *Nic. Clemangis in Fascic. rer. expetend.*

4. By much travel of the Emperour Sigismund, was assembled *An. 1414. at* Constance a Council of 309. Bishops, 600. other Fathers, 24. Dukes, 140. Counts many Delegates from Cities and Incorporations, and from Universities, and many learned Lawyers, with consent of Pope John. All particulars were decided by the suffrages of four Nations; to wit, German, Italian, French and English; every Nation had their several places and Presidents, who continued not constantly, but were often changed. Here were 45. Sessions, and many things concluded; the principal were these. In Sess. 1. Nov. 16. it was determined, with consent of P. John (sitting as President) that the Council was lawfully called; and the Ministers and Officials of the Council were named. In Sess. 2. *Mar. 2. An. 1215.* the Emperor being present, the Pope gave his renunciation in this manner: I John, Pope XXIV. for the quieting of all Christian people, do promise, swear and vow unto God and the Church, and this sacred Council, that I shall willingly and freely give peace unto the Church of Christ, by way of simple renunciation of the Papacy; and to do and fulfil it effectually with the advice of the present Council; if, and when Peter de Luna, Benedict the XI. and Angelus de Corario, Greg. the XII. (so called in the time of their obedience) shall by themselves, or by their lawful Proctors, forsake simply the Title which they pretend, &c. Instruments were taken thereupon. In Sess. 3. *Mar. 25.* it was ordained, that the departing of the Pope should be no hindrance, but the Council may proceed. *Item*, that the Council should not be dissolved, until the Schism be removed, and the Church be REFORMED in head and members. In Sess. 4. *March 30.* This Synod being assembled in the Holy Ghost, and representing the Catholick Church militant, hath immediate power from Christ; unto which every man shall be obedient in things concerning faith, extirpation of schism, and general reformation of the Church both in head and members. *Item*, Pope John should not withdraw any Official of the Council; and if he shall attempt to do so, or hath attempted it by censures and excommunications, none of those things shall be regarded, but are null. In Sess. 5. *Apr. 6.* was another Decree much to the same purpose. In Sess. 6. *Apr. 17.* a Procuratory of renunciation was sent to Pope John; and the Messengers were ordered to exhort him to return. *Item*, Commissioners were named, out of the four Nations to examine John Huis unto the definitive Sentence *inclusive*. *Item*, a Citation was sent to Jerom of Prague, to appear before the Council within 15. daies, 5. daies being allowed for each of three citations: And a Safe-conduct was granted, in these terms; By the tenor hereof, we give all Safe-conduct from all violence, justice being excepted, so far as in us lieth, and the Orthodox Faith requires; with certification, that whether he appear or not we will proceed against him. In Sess. 7. *May 2.* a Citation was directed against Pope John. In Sess. 8. *May 4.* the Articles against John Wickliff were read; these, and he, and his memory, were condemned; and it was ordained, that his bones should be taken up and burnt. In Sess. 9. the execution of the citation against Pope John was exhibited. In Sess. 10. *May 14.* Pope John for his notorious simony, or selling of Benefices, and because he is not only diffamed, but really defiled with other grievous crimes, and is incorrigible, is suspended from all spiritual administration; and the process is to be followed unto his deposition. In Sess. 11. *May 15.* the Articles against Pope John were read, and sent unto him; together with a citation to appear, hear, and see himself deposed in the next Session. In Sess. 12. *May 29.* the Commissioners unto Pope John made their report; and it was ordained, that if the Papal Chair should be vacant, another Pope should not be chosen without the consent of the Council. *Item*, definitive Sentence of Deposition was

pronounced against Pope John the XXIV. for his departing from the City privily in the night, and disguised in habit; and for the scandal given by him in troubling the peace and union of the Church, contrary to his promise, oath and vow unto God and the Church, and this sacred Council. *Item*, That none of these three, who in time of their obedience were called Pope John the XXIV. Benedict the XII. and Gregory the XIII. should be chosen Pope; or if they shall be chosen, their election shall be null. In Sess. 13. June 15. Although Christ did institute after Supper, and gave unto his Disciples both kinds, bread and wine, *hoc non obstante*, the Authority of holy Canons, and the approved Custom of the Church, hath kept, and keepeth, that the holy Sacrament is not given after Supper, nor taken by any not fasting, excepting the case of infirmity, or other necessity allowed by Law and the Church: And although in the primitive Church, this Sacrament was received by Believers under both kinds; yet . . . we command, under the pain of excommunication, that no Priest communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine. [This was the first time that such an Act was made in a Council.] In Sess. 14. June 24. Charls de Malatestis, Rector of Romandiola, being sent Proctor by Pope Gregory, approveth the Council, and simply renounceth his Papacy. *Item*, The Acts canonically done by Pope Gregory the XIII. before that instant, were approved, and his Cardinals were received with the song, *Te Deum laudamus*. *Item*, It was ordained, that a Pope should be chosen in manner, time and place, as the Council shall appoint. *Item*, Citation was directed against Pope Benedict. In Sess. 15. July 6. The Articles of John Hufs were read; to wit, 1. The holy Catholick Church is but one, which is the universality of the predestinated. 2. Paul was never a member of the Diuel, although he did some acts like to the acts of the malignant Church. 3. *Presciti*, or those who are foreknown, are not any part of the Church; since no part of her falleth finally, because the charity of predestination falleth not away. 4. The two natures, God-head and man-hood, are one Christ. 5. Although he who is foreknown, be in grace according to present righteousness, yet he is never a part of the holy Church; but he who is predestinated, abideth ever a member of the Church; although he fall from temporary grace, yet he never falleth from the grace of predestination. 6. Taking the Church for the company of the predestinated, whether they be in grace, or not according to present righteousness, after that manner is an Article of the Faith. 7. Peter was not, nor is the head of the Catholick Church. 8. Priests living criminously, defile the power of Priest-hood; and, as unfaithful Children, they think amiss of the seven Sacraments, of the Keys, Offices, Censures, Manners, Rites, worshipping Reliques, Indulgences and Orders. 9. The Papal power hath flowed from Cæsar. 10. None, without revelation, can reasonably say of himself, or of any other, that he is the head of a particular Church; neither is the Priest of Rome the head of that Church. 11. We should not believe, that who is particular high Priest of Rome, is the head of any particular Church, unless God hath predestinated him. 12. None hath the place of Christ, or of Peter, unless he follow them in manners. 13. The Pope is not the true Successor of Peter; and if he follow avarice, he is the Vicar of Judas Iscariot; and the Cardinals are not the Successors of the Colledge of the Apostles, unless they follow their manners, and keep the commands of Christ. 14. Doctors holding, that one worthy of Ecclesiastical censure, if he will not amend, should be given unto Secular power; assuredly in this they follow the high

Priests.

Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, in delivering Christ unto Pilate, because he would not follow them in all things; and they were worse murderers then Pilate. 15. Ecclesiastical obedience is an human invention, and contrary to the expresse authority of Scripture. 16. Mens works are either vicious or godly; for if a man be vicious, his works are vicious; and if he be vertuous, his works are vertuous: for as mortal sin infecteth all the actions of a vicious man, so vertue quickneth all the actions of a vertuous man. 17. A Priest of Christ, living according to his Law, and having knowledge of the Scriptures, and affection to edifie people, should preach, notwithstanding any pretended excommunication. 18. Who, by command, accepteth the Office of a Preacher, and cometh to the Office of Priest-hood, should also execute that Office notwithstanding any pretended excommunication. 19. By Church censures of excommunication, suspension and interdiction, the Clergy, for their own exaltation, supplant the Lay people, multiply avarice, protect malice, and prepare a way unto Antichrist; it is an evident token, that such censures proceed from Antichrist; that by such censures (which they call fulminations) they proceed especially against them who discover the wickedness of Antichrist; and he will principally maintain himself by the Clergy. 20. If the Pope be an evil man, especially if he be *præfatus*, then, as the Apostle Judas, he is a Divil, a Thief and Son of perdition; nor is he the Head of the holy militant Church, since he is not a member thereof. 21. The grace of predestination, is the bond wherewith the Church of Christ, and every member thereof, is united unto Christ the Head insolubly. 22. A Pope or Prelate being wicked or *præfatus*, is equivocally a Pastor, and truly a Thief and Robber. 23. A Pope should not be called most holy, no not in respect of his Office; for then a King may be called most holy; yea, an Hang-man may be called holy; yea, the Divil may be called holy, for he is the Officer of God. 24. If a Pope live contrary unto Christ, although he be chosen lawfully, according to the institution of men, yet he entereth otherwise then by Christ, even although he enter by election prescribed by God; for Judas was lawfully chosen by Christ unto the Apostleship, and yet he went the wrong way into the sheep-fold. 25. The condemnation of the forty five Articles of John Wickliff, made by the Doctors, is unreasonable and unjust; and a feigned cause is alledged by them, to wit, none of them is Catholick. 26. Whether one be chosen lawfully or unlawfully, we should believe the works of the elected; for in so far as he worketh unto the edification of the Church, so far hath he authority from God. 27. There is no appearance that there should be an head governing the Church in spiritual things, who should always remain with the militant Church. 28. Christ can rule his Church better without these monstrous heads; to wit, by his Apostles and true Disciples, who are spread through the World. 29. The Apostles and faithful Priests of the Lord did diligently rule the Church, in things necessary unto salvation, before the Office of a Pope was known; and so might they until the day of judgement, although there were not a Pope. 30. None is a Civil Lord, none is a Prelate, none is a Bishop, so long as he is in mortal sin. These Articles were condemned, partly as notoriously heretical, and rejected by the holy Fathers, partly as scandalous and offensive unto pious ears, partly erroneous, and partly as timerarious and seditious. Then the condemnatory Sentence of John Hufs was read: The Deputies of the four Nations, and the President the Cardinal of Ostia, and the Emperor, cried, *Placet.* Item, This assertion, any Tyrant may and should be killed meritoriously by

any of his Subjects, either by privy plots or glozing flattery; notwithstanding any covenant or oath of fidelity, and not waiting the sentence of any Judge: This assertion was condemned as heretical, scandalous, and strewing a way unto perjuries, lies, falshood and treasons. In Sess. 16. July 11. Commissioners were sent into Arragon, to deal with Benedict for renouncing his Title. *Item*, None may go from the Council, without licence granted by the Presidents of the four Nations; under pain of deprivation. In Sess. 17. July 15. The Emperour undertook to go into Arragon, to deal with Pope Benedict; and excommunication was denounced against every hinderer of his journey. *Item*, Prayers and Processions should be made, in Constance every Sunday, for his happy success; with pardon for a hundred daies, to all such as should be present at the Processions; and all Prelates should be present in their Pontificals; granting also unto every Priest who should say a Mass, for the same success, another hundred daies indulgence; and to every person saying devoutly a *Pater noster*, and an *Ave Maria*, for the Emperour's safety, a pardon of forty daies, after the wonted manner in the Church. In Sess. 18. August 17. Two Judges were deputed to hear causes and grievances, that were to be presented unto the Council, untill the definitive Sentence *exclusivè*. *Item*, As great faith and obedience should be given unto the Acts of the Council, as to the Bulls Apostolical. In Sess. 19. September 23. Jerom of Prague (who had been accused, imprisoned, and constrained to abjure) read his recantation; forsaking all those articles that were called the heresies of Wickliff and Hufs, and consenting unto the Roman Church, and the present Council; especially, in the Articles concerning the power of the Keys, Sacraments, Orders, Offices, Censures and Indulgences, Reliques, Liberty of the Church, and all other things belonging unto Religion; and he consented unto the condemnations and the Sentences pronounced against Wickliff and Hufs. *Item*, Notwithstanding any Safe-conduct given, or to be given, by Emperours, Kings or others, inquisition may be made against an Heretick, or any suspected of heresie; and process may be made according to Law, even although such a person would not have come without such a Safe-conduct. [This is indeed, *Nulla fides servanda hereticis*.] In Sess. 20. November 21. Frederick Duke of Austria was summoned, under pain of excommunication, and forfeiting of all his Lands that he held of the Pope or Emperour, to render the Cities, Castles, and Lands that he had taken from George Bishop of Trent. January 20. *An.* 1416. in a general Congregation, appeared the Commissioners who had been sent unto Pope Benedict; and they presented twelve Articles, penned and consented unto at Narbon, December 13. between the Emperour and King of Hungary, and the Commissioners of the Councils, on the one part; and the Kings and Princes following Pope Benedict, on the other part, for union of the Church; to wit, That a new Process should be intended against Pope Benedict; and in case of contumacy, he should be Canonically deposed; and a Pope should be chosen by the Council, whom they all should acknowledge as only and lawfull Pope. In another general Congregation February 4. these Articles were approved and subscribed by the fathers of the Council, and by the Embassadors and Proctors of the Kings of England, Scotland, Cyprus, Navar, Norway, of the Dukes of Burgundy, Britain, Savoy, Austria, Holland, Zealand, &c. and by the Proctors of Bishops, Generals of Orders, Priors, &c. In Sess. 21. May 30. James, Bishop of Lauda, made a Sermon, and Jerom of Prague stood up in a high seat; and craving and having obtained audience, he professed that he had wickedly consented unto

the condemnation of Wickliff and Hufs; that he had lied in approving that Sentence; and he revoketh now and for ever, his consent thereunto; affirming that he had never found any heresie or error in the books of Wickliff nor Hufs; although he had said so before, &c. Wherefore he was presently condemned; and indured the fire constantly. In Sess. 22. October 15. The Ambassadors of Arragon were accepted into the Council. In Sess. 23. November 5. Commission was given unto certain Deputies to go into Arragon, and there to examine Witnesses in the cause of Pope Benedict, who will not renounce. In Sess. 24. November 28. Citation was directed against Pope Benedict. In Sess. 25. December 14. The Church Glomucen, in Bohemia, was given in Commenda unto the Bishop Lutomisten, for a certain space. In Sess. 26. December 24. The order of Ambassadors from Princes in this Council, shall not prejudice their right hereafter. In Sess. 27 and 28. The above named Frederick was accused and accursed. In Sess. 29. March 8. 1417. Peter de Luna, *alias* Pope Benedict the XIII. was convicted of obstinacy. In Sess. 30. March 10. The withdrawing of the King of Arragon from obedience unto Peter de Luna was approved. In Sess. 31. Was an Act in favor of the Bishop Bajonen. In Sess. 32. April 1. Peter de Luna was convicted of contumacy; and it was ordained to make process against him, until deposition *exclusive*; to this effect some were deputed to hear witnesses in his cause. In Sess. 33. May 12. (Sigismund now being present) The depositions of the witnesses were published; and Peter de Luna was summoned to object (if he could) against them, and against the instruments and executions. In Sess. 34. June 5. The process was heard and approved; and further deliberation is to be had. In Sess. 35. June 18. Voices were granted in the Council unto the Ambassadors of the King of Castile; and his denying of obedience unto the said Peter was approved. In Sess. 36. July 22. All censures pronounced by Pope Benedict, against whatsoever person, since November 9. *An. 1415.* were declared null. In Sess. 37. July 26. Peter de Luna was deposed *simpliciter* from Papacy, as a Schismatick, Heretick, perjured and disobedient; and all men were forbidden to obey him as a Pope, under pain of excommunication, and all that may follow thereupon. In Sess. 38. July 28. All censures against the Ambassadors of Castile, since April 1. *An. 1415.* were annulled. In Sess. 39. October 9. For removing and preventing schisms in all time coming, it was ordained, that General Councils should be assembled; the first to begin within five years after this present; the second to begin after seven years from the other; and thenceforth one to be assembled every tenth year, in the places which the high Priest shall name, with consent of every Council, within a moneth before the dissolution of each Council; or in his absence, every Council shall name the place of the ensuing Council: And the Pope, with consent of the Cardinals, may abbreviate the time, but no way adjourn it, nor change the place being once named, as is said. *Item*, Articles were penned, which the Pope should professe, and binde himself to observe, at the time of the election; of which this is the tenour: In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, *Amen.* In the year of our Lord..... I N. elected to be Pope, professe with heart and mouth unto the Almighty God, whose Church I undertake to govern by his aid, and unto blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, during this my frail life, to believe firmly the holy and Catholick Faith, after the tradition of the Apostles, of the General Councils, and other holy Fathers; namely, of the eight first Generall Councils, to wit, of Nice, of Constantinople, of Ephesus, of Chalcedon,

don, the second and third at Constantinople, of Nice, and of Constantinople, and of the General Councils at Lateran, Lyons and Vien; and to preserve them to the uttermost; to confirm, defend and preach the same to the spending of my life and blood; and by all means possible, to prosecute and observe the Rites of the Sacraments, canonically delivered unto the Catholick Church. And this my profession and confession, written at my command by the Notary. I have subscribed with my hand; and I offer it sincerely, with a pure minde and devout conscience, unto thee, the Almighty God, on the Altar. . . . in presence of these Witnesses. at

Item, It was enacted, that no Prelate should be transported, against his will, without weighty and reasonable cause; which cause, the party being cited, shall be decided by the Cardinals of the Church, or the most part of them. In Sess. 40. October 30. Before this Council shall be dissolved, Reformation shall be made by the Pope, who is to be chosen, and by the Council, after these Articles that are propounded by the Council: 1. The number, quality and Nation of the Cardinals. 2. Of reservations unto the Apostolical See. 3. Of Annates. 4. Of collation of Benefices, and *gratius expectatuvus*, or avoufances. 5. Of appellation to the Roman Court. 6. What causes are to be treated at Rome, or not. 7. For what causes, and how a Pope should be corrected and deposed. 8. The extirpation of Simony. 9. Of dispensations. 10. Of Indulgences. 11. Of the provision of the Pope and his Cardinals. 12. Of Commendaes. 13. Of Tithes. *Item*, In this Sess. 41. November 8. Order was prescribed concerning the election of the Pope at this time: So Odo de Columna was chosen, as is above. In all these Sessions John Cardinal of Ostia was President, and sate in *Pontificalibus*; but thenceforth Martin possessed the Chair, and the Decrees were framed in his name; yet so, that the Cardinal of Ostia, in name of the Council, subjoynd *Placet*; and one Ardecinus, in name of the Emperor, did the like; as is expressed in Sess. 44. In Sess. 42. December 8. A Bull was read, discharging the Emperor and the Count Palatine of their bond for sure keeping of Pope John, who then was to be delivered unto Pope Martin. In Sess. 43. March 21. *An.* 1418. All exemptions of Churches, Monasteries, Convents, Priories, and other Benefices that have been purchased after the death of Pope Gregory the XI. are declared null. *Item*, All unions and incorporations made since that time: All fruits of Churches, Monasteries, and Benefices in time of vacancy, should not be given unto the Pope nor his Exchequer, but are to be left according to antient Law or Custom: All simoniack ordinations, confirmations, and provisions of Churches, Monasteries, Dignities, and Benefices already made, or that shall be made, are declared null: All dispensations of Benefices of Cure, that are granted in favour of whatsoever person, and are not conformable to the constitution of Boniface the VIII. that is, that any person should enjoy the Benefice, and not able to discharge the Office, such dispensations are null. *Item*, No Nation should be tied to pay the Tithe of Church-revenues unto the Pope, without the consent and subscription of the Cardinals, or most part of them, and without the consent of the Prelates of that Nation. *Item*, Priests are forbidden to conform themselves in their habits unto Secular Courts, and a certain habit is prescribed unto them. All this Winter the Emperor did press the reformation of the Clergy, according to the Decree of Session 39. When the Cardinals and Bishops said, *Incipimus à Minoritis*; Sigismund said, *Imo à Majoritis*, meaning the Pope and Cardinals; Wherefore the Pope made haste to bring the Council to an end.

In Sess. 44. April 9. was much debate for the place of the next Council; at last Pavia was named. In Sess. 45. April 22. Cardinal Umbald stepped up, without consent, especially of the Emperour (saith *Platin*. in Martin the V.) and cried, *Domini, ite in pace*. In the mean time came the Embassadors of Vladislaus, King of Poland; and of Vitold Duke of Lituania, craving, in the name of their Masters, that a Book written by a Frier John Falkenbergh, containing notorious errors and heresies, may be examined by the Council, or Commissioners of the Nations; or else they protest *de injuria*, and they appeal unto the next General Council. Pope Martin answered, saying, I will inviolably observe, and no way violate, whatsoever hath been done *Concilhariter* in this Council; and these I do ratifie and approve, and no otherwise. Then Cardinal Antonius proclaimed liberty of departing unto every one; and in the name of the Almighty God, and of his Apostles Peter and Paul, and of Pope Martin the V. he gave unto every one, there present, a full remission of all their sins once in their lives; if that every one, within two moneths after the knowledge hereof, shall seek the Indulgence in *forma*, &c. Here the Cardinal of Ostia said, *Placet*; and Augustine de Lance, in the name of the Pope, said *Placet*; and so it is written; but no mention of Sigismund's *Placet*, because the Council was dismissed against his will.

5. According to the Decree at Constance, Pope Martin sent his Legates to Pavia, *An. 1424.* to open the Council; few Bishops came thither; and the Pest beginning, the Council, with common consent, was removed to Sena; more Prelates came there. Alfonso King of Arragon, intending to purchase the Kingdom of Sicily, fought by all means, chiefly by giving gold (saith *Platina*) to procure the adjourning of the Council, and to restore Pope Benedict the XIII. But Pope Martin disappointed him by dissolving the Council; and nothing was done, but only the next Council was appointed to be at Basil, *An. 1431.*

6. The Council at Basil was began, *December 14. An. 1431.* by the Legate Julian, Cardinal of Sancti Angeli; by Commission granted first by Pope Martin, and confirmed by the lately elected Pope Eugenius the IV. as it is written in Sess. 1. The Emperour Sigismund was Protector thereof (whilest he lived) sometimes by his Deputy William Duke of Bavier, as appeareth in Sess. 7. and sometimes personally, as in Sess. 14. In Sess. 1. they propounded their main purposes: 1. The extirpation of Heresie; namely, of the Bohemians. 2. The quenching of the Wars in Christendom. 3. Because the Vineyard of Christ is overspread, and as it were laid waste with huge numbers of Thistles, and Weeds of Vices; that these may now be pulled up; and the Church [*Mark this, ye who say that the Roman Church hath never erred.*] may flourish again, and bring forth the fruit of honesty. But the particulars that were treated in it, may be reduced to four chief heads; to wit, concerning the Bohemians, the Greeks, the authority of General Councils above the Pope, and the Reformation of the Church. So omitting the order of time and Sessions, for the clearer and more compendious method, I will shew what was done in those. 1. In Sess. 4. the Bohemians were summoned to appear, and a Safe-conduct was sent unto them. Three hundred of them, some Civilians, and some Ministers came, and disputed upon these four Articles. 1. All who would be saved, should receive the Communion under both kinds. 2. All civil government is by the Law of God, forbidden unto the Clergy. 3. The Preaching of the Word is free unto all men (having once received Ordination) and free in any place.

The Council
at Basil.

En. Sylvius hath not this parenthesis; and the Epistle of the Bohemians (directed unto all the faithfull, in the year 1431.) saith, *Per eos quorum interest.* 4. Open crimes and scandals should not be suffered, no, nor for avoiding greater evil. The Deputies were ordered, by their Commission, to debate these Articles, and no other; and they would admit no argument grounded upon any Authority, except of the Scripture alone. Therefore the Fathers of the Council, charged Cardinal Cusanus to fight them in their own field; and he was not ashamed to say, The Scriptures belong to the well of the Church, and not to the essence or necessity thereof, either in the beginning or continuance: And, The Gospel is known by the Church; but not the Church by the Gospel. The Bohemians replied, Such was not the mind nor voice of the Primitive Church, which did administrate the Eucharist, and expound the Scriptures otherwise then they do now. Cusan answered, Let not this move you, that at divers times the Rites of the Sacraments be divers; or that the Scriptures are applied unto the times, or understood diversly; so that at one time they are expounded according to the universally current Rite; and when the Rite is changed, the sense is also changed.... because when the sentence of the Church is changed, divine judgement is changed. The dispute continued fifty daies; in the end the Council approved the last three Articles in some sense: And in Sess. 13. they granted that the first was according to Christ's institution; but, say they, the Church hath otherwise ordained and practised, for weighty causes: Nevertheless, they would grant this unto the Bohemians and Moravians; not as the bill of divorcement was granted unto the Jews, but as lawfull by the authority of Christ Jesus, and of his true Spouse the Church; and as healthfull and profitable unto them who receive worthily. *Io. Cochleus* and *Garranza* have omitted this dispute and conclusion; but they are written by *En. Sylvius* and his Epitomizer *Orth. Gratus in Fascic. rer. expetend. fol. 96.* Then Anno 1438. the Bohemians did supplicate, that by allowance of the Council, they might have the Divine Service; namely, the Gospel, and the Epistles, and the Creed, read unto the people in the vulgar language, as it had been in that Kingdom, by long custom and permission of the Church: And that the Fathers, there present, would be carefull of the Reformation of the Church, both in head and members, as it is most necessary for Christian Religion; and hath been of a long time withheld by all godly souls, and as they themselves had propounded from the beginning. *Orth. Gratus* saith, Many things were advised and conceived, but had many obstructions, the enemy of mankind procuring so: Nevertheless the Bohemians failed not in their hopes, neither would they fail in their indeavours. 2. The second head was concerning the Greeks, in hearing their Embassadors (whose golden Bull was dated in the year of the World, 6944. *indict.* 14. *An. Ch. D. N.* 1435. *November 26.*) and sending Legates unto Constantinople; they gave a Safe-conduct, and for the place of their meeting, the Greeks propounded, that if the Latines would go unto Constantinople, the Clergy of the East would assemble upon their own charges; but if the Latines will have the Greeks coming into the West, their coming should be upon the expences of the Latines; and the place of their assembly should be Basil, or Avenion, or Sabaudia at the option of the Greeks. When they had agreed on these particulars in Sess. 24. and 25. with consent of Pope Eugenius; afterwards he drew the Greeks from the Council, as follows. 3. The third head was of the Authority of General Councils: As in the Council at Constance, so here in Session 2. After long

long debate of the Prelates and Divines, it was decreed by ninety Fathers thus; This Synod, being lawfully assembled in the holy Ghost, and being a General Council, representing the militant Church, hath power immediately from Christ, unto which every one, of whatsoever estate or dignity, although Papal, should obey in such things as concern Faith, and extirpation of Schism, and general Reformation of God's Church in the head and members. *Item*, It declareth, that whosoever, of whatsoever estate or dignity, although Papal, shall contumaciously refuse to obey the Commands, Statutes, Ordinances, or Precepts of this holy Synod, or of whatsoever other General Council lawfully assembled, in the premises, or things belonging thereunto, unless he repent, should be subject unto condign penance, and be duly punished. Pope Eugenius was offended at these Acts; therefore he sought to divide the Fathers; then to intrench their liberty; and lastly, to remove the Council to Bologna; pretending his own infirmity, that he could not undertake so long a journey, though the Council require his presence; nor is there hope of Reforming the Germans; and the Greeks will not pass the Alps. The Emperour replied, The peace of the Latines should not be disturbed for any hope of peace with the Greeks; and so many Nations had condescended unto the Council at Basil; and will account him as an Author of Schism, if he practice in the contrary. Nevertheless Eugenius, by his Bull, dissolved the Council; and summoned the President, and all the Fathers, unto Bologna, under pain of his curse. On the other side, in Session 3. *An.* 1432. April 29. they renew the two former Decrees; and decern, that Eugenius can no way dissolve the Council, because that were contrary unto the Decrees of Constance, and tendeth to the grievous danger of the Faith, and the disturbance of the Church, and scandal of all Christian people. And they sent John, a Doctor of Divinity, unto the Pope, and the Cardinals with him, humbly entreating, obtesting and admonishing him and them to revoke the published dissolution, and to assist and aid the Council with his and their presence, unless they have a Canonical reason of absence; and if not, threatening him and them, that they will proceed according to order of Law against each of them. At that time Sigismund assembled a Diet of the Germans; and invited other Nations to send their Ambassadors, for preventing the schism; and the Councell sent their Commissioners thither. It was concluded there, That the Council should continue at Basil, and the Decrees thereof be received by all. Then Eugenius, considering his own difficulties, that the Emperour, with the Germans, and the Kings of France and Hungary, were for the Council, and that he had not peace at Rome, (for he was at variance with the Columnenses for the treasury of Pope Martin) he sent his Bull, revoking the dissolution, and confirming all that was done in the Council, Session 16. February 5. *An.* 1434. And his Cardinals were received into the Council, April 24. After the death of Sigismund, Eugenius would again take away the Council; and summoned the Fathers to appear before him at Ferraria. But in Session 26. July 31. *An.* 1437. they wrote a large libel of Eugenius his crimes; to wit, his simoniacal presentations, unjust dilapidations of Church-revenues, perjuries, scandalous attempts, &c. and they charge him to appear before them within sixty days, with certification, that whether he appear or not, they will proceed against him, by cognoscing and determining, as the Synod by aid of the Holy Ghost, shall judge expedient for the Church of God. And when the President Julian received Letters

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from Eugenius to discharge the Council, he returned his contrary reasons; especially the Bohemians may boast and say, Is not here the hand of God? behold, Armies have fled so oft before us, and now the universal Church flyeth from us! behold, neither by Arms nor by Reason can we be overcome! And since the Nations expect a Reformation of the Church by this Council, if it be dissolved, they will say, that we do mock both God and man: And when there shall be no more hope of Reformation, the Laicks shall justly rush upon us, after the manner of the Hussites; and truly, there is such a publick fame; they will think that they shall offer a good sacrifice unto God, who shall spoil or kill a Clergy-man; the Clergy now are come into a gulf of miseries, and shall be odious both unto God and man: And whereas you pretend your wars, although you were to lose Rome, yet you should rather renounce all, then dissolve the Council; since the salvation of one Soul, for which Christ died, is more dear unto him then any Castle or City, or all the World, or Heaven it self; and your Office is to save Souls, if you will follow Christ; or else the ax is laid unto the root of the tree, the tree is ready to fall, and can stand no longer; whatsoever cause of delay be pretended, men say, It cannot be for good; whereas you fear, the Council will take away temporalities from the Church, this is marvellous; for that might be suspected, if the Council did not consist wholly of Churchmen: But I fear that it befall unto us as unto the Jews, who said, If we suffer this Man, the Romans will come and take away our Nation; so if we say, If we suffer the Council, the Laity will come and take away our temporalities: But as in the just judgement of God, the Romans destroyed their Nation, who would not suffer Christ to live; so it is much to be feared, lest in the same just judgement it come to pass, that because we will not suffer the Council to stand, we shall lose our temporalities; and oh, that we lose not both bodies and souls! Lastly, whereas you call the holy Council, an unlawful Assembly, it dependeth upon the Council at Constance; if that was lawful, so is this; but none doubteth of that but it was lawful; and if one will say, The Decrees thereof were not lawful, then the election of Pope Martin is not valid; and if Martin was not Pope, then neither is your Holiness, who was chosen by the Cardinals whom Martin did create. Out of the Epistle of Julian *ad Eugen. in Fascic. rer. expetend.* Nevertheless, Cardinal Julian was perswaded to forsake the Council, and went unto Eugenius. Then Lewis Cardinal Arelaten. was chosen President of the Council. And Eugenius sent abroad his Bull against the Council. The contents of that Bull will appear by the responfory Epistle of the Council, dated October 29. *An. 1437.* They shew the scope of the Council; to wit, the Reformation of the Church in head and members.... and the practises of Eugenius in the contrary; and the manifold inconveniencies of the Schism; namely, that as at Corinth one said, I am Paul's, and another, I am Apollo's; so now one saith, I am the Pope's, and another is the Council's: Of this the Pope is the cause; he will not keep unity, nor follow the example of Damasus, who would not call into doubt what a Synod had determined. As for his Epistle which he hath published unto all Believers, it containeth no amendment; for he saith, All that the Council layeth to his charge is false; whereas he might have spoken more modestly, and considered, that men will not believe his word in his own cause; for who may not write and speak as he pleaseth? But as in antient times Leo, Damasus, Sixtus, and other Popes, did in Synods purge themselves from scandals; so or far rather should Eugenius purge himself, either personally or by a Proctor, before the Synod; and

and if these things were not proved against him, his innocency should be cleared unto all men; but if they be true, they might all have been covered with due conversion and repentance; and he should have followed the example of Peter, who being rebuked by Paul to his face, as it is written to everlasting remembrance, took it in good part; and commended Paul's Epistles, wherein he knew that the same was contained; leaving an example unto his Successors, that they be not offended, when any of their co-apostles say the like unto them for their good, or the good of the Church: In their citing of him, they had no other intention, but to provide for the good of the Church in extream necessity; nothing can be more gracious unto us, (say they) or is more wished by us, then that he would govern the Church faithfully; but he should not do all things at his pleasure, contemning the Canons of holy Councils; but rather, as Peter teacheth, he should rule, and not domineer over the people, and be a pattern unto others; for the Roman Pope is a Minister, and not a Lord of the universal Church; whereas he saith, The Fathers seek to abase him, and to exalt themselves above him; can he deny, that the jurisdiction of an universal Synod is founded upon the holy Scriptures, and that who pertinaciously reject the determination of such a Synod, falleth into heresie? neither is he abased, nor is his power restrained, when he is so directed, that he tend not into destruction, but edification: Let him take heed, in the fear of God, lest while he indeavoreth to excuse lesser things, and continueth contumacious against wholesome admonitions, he fall into more grievous things: He durst say, The Fathers of the Council have continued these seven years divorced from the Vicar of Christ and Apostolical See, which is the Mother and Head of Christians; but will he condemn all the Cardinals, Patriarchs, Bishops, Emperours, Kings, Princes, and others, who personally, or by others in their names, have been present in the Council? or will he condemn the Church dispersed through the World, and say, that they are all divorced from the Mother and Head of Christians, or that they all have favoured them who are separated? By saying that the Synod is separated from him, it appeareth that he affirmeth, that he is divorced from the Synod, representing the universal Church; for when a member is disjoyned from the body, we say not, the body is separated from a member, but the part from the whole: So he is the Author of the pernicious Schism, by calling a Council to Ferrara, against the Decrees of Constance, and of this present, and against his own promise which he made unto the Greeks; but we, thanks be unto Christ, make no Schism, but follow the true unity of the Church; that both the Pope of Rome, and all others, may keep the unity of the Church, and solidity of Peter; which consisteth not in the will of one person, who may dayly er, since some Roman Popes have fallen into errors; but it rather resideth in the universal Church, which Christ, the true Head thereof, will not leave until the end, &c. Here the Emperour Albert interposeth his Authority, and held a Diet at Nurembergh, and another at Mentz; in both these were Commissioners from Basil, and from other Nations; none was there in name of the Pope, howbeit he wanted not pleaders for him. The Emperour feared, and favoured the Council; and sent Conrad of Windzberg, a courageous man, to be Protectour of the Council. In the time of that latter Diet, it was debated at Basil concerning Eugenius; some held, that he was an Heretick; some said, he was a Schismatick, and relapse; some denied both: But by the Argument of the Bishop Ebrunnensis, and of Thomas an Abbot of Galloway, the

hardest sentence prevailed, that he is both an Heretick, and relapsed into Schism. Then the Divines wrote and published eight Conclusions, which they called eight Truths; to wit, 1. It is the truth of Catholick Faith, that a Holy and General Council is above the Pope, or any other Man. 2. A General Council, being lawfully assembled, cannot be dissolved, nor removed, nor adjourned by the Roman Pope, without their own consent. 3. He who contradicted these truths is an Heretick. 4. Pope Eugenius the IV. hath fought against these truths, in attempting, by the fulness of his Apostolical Power, to dissolve or transfer this Council, &c. In Session 27. These were sent to the Diet at Mentz, and through Europe, to be advised; finally, they were debated in the Council the space of six days. *An. Sylv. de gestis Conc. Basil. lib. 1.* The Abbot Panormitan said, He would not oppose these truths; but he might say, Eugenius is not a relapse, since he hath not failed in any matter of Faith; and if he hath transgressed in his sentence of dissolving the Council, he may be excused; because he had done so by counsel of the Cardinals, who represent the Roman Church; and the Authority thereof is to be preferred unto all the World, according to a singular Gloss. John Segovius, a famous Divine of Spain, proved from Panormitan's words, that Eugenius should be called an Unbeliever, rather than a Believer; and a member of Satan, and not of Christ. As for that Gloss, he opposed the Authority of Jerome, *Orbis major est urbe.* The Bishop Argensis said, The Pope is but a Minister of the Church. Panormitan replied with chafe, The Pope is Lord of the Church. Then said Segovius, Weigh what you say Panormitan; the most honourable Title of the Pope is, The Servant of the Servants; which was taken from Christ's words, The Rulers of Nations domineer On the morrow Amadeus Arch-Bishop of Lions, and Ambassadour of France, (one amongst them all most eminent, both in piety of life, and plenty of knowledge, faith *An. Sylvius*) proved by many Reasons, that Eugenius was an Heretick; and he publicly condemned all them who had promoted him unto the Papacy. Briefly, In debating the three first Conclusions, they proved (and Sylvius reporteth their Reasons) that the promises, Upon this rock I will build and, I have prayed for thee; were made unto the Church, and not unto Peter alone, nor unto the Pope; for many Popes have erred; as Marcellin offered unto Idols; Silvester the II. did worse The Church, which is represented by the Council, is the Mother of all Believers, and therefore the Mother of the Pope; and she is so called by Anacletus and Calixtus. The Church is the Spouse of Christ, and the Pope is but his Vicar; now the Vicar cannot be superiour unto the Spouse, but rather obedient unto her. *Sylvius lib. cit.* The result of the Diets was, that in respect of the person and place of Eugenius, the Council should be intreated to surcease from process against him. After great concertation, an Act was past in the great Congregation, May 16. concluding the first three Truths: And unto that Request they published their Answer, January 17. *An. 1438.* The sum is; Because Pope Eugenius will not repent of his wicked attempt, unless he be suspended from his administration; so now, since he hath sinned more hainously, they have no hope that he will repent for simple intreating; therefore they will proceed to his deposition, yet not hastily; but as they have allowed more than due space of citation, so after he is suspended, they will delay his deprivation, and wait his amendment. His citation was upon ninety days. Then came forth the Acts of the Council of Ferrara against the Council of Basil, and the

the Acts of this against the other, as they be annexed unto the Council of Basil. In Session 34. June 25. *An.* 1439. Pope Eugenius, *alias* Gabriel, being convicted of notorious contumacy, of disobedience unto the commands of the Church universal, of continual contemning the Canons of the Councils, of disturbing the peace of God's Church, of Simony, Perjury, Schism, Heresie was *simpliciter* deprived of the Papacy. And in Session 39. in November immediately following, Amadæus Duke of Savoy, (who had been an Eremite in Ripalia, a Wildernes in the Diocy Gebennen.) was chosen Pope, and called Felix the V. After that nothing was done; but for defense of the Council, Answers were published, refuting the libels of Pope Eugenius and his Council; it were were wearisome to relate all; yet I shall hint at one Reply, dated October 7. *An.* 1439. After the Preface, whereas Eugenius said, The Authority of Councils above the Pope, was established only by the faction of Pope John the XXIII. They say, All the Fathers consented in Council, deposing two Popes, and electing a third: And Pope Martin, with consent of the whole Council, defined it to be an error, if any dare say, that it is not of the necessity of salvation, to believe that the Church of Rome be supreme among all Churches, if by the Church of Rome be understood the Church universal, or General Council. *Item*, When any shall be suspected of the Heresies of Wickliff, he should be demanded, Whether he believe that whatsoever the Council of Constance hath defined concerning Faith and Salvation, should be approved and held by all Believers? and yet Martin was not ignorant of the former Act: And in this Council at Basil the same was renewed, when there was no difference of factions. In the end they compare Eugenius unto the Jews, Donatists, Arians, and other Hereticks, who were wont to call the better part Hereticks, divellish, and separated from the true Church; so doth Eugenius now, &c. IV. The fourth principal purpose of that Council, was the Reformation of the Church, according to the Act of Session 41. at Constance. So in Session 12. it was ordained, That every Church and Monastery should chuse their own Prelate, without any reservation to the Roman Pope, but onely of those places that are under the Roman Church in respect of Dominion. In Session 15. Every Bishop should have a Synod twice, or at least once every year, which shall continue two or three days, or longer, as seemeth good unto him; and there he shall admonish his own Clergy of their general and particular duties; he should diligently inquire of their manners; he should exhort them unto good manners; and direct those who have charge of souls, to instruct their people with wholesome doctrine and admonitions; the Provincial Statutes should be read; and any compendious Treatise concerning the administration of the Sacraments, and other things conducing to the instruction of Priests; he should, by due correction, beat down simony, usury, and fornication; and revoke the dilapidations of Church-goods; he should reform the abuses of the Clergy, and other people, so far as concerneth Divine Service; and especially he should take heed that his Diocy be not infected with heresie, errors, scandals, lottery, divination, incantation, superstition, or any other divellish device. *Item*, In every Province shall be a Provincial Synod within two years after this Council; and after that a Provincial Synod every third year; where all the Arch-Bishops, and all the Suffragans, and all *quorum interest* should be present; where an Arch-Bishop, or one in his name, should have the Exhortation; admonition shall be, that Benefices and Orders should be bestowed on the worthiest without

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simony; and that mature examination be had of such, as the cure of souls is committed unto; and that Church-goods be not abused; it should be inquired how Bishops bestow Benefices, and confirm Elections, and preach unto their People, and punish the vices of their Subjects, observe the Episcopal Synods, and discharge other parts of their Office: It shall also be inquired of the Metropolitan in all these particulars; if any contentions arise to disturb the peace of a Province, the Synod should endeavour to settle them; if such discords arise between Kingdoms or Princedoms, the Bishops should assemble Synods in both, and concur one with another to take away the occasion of these discords, respecting only the glory of God and welfare of the People: In the Provincial Synods it shall be advised, what is to be propounded in the ensuing General Council. In Session 20. It is not necessary to forsake the company of excommunicated persons, unless the Sentence be laid and published against such a certain person or persons expressly, and their cause can have no tergiversation nor excuse by Law. *Item*, That no City nor place can be subject unto Ecclesiastical Interdiction, but for the fault of the Governours of that place, not for the fault of a private or any forraign person. *Item*, No appellations should be made after the first being annulled. In Session 21. Annates should not be required by the Roman Church, nor elsewhere, for confirmation of Election, nor for a Collation. In other Sessions Statutes were made concerning the Service in the Mass; the election and profession of Priests; the number and quality of Cardinals; and reservation of cases unto Rome. In Session 30. *An*. 1437. Laicks are not tied, by the command of Christ, to communicate of both bread and wine; but the Church hath power to direct how it should be administred that whether they communicate in one kinde or in both, according to the Ordinance of the Church, it is profitable to salvation unto the worthy Communicant; yet the laudable custom of the Church should be observed as a Law. In Session 36. It was then (at first) declared, That the blessed Virgin was never defiled with original sin; and the Feast of her conception was confirmed to be kept December 8. In Session 43. Pope Felix ordained the Feast of Maries visitation to be kept July 22; and to cause it to be observed, he granted unto every one observing it, indulgence of enjoined penance for an hundred days. Pope Eugenius inticed the Daulphin of France to dissolve that Council by force; and he brought above thirty thousand Souldiers to Basil; but the Swisers, being but four thousand, did vanquish him, as the Lacedemonians did Xerxes; that is, few (to wit, an hundred and fifty) of the Victours remaining alive; and eight thousand French died in the place. Because of these troubles, the Council held no Sessions from August 10. *An*. 1442. until May 16. *An*. 1448. Then the Ambassadors would not continue longer; and the Emperour undertook to procure another more peaceable Council within three years; and Pope Felix, with his Assessors, appointed Lions as the most convenient place. But in the publick Session, on the day aforesaid, it was determined, that the present Council should be continued, and be resumed after that time; or in case of trouble, it should be transferred to Lausanna: But they assembled not at all.

*The Council
of Ferrara
and Florence.*

7. Much noise had been of a General Council between the Eastern and Western Churches, for the space of twelve years (specially; and when the Council of Basil was convened, some conceived hope of an union; but the aims and motives of the leading parties (as was touched before) shew that no good could follow. Many have written of that Council at Ferrara and

and Florence; among them all, none hath the circumstances so fully as Sylvester Sguropulus, who was Assessor unto the Patriarch of Constantinople, and present in most of the consultations, both before and in time of that Council. The Emperour John Palæologus intended to have gone unto Basil; the first offence was given by them at Basil, who in their Letters unto the Greeks said, The Fathers assembled in the General Council, as they had abolished the late Heresie of the Bohemians, so they were ready to cut down the old Heresie of the Greeks. The Greeks said unto the Oratours of Basil, How can we approve them, who in the very Preface say, that we are old Hereticks? we cannot admire sufficiently, with what face they can feign this of us; who but ye did think to upbraid us with the infamous name of Hereticks? or what Heresie can be in us, who have never transgressed nor departed from the Traditions of the Apostles, Councils and Fathers? this is a heavy stumbling-block unto us; and therefore first of all we crave a remedy of this. The Latines said, It was not done of purpose, but a meer escape of the writer; we, for our selves and for all our Nation, say, that we did never suspect such a thing of you; neither say we now, that ye maintain any Heresie; and we are ready to proclaim this unto the World, by any way ye please. This Apology did not calm their animosities, of the Patriarch especially, until the Emperour said, O that God would grant an universal Synod, that by his blessing there may be an union of the Churches of Christ, and Christians might agree in peace! this were a great work, and to be admired in all time coming; yea, not only a great work, but more then hath been done in the former œcumenial Synods; yea, more then was done by great Constantine in the first Council; for at that time there was peace in all the World, and one Arrius, with twenty or thirty more, was contradictory unto the Doctrine of the Church, and all others were Orthodox; but that Heresie was of short standing, for it arose and was condemned within the space of three years. But unto this Synod which is now intended, many, yea, innumerable people shall be assembled; for consider how many are in Italy, Germany, Spain, Britain, and other places of the West; how many Bishops are there, Monks, Doctors and Philosophers, mighty and proud Nations; many also shall be from these our parts, who do reverence our Religion, and are not in number inferiour unto the others; such as the Trapezuntians, Iberians, Cercasians, Minceliens, Goths, Russians, Walachians, Servians, the Islanders, besides the Patriarchs and their Provinces: I hear also of a great Nation in Ethiopia, which is populous and Orthodox, according with our tenets in all points, who also (as I suppose) shall be called unto this Synod; thus many are for us also. And the Schism hath been of long continuance, for they have been driving it these five hundred years almost; how great a work were it then to soder and unite so many Nations, so long time at variance, and to bring all the World into one Church? and we have hope, by what hath been written unto us, and as we hear, that there shall be an union by the help of God; and if it be, this Church shall be much bettered; for the King of Germany said unto me, when I was with him, that it concerned me to procure the union; for if you do this (said he) you shall establish the Church; since our folks have transgressed in many things, and the Eastern Church hath a better order; and if you effectuate not the union, yet you may amend our people: He spoke also many other things; and I know certainly his good purposes, and what he intendeth to do for us, if the union go on; and among other things, he hath promised that I shall be his Successour in his Kingdom.

This Oration was heard with much joy. Then it was propounded, that the Pope and the Council should be first united. The Latines promised that it should be so; and said, They are already upon agreement. But the Patriarch could not digest, that the Council had called them old Hereticks; and that the Pope Eugenius will not come personally unto the Council. But John (one of the Oratours from Basil) perceiving that Joseph was ambitious and desirous of honour, flattered him with glozing words, saying, If he were once there, how would he be admired! all men would honour him; and especially all the Fathers of the Synod; and they will bring presents unto him; and they will follow his advice, as one who is wiser then they all are. Letters were sent unto the Council, especially to amend their former Preface; and for a Safe-conduct. When these were returned, the Emperour sent unto Trapefus, Iberia, and other Nations, inviting them to send their Bishops and Oratours unto the Council; and he invited the three Patriarchs. Some Nations sent two Bishops and one Oratour; and some sent one Bishop and one Oratour: The Patriarchs sent their Commissions unto some Greeks within the Empire; as the Patriarch of Alexandria named Anthony Bishop of Heraclea, and Mark a Monk, (whom the Emperour afterwards made Bishop of Ephesus, for honouring his Commission;) Antiochia named Joseph (then) Bishop of Ephesus, and Gregory a Confessary; Jerusalem named Dionysius and Isidore, two Monks then, but the one became Bishop of Sardeis, and the other of Russia. Their Commissions gave them power to substitute a Vicar, if any necessity detained them: But the Oratours of Basil took exception against the Commissions; and they complained unto the Emperour, that they tied the Deputies to admit nothing that was not done canonically, nor conformable unto former Councils and holy Fathers of the Church, nor admit any addition, or change, or novation of the Creed of Faith. This limitation (said John the Oratour) cannot be accepted; for how can I ingage my self to give entertainment unto such Deputies, who are so tied; If a question be propounded in this manner, answer thus; and if not, you must do nothing: Deputies should be left free unto their thoughts, and confirm what shall be defined by the Synod; you must therefore cause this to be amended, or else, in my judgement, it will not be expedient unto your Majesty to go, nor dare I hold up my face in the Synod. The Emperour was persuaded to draw up another form of Commission, and sent it unto the Patriarchs with his Letters; where he said, You may not be suspicious of us, for we hold the same grounds with you; nor will we change in the least from the œcumenial Councils, and what we hitherto professed; and be ye assured, that we will doe no otherwise then as ye would; but they must subscribe that form of Commission for the honour of the Synod, and of their Deputies. When they were come to Ferraria, after the complements, (which were touched before) the Patriarch sent the Bishops of Nicomedia and Tornob, and the History Writer, to see how the place of the Assembly was ordered. There Cardinal Julian said unto them, Here is the Pope's throne, and on either side are seats, on the one side for the Latines, and on the other for the Greeks; since the Synod consisteth of two Nations, the Pope must sit in the midst as the chief, and tie of both parties. They answered, Since there be two parties, the Pope should sit with his party, as the Emperour and the Patriarch are ordered to sit with their party. Julian replied, There must be a middle tie; therefore the Pope must be in midst. But said they, A middle tie is not necessary; or if you will have the Pope in the midst, it followeth necessarily, that

the Emperour and the Patriarch should also be in the midst, and sit with him, or else they cannot sit. Julian said, One tie is sufficient to joyn the two parties; but two or three cannot make one tie. When this order was shewed unto the Emperour and Patriarch, they would not be satisfied until that posture was changed, and the Pope's throne be set on the side with the Latines. And then they could hardly condescend; for though the Pope's throne were set on the side, yet he would have a place made for the Emperour of Germany, and over against his seat another for the Greek Emperour. But the Greek Emperour said, Why should a chair be for the German Emperour, since there is none? and why should the Pope have place distinct and above the Emperours? The Patriarch said, Why should the Pope be not only before both the Emperours, but in so many degrees and accoutrements above mine? Then said the Emperour with indignation, All these toys are not so much for decorement of the place, or for order of the Synod, but rather for pride and earthly fancies, and far from a spiritual disposition. So the Emperours chair was set right over to the Pope's throne, and the Patriarch's chair over against the empty seat for the Emperour of Germany. There was strife also among the Deputies of the Patriarchs for place. In the first Session, April 9. nothing was done; but they took possession of their places, and the Bulls of convocation was read in Latine and Greek; and it was condescended, that there should be a cessation for four moneths, (that the Kings and Princes, being advertised of their meeting, might send their Vice-gerents unto the Synod) unless it were private conferences for debating lesser differences. In this time the Cardinal Julian invited some Greeks to dinner: Some did refuse, (with fair excuses) because the Emperour had forbidden them to argue at any time with the Latines privately or apart; but the Bishops of Ephesus and Mitylene were perswaded, after much entreating. There the Cardinal adviseth the Ephesian to write unto the Pope, in commendation of this noble work that he had begun, and exhort him to continue in bringing the union to an happy issue. He answered, It seemeth in my judgement superfluous, nor am I fit thereunto; nevertheless, if you think expedient, I shall write, and send it unto you; and if it please you, it may be directed unto the Pope. In this Letter he said, It were an easie thing unto him to accomplish the union, because of his power in the Church; and all the Latines yeild (blinde) obedience unto him, as the Successour of Peter; if he would but put away the word *filioque* out of the Creed, and leave off the dead Sacrifice of unleavened bread, the union would soon be confirmed, and all Christians were made one Church. So soon as Julian read this Letter, he went quickly and delivered it unto the Emperour. He was so enraged, that he would have called him to account and punishment for it, if Bessation Bishop of Nice had not excused the matter as a slight conceit, unworthy of censure, and might do annoyance if it were taken notice of judicially. Then a conference began of ten Church-men on each side, and some Noble-men to sit apart as beholders. Of the Greeks were the Bishops of Ephesus, Monembasia, Nice, Lacedemon, and Anchial, Sylvester Sgurogulus..... And of the Latines were two Cardinals, Julian and of Firma, Andrew Bishop of Rhodos, &c. Cardinal Julian asked, Whether they had thought upon means of reconciliation? The Bishop of Ephesus answered, The best means is truth; and if we have truth with us, we will never seek another; for we cannot finde a better means then truth. The Latines would have disputed on the main controversies: But the Greeks said, That were

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contrary unto the former agreement. They talked of Purgatory: And the Bishop of Ephesus demanded, Whence have ye that tradition? how long time have ye had that opinion? what is your opinion concerning it? Julian answered, The Roman Church had this opinion from Peter and Paul, and have kept it always; and thus it is..... The Greeks declared their Doctrine, that the souls of the godly receive the good things prepared for them, and the souls of the wicked receive punishment, untill they receive their bodies again. Here John a Spanish Doctour of the Pope's Court, propoundeth other questions, concerning the being of Angels in a place; with what wings do they flie? what kinde of fire is that in Hell? &c. They spent some days upon such questions without any agreement. In the mean time information was brought from Venice and other places, that Amurathes was gone to Constantinople with a Navy; and the Emperour intreated the Pope to send two Ships to aid the Greeks. The Pope refused, unless they will consent unto the union. After some days, the Pope promised to send one into Venice to hire two Ships; and the Emperour sent two Noble-men to hire more Ships; but the Noble-men could never finde nor hear of the Pope's Servants there. When the four moneths were past, the Greeks crave a beginning of the Council; because the Pope delayed, the Bishops of Ephesus and Heraclea, despairing of any good success, went to Venice, intending home-wards; but the Emperour sent and brought them again. Then he, hearing that others also had the same purpose, did first motion, that the Council should be removed further from Venice, for hindering their return; neither after that would he impart his counsels unto the Bishops; but he and the Patriarch (when his sickness did permit) consulted with the Pope. October 6. began the first Session; and the Greeks would have it first disputed, Whether the word *filioque* was a late addition? to clear this, they produced the Books of the first seven œcumenial Councils. The Latines alledged, the seventh was for them; and they produced an old Book where it was so written. The Greeks said, That Book should not be admitted; since neither is it in any of their books, neither had any of the Latine Doctours, writing of that purpose, ever made use of that Book. The Latines alledged also the testimonies of some Latine Councils and Fathers. The Greeks made no reckoning of these; and said, Since the General Councils had not that particle, and had threatned a curse against all who added unto or changed the Creed, the Latines should not have added it; and therefore the Latines should now consent unto the blotting away of that addition. The Latines replied, It should first be considered, whether it be true, and so may justly be added. The Greeks would not proceed, untill that was first blotted away. Three moneths was spent with this jangling; and the Pope, seeing that the Greeks would not yeild, gave them not moneys, according to condition; and agreed with the Emperour to remove unto Florence. The Greeks opposed the removing mightily, especially the Patriarch, being sick of a Quartan Ague: But they must remove in the midst of January, *An.* 1439. The cause of the removing was pretended to be for the Plague; it was in the Town in the Summer, and though many of the Latines died of it, yet it infected no house of the Greeks but one, and in the Winter was ceased. When they began the Sessions, the Emperour commanded the Greeks (against their wills) to proceed unto the second question; both parties alledged testimonies of the Ancients, (and neither of them brought one Argument from Scripture) and quarrelled against the pertinency or faithfulness in quotation. The

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Pope and the Emperour resolved together to make a definitive sentence, and for that effect to take another course; to wit, both parties should frame a draught; and which of the two should please them both, that should be subscribed. The Greeks were unwilling; and said unto the Emperour, that they had experience how obstinate the Latines are, and will not yeild in any thing; and they cannot yeild to depart from what their Church had held in all ages. The Latines brought their form of the Sentence unto the Emperour first; and he called the Greeks unto his lodging, and shewed them it. They all refused it. The Emperour required them to frame another; and that did not please the Latines: whose objections against the Greeks were, 1. Seeing in the first words it is said, Because we thought that the Latines hold, that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son as from two principles.... therefore we did abstain from the addition, or exposition of the Creed, and from communion with them; and now when you finde contrary, you should no more abstain from the addition or exposition. We crave your Answer in this. 2. You say that you have declared the Faith of the Latines; we ask, Whether you think this true, and if you will accord in this? 3. Declare your faith. When you say, The holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father; we demand of you to answer, Whether he proceedeth eternally from the Father alone, and not also from the Son? 4. You say, The holy Ghost is properly of the Son *ἰδιον ὧν*; we crave that you would clear this, Whether you think that *proper* is to be of the same substance onely, or *proper*, that is, having his essence eternally from the Son himself, even as from the Father? &c. These objections were delivered unto the Emperour; and he told the Greeks, that he had received such, but he neither gave them, nor read them unto his Greeks. And whereas onely twenty four had consented unto that form which was delivered, and twelve had refused it, now some of these twelve craved leave to return home; the Emperour threatned them sharply for craving it. Then thinking upon ways of excluding these dissenters from voicing, he said, None should subscribe the Acts of this Synod, but only such as had subscribed in former General Councils: For this cause he caused to bring the Books, and there findeth that none had subscribed but Bishops and Abbots, and so he commanded silence unto others, or rather he freed us from speaking, saith my Authour, to wit, against conscience. Then the Emperour called them unto voicing; ten were for the proceeding from the Son, and seventeen were dissenters: Wherefore the Emperour and the Patriarch dealt with the dissenters apart, partly by allurements, partly by expostulations of ingratitude for former benefits, and partly by menacings; and the Patriarch objected against the Abbots, that they had received their titles from the Emperour, yet they were not as yet canonically ordained; and the time being expired, wherein they should have craved their confirmation, their title is null. On June 3. the Emperour called them together, and propounded a form of union to be subscribed in these terms; Seeing we have heard the testimonies both of the Eastern and Western holy Fathers, and these say, The holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son; and those say, From the Father by the Son; and that, By the Son, is one with that, From the Son; and that, From the Son, is one with that, By the Son; yet we, forsaking that (particle) From the Son, say, That the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father by the Son eternally and essentially, as from the same principle and cause; the particle By there signifying the efficient in the proceeding of the holy Ghost. Thirteen subscribed this; among whom

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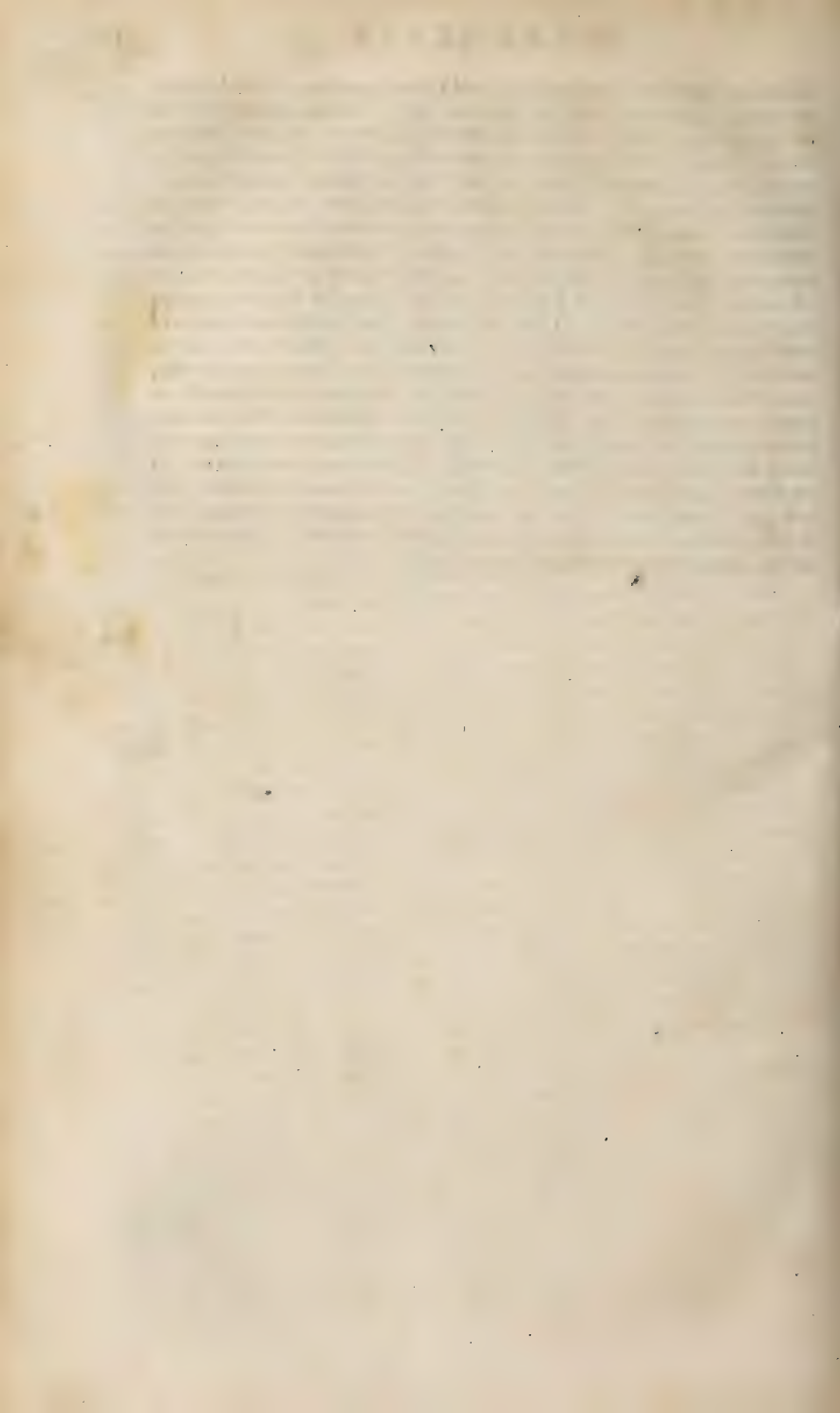
were the Patriarch, and the two Deputies of Alexandria. The Emperour required the Courtiers to subscribe, who all obeyed except his own Brother. Lastly, he confirmed it, with this addition in the end, that the Greeks were not tied to put the addition into their Creed, nor to change any of their Ceremonies. Then he craved the subscriptions of other Nations. The Bishops of Menon and Moldoblachia consented; but the Bishop of Trapezus refused: And the Bishop of Iberia went away privily; and before his departure, he shewed unto every one of the Bishops, that he had Letters from the Patriarch of Antiochia, that they should not yeild to add nor diminish an Iota, or the least point. When he was gone, the Pope thought it might help to speak with the Oratour of Iberia privately, before the finall conclusion, and said unto him, I hear that ye are Christians, and famous men, loving the Church; but the Roman Church is the Mother of all Churches; and the Governour of it is the Successour of Saint Peter, and Vicar of Christ, and the universal Shepherd and Doctour of all Christians; ye must therefore follow the Mother of Churches, and approve what she approveth, and be subject unto her high Priest, that ye may receive the salvation of your souls, &c. The Noble-man answered, By the grace of God we are Christians, approving and following our own Church; and our Church hath constantly maintained whatsoever she received of the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Traditions of the holy Apostles, and the universall Synods, and the most famous holy Teachers of the Church; neither hath it declined in any measure from their Doctrine, neither hath it added nor impaired any thing: But the Church of Rome hath added, and transgressed the bounds of the holy Fathers; wherefore we have cut her off, and departed from her, in so much as we behold the purity of the Fathers, and hence is she deprived of many and famous children: Therefore your blessednesse should with diligence seek those whom you have lost, and be reconciled and united with them; and this may be easily done, if you will put that addition out of the holy Creed; which you may easily do, since all the generation of the Latines applaud your order and judgement; for they esteem you as the Successour of Saint Peter, and reverence your Doctrine; if then you will put away that adiutament, not onely the Iberians, but all the Nations of Christians will be subject, and united unto the Roman Church truly; and will acknowledge her, and thee also as a true disciple of Christ, and the prime Successour of St. Peter, and they all will follow thee with sincere love; then shalt thou be the prime Pope and Father of many Christians; and then shall be one Shepherd, and all shall be one Flock under thee. The Pope was confident to have gained this Iberian, as a rude and unlearned man; but when he heard these words, he spake no more. The same Iberian went with my Authour to hear a Sermon that was preached before the Pope; and then he said unto the other, I heard him often name Aristotle, but I desire to hear of Peter, Paul, Basile, Gregory, Chrysostom, and such others; but what have we to do with Aristotle, Aristotle? and with some kinde of pity he scorned the Preachers gesture and noddings, but more them who would seek union with such Doctours. On June 4. the Emperour shewed the subscriptions unto the Pope, and hoped that he had given all satisfaction; but the Pope said, If now ye be brought into acknowledgement of this truth, I am glad of it, and I wish that your Fathers had been partakers of the same; but all this is not sufficient to make up the union; there be other differences between us, and those must also be amended. The Emperour thought

thought this strange; and when the Patriarch (who had given order to pack up his baggage, thinking that all was done) heard of the Pope's words, he was amazed; and June 10. sitting at supper, he died; and so neither returned home, nor saw the Decree of union, which afterwards was penned. Some days before his death, he sent for some of the dissenters, and said, The Pope hath promised to pay the money that he oweth us for these five moneths and an half, and to send us home in six Ships, and the Venetians will send Convoys with us; and he hath promised to send twenty Ships in March, for any service that our Emperour will imploy them unto; this work will be to the great advantage of our Nation, and of the Christian World; and since all these things have succeeded so happily, do not withdraw your consent any more, &c. Because they did refuse, alledging that their conscience and danger of their souls was more dear unto them then all the World; he said, Behold, ye do that I shall never see my Countrey; for if my dearest friends be not with me, I shall never return; I speak unto you as a father and a friend; if ye will obey me, it shall go well; and if not, the Synod will take notice of it, and will not let you go, but will do unto you as ye deserve. They answered, We are ready to suffer whatsoever the Synod will decern against us. After the Patriarch's death, the Emperour had all the burthen, and dealt with the advice of three onely, to wit, the Bishops of Russia and Nice, and his Secretary. The Cardinals went unto him often, and importuned him to consent unto other three particulars, to be contained in the Decree of union; to wit, 1. That both the Churches may retaine their own custome of the bread, whether leavened or unleavened. 2. Concerning Purgatory. 3. Concerning the Primacy of the Pope. The Emperour consented unto these without the knowledge of any Greek, but of those three. The Latines did much press the Emperour to take away a Prayer out of the Liturgy, concerning the unbloody Sacrifice; for they said, The bread and wine are consecrated by the words of the Lord, *Take, eat, this is my body*; and therefore to pray after the saying of these words, is as if the blessing of the Lord were not sufficient to consecrate the Sacrament. Here was much debate; at last the Emperour said, If ye will believe truth, the antient Fathers, and all the Eastern Churches, have kept this custome, as it is in our Books. Cardinal Julian said, Can your Majesty swear, that your Books have not been changed since the days of the Fathers? and if you cannot, how shall we believe them? The Pope also required the Emperour to cause all the Greeks to assemble into his Palace; and there he did upbraid them, that they wasted so much time, and would conclude nothing: But neither the Emperour nor other Greeks would yeild in this head, but the Bishops of Russia and Nice. Then was great debate concerning the form of the Decree, in whose name it should be framed; the Emperour would have it in his name, as the Decrees of universal Synods were wont to be; but the Pope would have it in his name: after long contention the Emperour must yeild. Then the Pope would have them to chuse a Patriarch, either an Italian or a Greek. The Emperour seeing that the Pope would never make an end, if his demands were granted one after another, resolved to grant no more; and said, A Patriarch could not be chosen but in Constantinople, and according to their own Canons. At last they come to subscribe the Decree; my Authour hath the Story particularly, but I will content with the sum, as he hath it in *Self. 10. cap. 18.* saying, This Synod came not to a conclusion, nor brought forth any determination; nor was any man demanded to give his suffrage in any thing

that was debated in disputations: That it was an universal Synod none will deny; but that this Synod pronounced any Sentence, none that was there will affirm; if he look simply to the Judicial Order: for seeing the Emperour was there present, and the Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Vicars of the other Patriarchs, and the Bishops from both parts made up the form of an universal Synod; and there were disputations in the presence of them all, according to the order of universal Synods; and the words of the disputants were written; though therefore the Latines did with much pride proclaim what they spake, and did arrogate unto themselves, what we did demonstrate as clearly as the Sun shineth; and what was in question, and indemonstrable, they did take as confessed, and proclaimed them as demonstrations, and they accounted our reasons as nothing, they being so overcome with their pride and arrogancy; nevertheless, so long as the disputes continued, it seemed to keep the form of a Synod, and to act sinodically; but when the disputes ceased, it was no more a Synod, but all things were done privately, secretly, and under a shadow; for the contentions that were by order of the Emperour, with ten high Priests besides the Pope, were but private and secretly; and neither did others of our high Priests, neither the Latine Bishops, know what was spoken there; and the Conventions of our folks, that were in the Palace, or in the Patriarch's lodging, were but in chambers, and nothing was done there as the Acts of an universal Synod, but onely ways and conceptions were hatched, how we could simply make an Union with the Latines; and the Suffrages that were there, were not like unto the Votes of an universal Synod, but of some few persons aiming at an Union: And when they seemed to be thus perswaded, then they reported unto the Pope, that the Greeks approved what the Roman Church thought good, that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Son also; and now they are one with the Western Church: And then was a definition, and all things therein, as some few persons of both sides would; which to refute is not my purpose; therefore those who were of the Synod, knew not how these things were done in secret and in a corner. An universal Synod did never the like, neither in the disputes, neither in any thing that was taken in hand from the beginning, was any Greek or Latine demanded, or gave his voice sinodically; for these causes none can be justly blamed, who did not approve the union, as if they did subvert the Sentence of the Synod, since none that was there can affirm, that it was sinodically proved, that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Son also, and that all men should think and believe it as undoubted and confessed; but what both the Latine and Greek Bishops did in the Synod, was thus; The Greeks saw a Sentence subscribed by the Emperour, and they also subscribed it; the Latines saw that subscribed by the Greeks, and by the Pope, and they also subscribed it; and the greater part knew not what was written; for except very few both of the Latines and Greeks that looked upon the Sentence, or that hapned to be at the writing of it, the most part knew not the contents; and when they were assembled to subscribe, it was not read unto the Greeks before nor immediately after the subscribing, as neither unto the Latines; but the next day, when it was read in the Church, the Bishops were demanded, and the Latines answered, *Placet*; and the Greeks said, *ἀποδέχεται*. All these things were so contrived, as I have declared more fully before, (saith he) and seeing the Determination was in this manner, and the Bishops had so little knowledge of the Contents of it, and so crafty devices were in framing it, they who will, may consider, whether
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such a determination should be accounted a Sentence of an universal Synod? or whether that union should be approved as a true and uncontrollable? So far Sguropulus. Now by what means the Greeks were induced to subscribe the last Decree, the Reader may understand from what is said of the means, which were used to cause them to subscribe the first conclusion, to wit, promises and menaces. Neither was the Pope deficient; for they who did subscribe, received the promised money for their entertainment; and who would not subscribe, sometimes got a part of it with checks and bitter reproaches, and oft they got nothing; and the Bishop of Nice was made a Cardinal, and Bishop of Tusculo; and the Bishop of Russia was put in hope of the Patriarchship. It is to be marked, that Sguropulus was one of the dissenters, yet he protesteth that he writeth the History truly; and he confesseth, that he subscribed the last Determination, but against his will, and because it might have procured unto him the Emperour's hatred; as also it was little advantage unto the cause, if he did not subscribe; and on the other side, he thought that all the subscriptions were to little purpose, seeing they were but in private chambers, and the Sentence was not past in the Synod: But though he and some others were vehement against the particle *A or en*, or From the Son; yet no where doth he declare the very point of difference in the matter of substance, but only that they would not have an Iota, or particle of their Creed to be changed.

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T H E F I F T H A G E Of the C H U R C H,

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The History of the Church Rising, and of
Antichrist raging, containing the space of 300 years,
from the year of our Lord 1300 untill the year 1600.

C E N T U R Y X V I. P A R T. I.

C H A P. I.

Of P O P E S.

Many and great were the revolutions of this Century: therefore it seems more expedient, to divide it into three parts, according to three main differences of occurrents; and in every part to continue the former method of chapters. The first part is from the year 1500, untill the year 1517: shewing what things hapned before the Reformation. The second part from the year 1517, untill the year 1563: containing things from the beginning of the Reformation, untill the close of the Council at Trent. And the third part from 1563, untill the year 1600; declaring the main occurrents after that Council.



PIUS III. was chosen *An. 1503.* not so much for his reputed goodness, but when the Competitours could not prevail, they providing to their next advantage (according to their wonted manner, saith *Guicciardin.*) did consent to the election of this old sick Cardinal, that they might not fall from their hope, albeit time may intervene. This is a special respect of the Cardinals in the election, as *Cumin Ventura* (who had been oft in that Conclave) sheweth in *Thefor. Politic.* And so it hapned, for he died within 27 dayes.

2. **JULIUS II.** one of the competitours, had then procured the suffrages of so many Cardinals, that on the first day of their assembly, October 31. he was proclaimed Pope, every one wondring (saith *Guicciardin. lib. 6.*) that they had chosen one, whom they knew to be so froward, cruel, factious and continually unquiet: but he had made large promises, unto the Cardinals, Princes and others, which could promote his business. He established his chair shortly after, first by contracting his daughter Felix unto *Jordanes Ursinus*, and then his sisters daughter *Lucreria* unto *Antonius Columna*. Then he set himself to regain all

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Romandiola: and so he took Cesena and Forolivio from Caesar Borgia the son of Pope Alexander the VI. he expelled the family of Benteyoli out of Bononia: he excommunicated the Venetians, and gave their Lands unto the first who could take them. Lewes the XII. King of France (surnamed *Tater Patria*) overthrew the Venetians at Abdua: albeit he gave the greatest part of his purchase unto Julius, yet he envieth the prosperity of Lewes, and combined again with the Venetians, to expel him out of Italy:

*A Kings
querres
concer-
ning the
Pope,* Wherefore Lewes assembled a Nationall - Council at Tours in the beginning of September *An. 1510.* where he propounds the question, Whether a Pope may lawfully move wars against a Prince without cause? They answer, It is not lawfull. Then he asketh, Whether a Prince being so provoked might for his own defence deny obedience unto such a Pope, and invade him? It was determined, He may lawfully. There they decree also to establish the *Pragmatica Sanctio*, and to contemne the Papal censure in all time coming. Before the King would deny obedience, he resolves first to certifie the Pope of these articles, and assure him, that if he shall continue in such frowardness, he shall be summoned to a generall Council: (for Lewes had the concurrence of the Emperour Maximilian, with the advice of five Cardinals, two Spanish, two French and one Italian.) The Pope despiseth all. Therefore on May 19. *An. 1511.* Lewes proclaimed a generall Council at Pisa Septemb. 1. to the end, that by generall advice they may provide against the present and imminent evils of the Christian Church. Julius rageth, and hindereth the meeting at Pisa: but they convene at Lions: where it was treated of Pope Julius's simony and continuall stirring of wars; and that Popes must be curbed by authority of Councils; and that Christians can not be in safety, if one have absolute power, and know that he is free of censure: then they suspend the Pope from administration of the Papacy, &c. *Jō. de Serres & Guicciard.* The Pope hath another Council at Lateran, and granteth Bulls of pardon unto all and everie one that shall kill any French man, and gives the kingdom of France unto the first Conquerour. In the mean time he killeth Peter, a Captain of the Florentines, because he had advised them, to join with France: he besiegeth Ferraria, and lay personally at the siege of Mirandula: the Vicar of Christ takes arms against a Christian City, sayth *Guicciardin.*

*A Council
against
the Pope.*

*Peters
keies &
Pauls
sword.*

As he was marching over the River Tiber, he throwes his keies over the bridge, saying, Seing Peter's keies serve not, I will see what Pauls sword can doe. King Lewes faintes not in his courage for all the curses, and did coine his money with this inscription, *Perdam Babylonem.* Briefly it is written, that within 9 years Julius killed two hundred thousand Christians by unnessearie wars, so that *Onuphrius* sayth, he desiring to enlarge his revenues, was more given to wars than became a Priest: and *Budeus lib. 4. de asse* calleth him a priest of Bellona, and not of Christ. His predecessours gave large priviledges to the begging Friers: and Julius was liberall to his confederats in the wars, especially unto the Swisers, and gave them the title, *Defenders of the libertie of the Church;* with a golden sworde, a bonnet, &c. When he heard, that they wer entring into Italie, for the words in the Letany, *Sancte Petre, Ora pro nobis,* he sayd, *Sancte Schwizere, Ora pro nobis,* *Hottting. in c. Analet. Histor. Theolog. pag. 73. ex Helvet. Annal.* Neither was he careles of the gain of indulgences, as the Epigram shewes, *Fraude capit totum mercator Julius orbem: Vendit enim cælos, non habet ipse tamen, &c.* He reneweth the Bull of Pope Pius II. against them who appeal from the Pope unto a Council, and ordaines him who appealeth to be accursed, and the appellation

pellation to be nulle. A litle before his death; he had strange purposes, to waste Italy, France and Spain, saith *Guicciardin. lib. 11.* He was so imperious and peremptory in his statutes, that after his death and before the new election, the Cardinals thought it expedient, to limite the power of the Pope by some constitutions. This was propounded; but some for fear of offending, and some being moved with hope, and few with regarde of the publick good, consented to lay the purpose aside. So *Ann. 1513.* John Medices Captain of the Papall armie, *aliàs*

3. LEO X. being 37 years of age was chosen by policie of the young Cardinals. On the day of his coronation he threw among the multitude a 100000. golden Ducats. *Guicc.* At the entreaty of his brothers wife Alfonso he took from Francis Feltrius the Dukedom of Urbino, and gave it to her son Laurence Medices, whom he made Governour of Hetruria: but Laurence enioyed it not long, being expelled by the Florentines, untill the year 1530. when his nephew Clemens 7. took all liberties from the City, and made Alexander the bastard son of Laurence the first Duke of Florence. Leo expelled Borgeusius and his Brother Cardinall Alfonso out of their native City, not without the note of ingratitude; *Onuphr.* And therefore Alfonso with some other Cardinals conspired to kill the Pope: it was bewrayed, and they were deprived of their hats, and fled. The Pope made a paction with the Spanissh Ambassadour, that he would pardon Alfonso, if he would bring him to Rome; and he gave him a safe conduct. The Ambassadour brought him, and afterward the Pope killed him. When the Ambassadour objected perjurie unto him; hee said, A fault against the life of a Pope is not contained in a safe conduct, albeit the same were expressly and individually named; *Guicciard. lib. 13.* He confessed the fact in the Colledge of Cardinals: and for the same they would forsake him. The same day to engadge new friends, (the Colledge not willingly, but for fear consenting) he creates 31 Cardinals: from whom by paction he received 50000. Crounes. And this is the lawfull Calling of the Clergie, whereof the Romanists bragg continually, saith *Th. Mornæus in Myster. pag. 619.* In time of their election there was a lightening and thunder, wherewith the litle babe JESUS fell out of the lap of the mothers image, and the keies out of the handes of S. Peter, even in the Church, wherein they all were. Many did then interpret, that this did portend and foreshew the ruine of that See. As indeed the same yeare Martin Luther at Wittembergh began to oppose the Popes indulgences, and after one errour more were espied by him and many others: whereupon followed the famous and gracious Reformation, as followes. He used (as *Guicciard. speakes lib. 13.*) the authority Apostolical too licentiously, by the advice of Cardinal Pucius, sowing abroad most large indulgences, without difference of time or place, not only for comfort of the living, but to pull souls of the dead out of purgatorie: and because it was known, that such indulgences were granted only for gain of money, which the Emisseries exacted shamelesly (for the exacters had bought the selling of these pardons from the Popes officers) Leo himself incurred mens evill will in many places, and gave many scandals, especially in Germany: where his ministers solde these wares for a very small gain, and in kitchines they would lay on a cast of a Die, a power to take a soule out of purgatorie. And especially it was offensive, that it was notorious, how the Pope had given all the gain of these pardons from sundrie parts of Germany unto his sister Magdalen, &c. And the Friers were not ashamed, to preach in their Sermons, that at the

The Popes perjurie.

The election of Cardinals.

The selling of indulgences.

found of a penny cast into a basine, the souls in purgatory doe leap for joy, and instantly flee away into the heavens: yea and some said, When that tax were payed, all sins wer forgiven. Neither were they more modest in other Countries, affirming boldly, God doth presently execute whatsoever pleaseth them, according to that saying of Christ, *Whatsoever yee bind on earth, shall be bound &c.* They require ten pence for everie soule; and if one pennie were given lesse, the pardon was not available. *Mornæus in Myst. ex Christ. Massæo in Chron. ad Ann. 1515.* This gain (saith *Langius à Monk*) was scandalous unto the holy sons of the Church, wherupon the question began to be commonly scanned, of the power of Christs Vicare: and whence was this new doctrine, which the antient Popes never knew? But more of this hereafter, God willing. *Onuphrius* sayth, Leo did erect new offices, to reap gain unto himself, and that he was given extreemly to hunting, halking and to pleasure, and that he spendd wholl days in luxury and musicke more than became a Pope. He stirred up the Emperour Charls against Henry I. King of France. When newes was brought to him, sitting at supper, that the French were expelled out of Millane, Placentia, Parma, &c. he said, In his time he had three causes of joy, 1. that when he was banished by Pope Alexander, he was restored. 2. that he was called Apostolick. 3. that he had driven the French out of Italie. And ere he had done with supper, he became colde and stiff, and then a fever overtook him: the next morning he was transported from Manliana villa into Rome, where he died Decemb. 3. *An. 1521.* Ja. Sannazarius gives the reason, why he gotte not the sacrament before his death, *Sacra sub extrema si foris requiritis, hora, Cur Leo non potuit sumere? Vendiderat.*

Pope
Leo's blas-
phemie.

But he had said no less truly, if he had written, Because he was not a Christian. For some write, that when his Secretary Cardinal Bembus did once lay before him a sentence of the Gospell; Leo answered, It is well known, how that fable of Christ hath been profitable unto us these many ages by-past. He openly denied the immortality of the soule: and therefore in the Lateran Council (as followes) that question was moved, and determined against him. *Bellarmin.* saith, that he was not an heretick for that error, because it was not determined by a Council before that: *Bellarmin. de Re. Tont. libr. 4.*

CHAPTER II.

Of EMPEROURS.

Publick
Schools.

MAximilian I. was elected and crowned King of the Romanes *An. 1486*; and after the death of his father *An. 1493.* he was received Emperour without contradiction. In his infancy he so hardly learned to pronounce words, that it was thought, he was dumbe: but the greater difficultie he had of speaking in his infancy, he was the more admired afterwards for his singulare eloquence: for besides the vulgare language he could speak perfectly Latine, French and Italian. In the first Diete held by him *An. 1495.* at Worms it was decreed, that all the Eleçtours should erect publick Schools within their own bounds: and accordingly Frederik Duke of Saxon began the University at Wittembergh *An. 1502.* and Joachim Marques of Brandeburgh began another at Frankford upon Oder *An. 1506.* In the
yeare

year 1499. the Swifers made wars in Austria: the Emperour subdued them with great honour. The same year Lewes XII. King of France entred into Lombardy, and after various accidents, by treason of his hired Swifers, Charls Duke of Millane took him captive: there they agreed, that Lewes shall pretend no right to Millane. Immediately Lewes and the King of Castile made a League, and entred together into the Kingdom of Naples, and divided it betwixt them: they did not long accord: for in the year 1504 the Spanish expelled all the French. The Emperour would not meddle with the affairs of Naples, because he had made a league with Lewes; and at Spira arose a great faction of peasants, proclaiming liberty from Lord-revenues and all higher Powers, and tieths, and vowing to destroy all Princes: which had turned to the confusion of Germany, if they had not been quickly danted with a great army: some of them were severely punished. Isabel Queen of Spain died *An.* 1504: then her only daughter Jeane with her husband Philip, son of Maximilian, were sent-for, to come from Flanders, and accept the Crown: they delay two years, and then went: Philip died, soon after his arriving; and Jeane was sickly, and their son Charls was but a child: therefore Ferdinand King of Castile, Arragon, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca, &c. and Brother of the fore named Isabell was called to the government of Spain, enduring the minority of the young King, and Maximilian accepteth the government of Flandres. At that time the Venetians were of great power, and therefore were envied by many. A league was made against them, by the Pope and the Emperour, and the King of France, to expel upon common charges, the Burgeses out of the Continent. Only Lewes came at the time appointed; and seeing that he had sufficient forces, he did hazard to fight them: he slue 20000. took the Captains, and the rest fled: he conquered many of their towns in the Continent; and though he had done all by his own power only, yet he quitteth unto the Emperour Verona, Vicentia, Patavium, &c. and unto the Pope Arimino, Faventia, Cervia, Ravenna, &c. and he reserveth unto himself their part of Lombardy. So the Dominion of the Venetians was fore weakned, and never of such power again, howbeit by their power they have recovered what was given unto Maximilian. Pope Iulius was the first, who forsook the League: when he had such towns, he feared, that if the Venetians were brought to ruine, his own estate might be in danger: for the Colledge have special care, that none be of greater power than the Pope: Wherefore Iulius made peace with Venice, as is hinted before. Because John King of Navar did aid King Lewes; the Pope knowing, that Navar at that time was in a manner dis-peopled, gave it unto Ferdinand, who did invade it, albeit he had married his Brothers Daughter, he took Pompejopolis, and the Spanish keep a great part of that Kingdom until this time. About the years 1512. Maximilian made league with Henry VIII. King of England, and they both invade France, and in severall parts prevaile. The Emperour was drawn back, to appease a debate twixt the Ecclesiastical and secular Estates: he was advised to restrain the avarice of Church-men, and in the Diet at Trevers they consult how drunkennes and common swearing should be punished: but these two grievous sins could not be rooted up, saith *Ossander in Epit. Hist. Cent. 16. libr. 1. Cap. 16.* Nevertheless by Imperiall authority the plurality of Benefices was forbidden, *Fasci. rer. expetend. Tag. 170.* In time of that Diet, in presence of the Emperour and all the Princes was opened the altar of the great Church of S. Peter; there in was found a coat without a seam: and that

Plurality
of Benefi-
ces dischar-
ged by the
Emp.
A coat
without a
seam.

was called Christs coat. Some said, it was but a device, to delude the Emperour and the Princes, and to conciliate some authority unto the Church and that See, saith *Osiand loc. cit.* The same yeare was another tumult at Spira: the Commons rose against the Senate, because they were burdened with so many taxes: they thrust out the Counsellors, and set up another Counsell, and took the keies of the town into their own power. The Emperour interponed his authority, and establishes the Senate. At that time Lewes XII. made peace with England, and married Marie Sister of King Henry VIII. concluded peace with the Venetians by the meanes of two Senatours, whom hee had captives. Then Francis I. perceiving, that the Emperour in his olde age was inclined to peace, entred upon the Dutchie of Millain, and fought with the Duke till night: they stood both in arms all the night, in the morning the King carried it, and shortly had possession of Millain *An. 1515.* The same yeare Ferdinand King of Castile died at Madril, and left Charls (then 15 years olde) his successour: so the many Kingdoms of Spain were united. Maximilian was making readie to goe and recover Millain, and was hindered by the death of Ladislaus King of Hungary, and Bohem, Whose young son was espoused to the Emperours Daughter. He appeased the tumults there, made peace with France, and employed the rest of his time in ministration of justice, and reforming some abuses and confusions of the Empire, untill the year 1559 when he died. He was a Prince abounding in vertues, and so bountifull, that if he had been Lord of all the revenues of the earth, he never wold have had treasure; so couragious, that he could not be timorous; of singulare sagacity and judgement, yet would alwayes ask counsell of them, who loved him, and were able to advise: he loved learning, and was liberal toward them who were expert in the liberall sciences. *Tet. mexia.* Then all the Electours made choise of Frederik Duke of Saxony: but he would not accept it, saith *Erasm: in Epist. Rossensi Episc. dated An. 1519.*

CHAP. III.

Of DIVERSE COUNTRIES.

The selling of indulgences, and the account of them.

Raymond Cardinal *S. Maria Novæ* and Bishop of Curca was sent Legate by Pope Alexander VI. into Germany in the year 1501. and from thence into Dacia, Suecia and Prussia, with power to sell Indulgences unto all, which had not been in Rome at the Jubilee. The Emperour and the Princes hearing of his errand, sent unto him, when he was at Trent, and forbade him to come into Germany, without doubt perceiving that it was but a cunning trick to squeeze moneys out of the Country. Nevertheless after some Missives sent to and fro, he came unto the Emperour, and then to Norenbergh, and from thence to Mentz, and then more Northward, and leaveth abundance of these indulgences printed on parchement, to be sold before his return. *Nic. Bessel. in Addit. Naucel.* telleth of his coming. and how he obtained liberty; but he speaks not of his account: But *Orith. Gratius in Epistol. ad Leffor. before the works of Petr. de Aliaco* helpeth, saying, When Raymond returned with vast sums of money, the Colledge of the Cardinals asked him, What said the Barbarians, when these wares of indulgences were sent unto them? He answereth, All the World { so for

as I have been) complain of the prodigality of Cardinals; and certainly if they see you not amended, our Republick will bee in danger. They frown on him; and his friends said, He should not speake of Reformation, which is an odious purpose at Rome.

2. Many tricks did the Friers devise to delude the World: for example I will name but one. At Berna in the year 1507. the Dominicans think what way to ingratiate themselves unto the people, and be preferred unto the Franciscanes, and so might draw the oblations of the people unto themselves. They cause one (who was lately entred among them) believe, that S. Marie, and S. Barbara, and S. Catharin of Siena did appear and speak unto him, and brought unto him the Hostie or Eucharist bleeding as the very blood of Christ; and commanded him, to goe unto the Senate of the town, and report such and such things, especially, that the blessed Virgine was conceived in sin, and the Franciscanes as liars should not be suffered in the town; and neverthelesse the image of the blessed Virgine should be worshipped. As also they made an image of the Virgine with a device to drop, as it were weeping tears. The thing was belived as truth: that red-coloured water was adored, as if it had been Christs blood, and drops of it sent hither and thither as a rare and precious gift: lykewise was great concourse of people to see their Ladie weeping. Thus the Dominicans were thought the only men for the space of three or four years. The Franciscanes had used such jugleries before, and for respect to themselves were loath to bewray it: but at last they sought it, and revealed it all. Then the Provinciaall and three other Dominicans were taken and burnt *An. 1509*: when the deceivers were tortured, they confessed other jugleries: but the Popes Legate would not suffer them be divulged. Tishistorie is common both in vulgare and Latine rithmes, saith *Catol. test. Ver. lib. 19*. So while the one sort of the friers strive to beare down the other, they are both decipered.

Jugleries of Friers.

3. *Andreas Proles an Augustinian in Portacæli* by Vueringerod was a devote and Zealous Doctour: in his Lessons he said, Yee heare, Brethren, the testimonie of the Holy Scripture teaching, that by grace wee are whatsoever wee are, and by grace we have all that we have. Whence then is this so great darknes, and so horrible superstitions? Alas, brethren, the Christian Church hath need of great Reformation, and indeed I see it approaching. The brethren ask him, Why doe you not begin the Reformation? why doe you not oppose yourself against these errors? I am (said he) an old man, weak in body, and I ackvow ledge, I am not endowed with learning, eloquence and other gifts requisite for such a worke: but the Lord will shortly raise up a Champion, able for age, learning and activitie, which shall begin the work, and set him self against these errors: God will give him courage, to speak unto the great Ones, and yee shal find that his ministerie shall doe much good: for the Kingdom of the Pope shewes, it will shortly fal, because it is so high. *Catol. test. ver. Lib. 19 ex Henning*. And there it is also, that *Martin Luther* (being young) heard, him preach at Magdeburgh. The same Doctor *Proles* was sent-for to come unto a councell (Henning nameth not the place) and there it was pronounced to ordain a new feast-day. Only *Proles* spoke against it, because (sayd he) Christian people are made free by the blood of Christ, and yet are burdened with a multitude of traditions. The Pope and others would have had him to change that language: but he said, I will never think otherwise. Wherefore the Pope did excommunicat him. But he regarded not

*A. Proles Prophe-
sie of a
Reforma-
tion.*

the sentence, and returned home; and then he told, how he was in many dangers by the way, that if the hand of God had not preserved him from many who were set by the Pope against him, he could not have escaped. Many were moved with the mans zeal, and began to vilifie the sentence of excommunication. He lived a yeare, speaking more frequently against the errours of the Church: and then Ernest Bishop of Magdeburgh did sollicite, that he might be absolved. The Pope did yeeld upon condition, that Proles should come unto the Pope, and a conduct was sent unto him. He went, and when he was nere unto Rome, a Cardinal (who had been of the same Augustinian Order) meeteth him, and told him, what was the Popes mind towards him; no good. Wherefore the oldeman thought it safer to returne; and by the way died at Ciclembach *An. 1510*, and was buried in the monasterie of the Augustinians.

More prophecies of Reformation.

4 John hilenac a Monk of Isenac in Thuringia spoke against the errours of his brethren: they conspire against him, and shut him up in prison. When he becam sick, he entreats them to pitie him, because of his bodily infirmitie. They dealt never the more mercifully with him. He said then, I have said litle or nothing against you: but about sixteen years hence (this was spoken about *An. 1500*) one shal come, who shal oppose monks, and yee shal not be able to resist him. *Catol. test. ver. ex Philip. Melan. in Apolog. cap. devotis Monast.*

5 Wolfgang aitingera a Clerk of Ausburgh about the year 1500 wrote Commentaries on the prophecies of Methodius: where he oft taxeth the vices of the priests, namely, the neglect of their Office, that they did neither teach, nor administer the sacraments, but did hire Vicars to supplee: he said also, The seat of Antichrist is not the literal, but the spirituall Babylon.

6. Sebastian Brand, at that time Pastour of S. Marie's the cathedrall Church of Erford, preached against the indulgences in this manner; Deare friends, on this Whitsunday weelay forth our wares unto you: but here is an uncouth merchant, bragging, that he hath better wares [*meaning the seller of pardons*]: when he is gone, wee will lay forth ours again. And against satisfactions he said, We have some who will goe to Church, and pray, sing, mutter the hours, and say Masse for us; but who will goe to hell for us? He said also, The time is at hand, when yee shall hear the gospeil read out of the booke it self: some of you will see that time: but I will not live so long. For these and such other words, he was forced to flee, and went to Magdeburgh.

7. Bernard Lublinensis wrot unto Simon a Printer in Cracow *An. 1505*; commending a Chronicle of Bohem written by John Pilsensis, and having spoken of many rites and changes in the world, which some doe approve, and others condemn; he saith, Albeit the simplicitie of faith may easily make us free from these toiles, that wee may believe these things to be godly, which they that sit in Moses Chaire doe command; yet the minds of men can not be tied, but they will search out truth, that the understanding may attain it's proper object: if this searching make us guiltie of sin, into what miserie are Christians brought; which dare not for the decrees of men professe truth itself, when it is found! If any man in Zeal of religion dar say, the Bishop of Rome and others with him have litle regarde unto the Church, these flatterers say, What? will thou, carliffe, open thy mouth against heaven, darst thou mutter against the Pope, who is most holy, and a God on earth? But if the same which art called most holy,

will set not their mouth only, but their hands and feet against heaven, and if when they kill men, they imagine, that they are doing service to God, they are so far from speaking against them, that they doe commend and magnify their wicked deeds; and if one will speak otherwise, hee shall feele the fire. But in these miseries, I have only one refuge, that I will believe in Christ, and put all my trust in him: as for the rites and inventions of men, I will so long bear with them, as they are not contrary unto the honour of God, yetso that they be inferiour unto the Commands of God and his Gospell, without which man can not be saved: therefore I believe not, that all things, which men condemn, are condemned with God; nor that all things are holy, which they call holy: for God judgeth otherwise than man judgeth. . . . It is impossible that all the World can obey one man: it is enough, if they believe in Christ. Behold, I have written unto thee my thoughts: I will stand for nothing, except the faith of Christ, &c. *Catal. test. Ver. lib. 19. Philip. Mornæ.* hath the same, but more briefly.

8. After the Council at Pisa, *Philippus Decius* a Lawier of Millain defended the lawfulness of that Council against the Pope; that seeing the Pope is obdured in Simony, and infamous for most corrupt manners, the power of calling a Council returns unto the Cardinals: which is the most ready remedie in such a necessity; especially seeing the authority of the Emperour and of the most Christian King and the consent of the Clergie of Italy and Germany doe all concur in one; and it is according to the practise and Acts of the Councils at Constance and Basile. Pope Pius V. caused Thomas Manricus revise and gheld or mangle that book; as may bee seen, in *Biblioth. Tossévini.*

9. The Waldenses have been often mentioned, and their doctrine hath been related from the report of others: now in the year 1508. these of Bohem being accused before their King Vladislaus, and fearing a persecution, sent unto him the Confession of their faith with an apologeticall supplication. Because I have seen this Confession in *Fasciculo rerum expetendarum & fugiendar.* only, and so it is not common, I think good to insert it heer; Most glorious King, and our most gracious Lord, Wee afflicted men, and humbly subject unto your Majesty, and fallly clothed with a contemptible name; doe first declare our humble request, and also our earnest desire of your long health with the increase of every good thing, and freedom from every evill in your happie Empire, even at it is our duty to wish unto your Highnesse. Wee declare unto your Excellencie, that heeretofore your Grace's Write is come unto us, not by common rumor only, but by actuall deed also into many of our hands: in which Write, by the accusation of our enemies, which have unjustly given forth their Sentence of wicked judgement against us, wee understand that wee are called wicked and ungodly men, seducers of ignorant people, and through the craft of the Devill more noisom, than the false nation of Turks, ... Wherefore wee most humbly pray, that your pietie would patiently heare us for the justice of God, and for his mercies sake, which wee wish continually that God would give unto you: and what wee shall now write, you may without doubt think, that every point thereof comes from the sincerity of our heart: for what wee believe in our heart before God, that doe wee in this manner profess with our mouth. First wee with a believing mind have received this, in which now for some space wee having continued, doe intend constantly to persevere with a stable mind and free intention, to wit; All the truth of faith revealed by the Holy Ghost, and then by the H. Ghost

The Confession and a supplication of the VValdenses.

layd up in the Scriptures, and briefly summed up in the Creed of the Apostles, and also really kept by the primitive Church; and confirmed by signes, miracles, sincere teaching and martyredom; and lastly diligently explained by the Nicene Councel, by the Bishop Athanasius and many Teachers against hereticks: this faith wee confesse to be necessary, even in this age, for the salvation of our souls. So lively faith is the universal fundation of mens salvation, which faith is by the gift of the Holy Ghost bestowed principally and by the merite of Christs grace, is ministerially preached in the Church by the voice of the Gospel and word of truth, and is exemplarily confirmed by the Holy Sacraments. We believe and confesse constantly (while we live) by the same fountain of faith that the authour of faith and giver of Salvation is God almighty, one in the substance of Godhead, but three in Persons, the Father, Sonne, & Holy Ghost, one God blest for ever. By this faith wee believe of God the Father, *wee believe* God the Father, and in God the Father. We believe of God the Father, that he begetteth his only Son, eternally, whom of his mercy he hath given unto the World for redemption & salvation; by whose merite the only Father worketh salvation according to the purpose of his own election. By the same faith wee believe God the Father, when we doe acquiesce upon his testimony, which came down from heaven concerning his beloved Sonne, This (said he) is my beloved Sonne, hear him. Which also the blessed and ever unviolate Virgin Mary, said with a suitable mind, VVhatsoever (said she) my Sonne shall say unto you, doe it. With the lyke faith wee say also, that his commandements are faithfull and true and of God, that who ever of ripe age living in faith shall forsake these, can no way attain salvation through Christ. Wee believe in God the Father, when wee knowing that he is the almighty maker of heaven and earth, love him with our heart, and really keep his commandements according to our knowledge and power. The Catholick faith, which wee have once received from God, maketh us believe of Christ, *believe* Christ our Lord, and in Christ: Wee believe and professe of Christ the eternall wisdom. that he is the true and only God, equall in Godhead with the Father and Holy Ghost, in power, wisdom, and that he is eternall life, proceeding from the Father by perpetuall generation, by whom he made the world. Who, to fulfill the promise made unto the Fathers, came personally from the high heavens for the salvation of the Nations, was inclosed in the wombe of the Virgine, in the fulness of time seen on earth, cruelly racked on the crosse, when Pilate was President of Judea, and with his holy blood gave up the ghost: when he was taken off the crosse, he was layd in a rockye grave, and on the third day was raysted from sweet sleepe: and lastly on the fourtieth day being taken up in a cleare cloud, we believe that he reigneth at the right hand of the Father, to wit, in a most honorable place and most worthy unto him, that all the desires of our heart and all the confidence of our hope may be lifted unto that glory prepared by his blood: which sitting on the throne of grace, pleadeth as a faithfull Advocate for them who shall enioy the inheritance of glorie: He leaveth not his Church (for which he offered him self unto death) destitute of grace, vertue and aid by his free gift, which [*Church*] he preserved diligently in the dayes of his flesh: unto him every knee of things that live in heaven, on earth and under the earth, is so subject, that they should worship and reverence the Sonne with the same glorie, honour and majesty, as God the Father, and confesse with their tounge that he sits in his glorie and seat of the majesty of his Father, Nor shall he at an
 time

time descend, untill all contrary Nations being made subject under his feet, bee at last consumed with everlasting damnation. Wee believe Christ Jesus, when wee say, that his commandements, which oblige us to believe in him, trust and love him for attaining the eternall life of glory, are true & faithfull. And we believe in Christ, when knowing him to be our God and Saviour, wee doe embrace all his words with full faith; and loving him with perfect love, are united with his true members in faith & love. Lastly by vertue of the same faith, which we intend to hold unto our last breath, wee firmly believe of the Holy Ghost, *wee believe* the Holy Ghost, and in the Holy Ghost: Of the Holy Ghost, that he is the one true God with the Father and the only begotten Sonne, distinguished in this only, that he proceeds from both: by vertue of which faith quickning, renewing & reforming, every one attaineth the participation of Christs meritorious grace, justification, truth, fortitude and perfect salvation: by which [*Spirit*] also the Holy Church is grounded in the faith of Christ, against which the gates of hell are not able to prevaile: which also by the same Spirit in the members of true faith he washeth, justifieth, sanctifieth, ordereth, governeth, gathereth, strengtheneth & fructifieth: As also by the same Spirit were the Holy Scriptures inspired, and are known: by him the members of the Church are vnited: from him are the gifts of ruling the Church and many other things which by the same Spirit are made perfect unto the life of glory. Wee believe the Holy Ghost, when wee fully consent unto the Divine Scriptures or Apostles of God. Wee believe in the Holy Ghost, when with clear knowledge and unfained faith wee love him, and with the members inspired by him, wee keep his revealed truth unto eternall glory. By the same fullness of formed faith wee believe, that the holy Catholick Church in respect of the foundation of lively faith, is the number of all the elect from the beginning of the world unto the end thereof, whom God the Father in Christ by his Spirit hath chosen, justifieth, calleth unto the glory of salvation, and magnifyeth; without which is no salvation unto man. But in respect of ministry and dispensations, wee believe that the holy Catholick Church is the congregation of all Ministers and people subdued by obediente, obeying the will of God, from the beginning of the world unto the end of it, whom God only sendeth inspired by his Spirit, giving them the word of truth, peace & reconciliation, that they may bring forth the fruit of salvation in the unity of the Church, and their travell be not disappointed of the saving reward: whose names and number He only knoweth, because he hath written them in the book of life. That first Church hath none, that shalbe damned, and the other is mixed untill the appointed time of the last judgement. But the Church of malignants seekes them that are of that evil one, whom Satan sendeth in this time of mortall life, to the perdition of the world, and tryall of the elect. On this Church all the curses and sad things, that Christ & his Apostles have foretold, shall be heaped, to wit, that they who are unworthy of ecclesiastical honour, may rule over them by their power; The promises also of renovation are fulfilled in her. And yet wee arrogate not so much unto us as that we would be called, or bee the only Catholick Church, as if salvation were to be found with us only: but wee endeavour with all diligence to be partakers of the ecclesiasticall truth; and wee are astraied to be subject unto or obey evil workers, whom wee find to be enemies of the Church and its truth, for fear of everlasting damnation, and for obedience unto Christ, and because they doe minde, speak and doe unto his Church things contra-

ry unto his law. Wherefore wee willingly endure oppression, tauntings, and calumnies, for the salvation of our souls: for unless Holy fear, and the horror of hell did withhold us, we would embrace the liberty of the world with it's vanities, wherein one may live as he listeth: But wee would rather choose the strait, derided and sad way, in which our Redeemer Christ, and the Church (his spouse condemned by the world, and despised, yet following the example of Christ) have walked, than to taste and follow the momentary pleasures of the world. The first and chief ministry of the Church is the Gospell of Christ, whereby grace and truth (that were painfully purchased by the torment of the croſs) is revealed, which grace is given for salvation by the Holy Ghost and God the Father unto the Elect, which are called by the gift of faith. Another necessary ministry of the Church, wee declare to be the word of teaching, by which the saving truth is known in the sense of faith: through which knowledge the life of grace and glory is administered unto the men of good desire. Likewise wee declare, that the seven sacraments are useful unto the Church of Christ, by which [Sacraments] the promises of God are signified to be fulfilled unto believing people, and by them entrance into the Church of God for keeping unity among them, that walk unto glory, is ministered. Faith, which God gives, causeth us to think of baptism the first Sacrament, these things: whosoever of ripe age, by hearing Gods word, believeth, and believing is renewed in soul, and is enlightened, such by outward washing for argument of inward cleanness attained by faith, should be baptized in the name of the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost, into the unity of the holy Church. Our profession is also extended unto children, which by the decree of the Apostles (as *Dionysius* writes) should be baptized, and then by the guidance of their God-fathers being instructed in the law of Christ, should be invited unto, and accustomed with the life of faith. By faith received out of the Holy Scriptures, wee profess, that in the dayes of the Apostles this was observed; whosoever in their young years had not received the promises of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, such did receive [them] by prayer and imposition of hands, for confirmation of faith. Wee thinke the same of infants. Whosoever being baptized, shall come to the true faith, which he purposeth to follow through adversities and reproaches, so that new birth appeareth in his spirit and life of grace, such a one should be brought unto the Bishop or priest, and being demanded of the truths of faith, and of Gods commandements, and of his good will and constant purpose, and works of truth, and shall testify by confession, that all these things are so, such a one is to be confirmed in the hope of attained truth; and he is to be helped by the prayers of the Church, that the gifts of the Holy Spirit may be increased in him for the constancy and warfare of faith; and finally for confirming the promises of God, and the truth that he hath, he may be associated into the Church by laying on of hands in virtue of the name of the Father, of the Word and of the Holy Spirit. By this faith, which we have drunk from the Holy Scriptures, we believe and confesse with our mouth; Where soever a worthy priest with believing people, according to the mind and purpose of Christ, and order of the Church, shall shew forth his prayer with these words, *This is my bodie*, and, *This is my blood*, immediately the present bread is the body of Christ, which was offered unto death for us; and so the present wine is his blood shed for the remission of sins. This profession of our faith is confirmed by the words of Christ, which are written by the Evangelists and Holy Paul. Unto this profession may be added; *this body of Christ*, and his blood, should according to the institution of Christ

and

and his Church, should be taken in both kindes of bread & wine, in remembrance of his death, and of his blood shed, as he said, *Doe this in remembrance of mee*. Then this death of Christ, (as it is declared in the Gospel) and the fruits of his death should be preached; as also the hope of his blood shed, as the Apostle witnesseth, saying, *So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lords death, untill He come*. Thirdly according to the sure knowledge of spiritual truth, of which the Evangelist John doth write; as also for assurance of giving, taking, using and of truth, by faith in hope, as the Lord saith, *Take, and eat; Take, and drink*. Fourthly for the conjunct use: for according to the institution and practise of Christ, and the primitive Church, the Priest should then administer, when the necessity of believers requireth, and he should receive with them, as He saith, *Doe yee this in remembrance of mee*. And Paul saith, *The cup which we blesse, is it not the communication of the blood of Christ? and the bread which we break, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ? for wee many are one bread and one body, who are partakers of that one bread and one cup*. Fifthly for distinction of believers from the unbelievers and unworthy; and for excommunication and rebuke of those, who being defiled with the spot of vices, do refuse to amend. Of this saith Paul, *I would not have you partakers with the Devils: yee can not drinke of the cup of the Lord and the cup of Devils*. And again he saith, *Put away the evill from yourselves: for if any who is called a brother among you, be covetous, or a fornicator, or an idolater, or a drunkard, or a railer, or a thief, with such a one eat ye not*. Behold, this is our faith, (most Gracious King) concerning the body and blood of Christ; which as we are afraid to change, or forsake these things, which our Lord JESUS hath been pleased to testifie, and for which end we doe now declare it; so neither dare we add any thing unto it, which the Lord of the Sacrament hath not added; as also the primitive Church, which followed Christ in poverty and affliction, in singleness of heart, hath not altered the ordinances of his law. Concerning this Sacrament, which our Lord through his great mercy, hath ordained for love of his elect, have many contentions arisen, in opinions, expositions, and addition of sanctions [or decrees] so that contrary unto the intention of the Lord's institution, they have furiously raged against others, even to take away their lives. But we for eschuing so great mischief, have our refuge unto the faith of Christ, even unto his words, and meaning, so often repeated in his word; so that what He commanded to believe, we do believe it simply; and what He hath commanded to do, we would do it faith fully: truly we doe not only believe that that bread is His body, which being taken, and blessed and broken, He testifieth to be his body; but also if He had taken a stone, and said, This is my body: we would have fully believed it. Because of this our simple faith, and because we will not suffer ourselves to forsake it for the opinion of men, wee are called hereticks: likewise for the astuall use, unto which the word of Christ and his Apostles, and the example of the work of the same sacrament doe invite us, because we doe and use it so, with upright faith in remembrance of the death of Christ, wee are condemned, judged worthy of prison, and are afflicted: for wee being tied unto Christs command, and dissuaded by his forbidding, doe worship him with reverence and honour due unto him, and we feare to worship any other thing as him only sitting at the right hand, with the Father and the Holy Ghost. Wherefore, gracious King, let your highness understand, that we do so, not in contumacy or any contempt, but for feare of God, and in

obedience unto him : and wee pray, that your Highness would shew compassion on us, who are condemned for the faith of Christ, as wee wish that the most High would of his grace be pleased to preserve and keep your honour from his wrath. By the same faith we believe, that the ordination of priests is truly from the high Bishop and great priest ; that in stead of the embassage of Christ, the ministry, preaching of the gospell, doctrine, judging ; offering of prayers by men, thanksgivings, and praises may be done unto God by them ; And it is from God unto men, that the promise of God may be verified in hope of the received true faith, and by excommunication, the wicked may be debarred from that good. And by the same faith wee confesse, that the promises of God may be verified in hope of the received true faith, and by excommunication, the wicked may be debarred from that good. And by the same faith wee confesse, that they who intend to ordain others should follow the example of Christ, and should consummate his ambassage with a right mind, without respect of persons, free from covetousness and simony. By the same faith we declare, that they which are to be ordained or promoted to higher or inferior orders, should excell other believers in a godly life and faith in Christ : for a lively faith sanctifieth, and maketh fit unto all offices, and possesseth the blessing, and life : for good works of an honest conversation are the garments and ornaments of a priest, to the glory of the heavenly Father, and example of the people, and shew the vertue of the word : they should also have more abundant gifts of the Holy Spirit, to wit, more fervent love toward Christ, confidence of their own and their neighbours salvation, trust in God, equity of mind, a wholesome feeling of faith in a good conscience, their feet prepared unto the Gospell of peace, prudence of Spirit, knowledge of Gods law, discerning of Spirits, and the like. What clerck soever by such an ordination is advanced unto the priesthood, wee professe, that such an ordination is a Sacrament, because it is a signe of the true priesthood of Christ Jesus, and of his ordination by God the Father, and a forme of the ministry as of the head of his Church, to offer unto God the incense of truth in Christ. Wee approve, that three things are necessary unto the full gradation of a presbyter, first the the trial of his life, faith, gifts and fidelity in lesser things that are intrusted unto him : another, prayers with fasting : thirdly, the giving of power with words suitable thereunto, and the imposition of hands for corroboration. By faith wee doe testify, that marriage is a lawfull, honest, and decent union (in Christ) of twoe persons, man and woman, keeping a chaste bed without breach : and it is a signe of a great truth, to wit, the coupling of Christ with the Church and a believing soul. By faith wee affirme, that if God give a contrite and humbled heart for sin, unto a falling sinner having the true faith of Christ, and if with heart and mind, and really he repent of his former sins ; such a one being so truly disposed ; if he find a presbyter able to discern good from evill, and whose lips preserve the knowledge of Gods law, he should reveale uprightly unto such a priest his sins by confession, by whom (as a judge ruling in stead of God and the Church) according to the law of the Lord the weight of the fault may be rightly discerned, to the end, he may be ashamed, and being corrected he may have advice of repentance unto reformation of himself ; and being either loosed or bound by Christs keyes, he may obey humbly, and that such humble contrition of the heart is a sacrament, that is, a signe of true grace bestowed on the repentant. But if there be not a heart contrite, humbled, through faith abhorring vice, and an afflicted Spirit, embracing the will of God, and also confession with

with relaxation of the fault, and moreover if fained satisfaction be added, wee pronounce it to be a vain signe and void of the grace of Christ. The anointing of the sicke containes two things in it; first, a cause of a more ready approaching unto the diseased: for this it is not a sacrament: the other is the thing signified by that unction, which is given by God in Christ: for which thing prayer especially should be made in true faith, that it may be given unto the sick believer, as blessed James commandeth, saying, Is any sick among you? let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray for him, anointing him in the name of God, and the prayer of the faithfull shall save him, and the Lord wil relieve him; and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him: By faith of the sick the signe of unction assures him of the forgiveness of sins. When wee have declared the faith of the Catholick Church, and her truth, by which truth holiness is given unto her, it remaines to declare by the same certainty of faith, the communion of Saints. The communion of the Saints is, when the members of the Holy Church doe for common benefite, use the good, free, saving and administring grace of God, which is given without repentance; and they exercise themselves according to the grace of God given unto them, to the common utility of others. It is cleare then, that the elect only are partakers of true faith, grace and righteousness in Christ, by his merite, unto the glory of eternall salvation, as also they receive the sacraments to the evidence of faith: albeit they have been seduced, yet damnation shall not ceize upon them. But the wicked of unformed faith, albeit they communicate truly in the Sacraments, dignities, administrations and publick manners, if they be destitute of true faith, they communicate unworthily as hypocrites; and if they follow the erroneous, by their leading they fall into seduction and deceit: By faith of Christs grace wee pronounce freely, that who communicateth with a lively faith, by the same he attaineth, through Christ, true remission of his sins; and also because he partaketh of the Sacraments of the Church; he getteth by the same faith and certainty, the relaxation of crimes: and at the time of the last judgement in the resurrection, the glorification of his soul, Amen. *The Letter* which they sent with this Confession is worthy of reading. But for brevity, I omit it. When the Confession was delivered, their adversaries ceased not to accuse them still, as if they had written, otherwise then they did believe, or practise: and so the King went on in cruelty against them. Wherefore they sent another Apologie: where in they tooke God to witness of the injuries done unto them by their adversaries, and that they had written in singleness of heatt, nor did their tongue dare to speak what their heart did not believe. There also they expresse themselves more clearly in some particulars, as concerning the Eucharist they say, Wee do not only believe and confesse, that the bread is the naturall bodie, and the wine is the naturall blood sacramentally, but also that the bread is the Spirituall bodie, and the wine is the Spirituall blood, And to believe this, we are induced by the saying of the Apostle Paul, *The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ? and the cup ? for wee that are many are one bread and one bodie: for wee are partakers of one bread and of one cup* The Redeemer of mankind hath commanded to take, eate, and to doe that in remembrance of him, but no command is given unto believers, to worship the sacramental subsistence of Christ's body and blood: for Christ gave unto his disciples sitting, what they should use; and they obeying him, did eat and drink, but did not worship the sacrament. And the Apostles, and their successours, for a long space of time went to the

houses of believers, and break the bread with joy: and certainly they did not worship the sacrament; nor in so doing did they erre, nor were called hereticks. But they did worship the personall subsistence of Christ at the right hand of the Father. And unto the true worshippers of the Divine Majesty it is commanded in both the Testaments, the old and new, to worship and adore Christ very God and Man, not in the sacramentall existence, but in his naturall and personall subsistence at the right hand of his Father. For the old Testament (as the triumpher over Satan tempting him, remembreth) saith, It is writen, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*. The vessell of election explains the New, when he saith, God hath exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of JESUS every knee should bowe.... The incarnat truth confirmes this, when he saith, That all men should honour the Sonne as they honour the Father. But none doeth worship the Father in any creature, but only in heaven, as that prayer published by Christ testifieth, *Our Father which art in heaven, &c.* In the words following (because they were accused, that they did not worship the Virgine Mary nor the Saints) they shew, that they did esteeme of the Virgine. as blessed above all wo men, not only for that she was sanctified, but also for that the Sonne of God did assume a body of her body; and they esteeme of all them who were sanctified by faith in the grace of God through Christs merite, and so as blessed of God they doe honour them with due honour, they love them, and would follow them, but they can not give them more honour, than Gods word directeth them.

10. When Ernest, Archb. of Magdeburgh was a dyng *An. 1511.* his Chaplain Clemens Schaw and two Franciscans were by him, and one of the Franciscans said, Famous Prince, be of good comfort, wee will communicate unto your Highness not only all our good works, but likewise of all the Order of the Minorites: and without doubt, when you have these, you shall stand just and blessed before the throne of God. Ernest answered, By no means will I trust either in mine own works, or in yours: but the works of Christ only are sufficient. *Catalog. Test. ver. lib. 19. ex Cl. Schaw.*

11. John Picus, Lord of Mirandula and Earle of Concordia, was about that time admired for his learning: his books began to be printed *An. 1504.* He wrote 900 Propositions, which he defended in publick disputations at Rome: amongst them, were these following; The true body of Christ is in heaven locally, and on the altar sacramentally. By the power of God one body can not be in diverse places at once. Consecration is not made precisely by these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, unless the antecedent words be added, *The Lord Jesus in the night he was betrayed*.... Neither the cross nor any image is to be adored with the worship of *latria*, no noras S. Thomas expresseth it. The Doctours condemned these *Theses*: And he wrote an Apologie, defending them to be Catholick; especially concerning the sacrament he said, The body of Christ may be present without any conversion or annihilation of the bread. He said, *Maybe*, and not, *is present*, to eschue their bonds: without doubt he had spoken more plainly, if he could have done it freely. In an epistle unto the Emperour Maximilian *An. 1500.* he saith; With such faith and piety as I can, I beseech thee, that with all diligenc thou wouldest accomplish that thy most Holy purpose, to restore the Christian Republick unto the ancient liberty: it is wasted by outward enemies, and torne by inward; and the sheeppfold of Jesus Christ, which was consecrated by his blood, hath suffered, and dayly suffereth farr worse from wolv

wolves under sheepskins, then under their own colours: Go on then, most worthy Caesar, and excite Christian Kings by what means thou canst, and shew thyself a faithfull servant unto Christ the King of all Kings, who will quickly deliver his sheep, as wel from outward enemies as from false shepherds. In time of the conflict of the two Councils of Pisa and Lateran, hee handled that question, Whether in the cause of faith, a Pope should be preferred before a Councell, *or contra*? and said according unto the Gloss of the Decree *dist. 19. c. Anastasius*, where it is said, The Pope should in matter of faith seek a Councell: and therefore the Synode is more than a Pope. And he adds, Wherefore the archdeacon of Bononia approving the gloss said, It is dangerous, to make our faith subject unto the pleasure of any man: and so said Bernard, What greater pride! one man to prefer his judgement before all the world. And when he had shewed his judgement, that the greater number should be preferred before the lesser, *ceteris paribus*, he addeth, But if the greater part would decern any thing against the word of God, or against these things that should not be violat, and a smaller number opposeth them, wee should cleave unto the lesser number, as in the Councell of Arimino, and the second at Ephesus; yea, we should believe a Country man or an old wife, rather than a Pope, or a thousand Bishops, if these bee contrary unto the Scriptures, and the former follow the Gospell. Likewise speaking of that question, Whether the Pope and Councils may erre? he saith, It may be easily decided, because he hath already shewed, they may erre from the Scripture: many Councils and Popes have fallen into heresy; it oft hapneth, that he who is accounted President of the Church, hath not dutifully discharged his presidence; and sometimes he can not be President at all, seing it is recorded, that in former time a woman was Pope; and I remember of a learned man, who in our age had attained great esteem of religiousness, and taught (albeit not altogether publicly) that hee who was chosen Pope at that time, was not Pope... and I remember of another, who was received and adored as Pope, whom good and worthy men thought neither to be Pope, nor that he could be Pope, for he believed not that there was a God! and they did testify of his most wicked deeds in buying the papacy, and exercising all kind of wickedness; yea and they declared his most wicked words: for it was affirmed, that he confessed unto his familiar friends, that he believed there was no God, even since hee was ruler of the Papall See, I heard of another Pope, who in his time sayd unto his friends, he believed not the immortality of souls; and when hee was dead, he appeared unto the same man, and said, that to his great losse, and by everlasting fire, he had found or knew, that souls are immortall *Th. Morn. in Myster.* This John had an *oration* in the Councell at Lateran before Pope Leo X. wherein he spake freely of a necessity of Reformation, because of their corrupt manners, their adulterate Lawes and canons, their decayed religion, even among the chiefeest of them. Godliness (said he) is almost turned into superstition, righteousness into hatred or favour, and men of all Estates doe sin openly so that vertue is oft blamed in good men, and vice honoured in place of vertue, especially by those who would have (as it were) the walls and hedges of their own crimes and strange insolency and contumacy unpunished. These maladies, these sores thou must heal, o great highpriest: or if thou refuse to cure them, I fear, lest he, whose crown thou holdest on earth, cut off and destroy the infected members, not with fomentations, but with fire and sword: I think verily, that He gives certain signs of his future medicine by

pestilence, famine and bloody wars: at such admonitions and heavenly thunders, wee should have lifted up our ears unto repentance: but wee rather loose them like the Moores, which become deaf at the continuall noise of Nilus: nor is it any marvell: for Iohn Chrysostom thinks, that all evil procedes from the Church; and Hierom writes, that he had found no man, which had deceived the people but the Priests: If thou wilt reforme and correct these things, willing or unwilling, thou shalt be thought by the Christian world, to have lifted up a standert of a full Reformation. This thou, o great high priest, shouldest doe, and none other on earth more then thou: and if thou wilt not, remember, I pray thee, that old Priest, who was punished for not punishing the sin of his son: for they who are set over others, should not only be innocent themselves, but resist the nocent, and repress their wickedness. *And when he had shewed more particularly,* that the conversation of the clergy had very great need of Reformation, he proves the same of their doctrine, and in the end he saith, the Holy Scriptures of both Testaments are to be revised, and corrected according to the ancient Copies of the first Originals, that they may be purged from the errours which have crept-in by the carelesnes of Writers, or default of times: Solemn ceremonies, concerning which, some broils have been antiently, are to be brought into some allowable order, and true histories are to be distinguished from Apocryphe fables, &c. *Orat. Io. Pici in Concil. Lateran. ex Fascic. rer. expetend.*

12. Jacobus Faber Stapulensis had then renown for his learning and knowledge in all sciences, especially in Divinity. Aventinus had been his disciple, and testifieth, that he heard him and Clichtoveus say sixe hundred times, that Lombard had troubled the most clear fountain of Divine philosophy with the durt of questions and puddle of opinions. He wrote Commentaries on the Psalmes, Ecclesiastes, on the four Evangelis and the epistles of Paul. His works began to be printed *An. 1508*, and (as Jo. Sleidan writes) he suffered many grievous persecutions by the Masters of Paris; but the King, by his missives from Spain, exhorted them to spare him. What was his belief in many articles now in controversy, may be guessed by this, that the Authors of the Belgick *Index Expurgatorius* have filled 18 pages with the catalogue of passages, which they have ordained to be blotted out of his books: as out of his Comm. on Mathew, they blot out these words; By faith in Christ only wee look for salvation; The righteousnes of works is a Pharisaicall doctrine; Let none say, Peter was that rocke. *And on Luke*, The grace of salvation is due not to works, but of the goodness of God only; In very deed not priests, but God doth cleanse; yet they are witnesses; All prayer and adoration belongs unto Him alone. *And on Iohn*, This faith can not bee without love; He fell down and worshipped: which is a duty to be done unto God only, and the duty of him which confesseth that the Son of God is God; All the Saints are nothing, if the question be of true worship; Yee believe in God: believe also in mee; Or els he is but an infidell, albeit he think that he believes. *But the Authors* of the Spanish *Index* have made a shorter cut: they order to destroy all the Commentary on Iohn, because it cannot be wel amended, say they.

13. William Budæus was Secretary to Francis I. King of France: in his fifth book *de Affe* (which was printed *An. 1513.*) he describes the estate of the Church at that time, saying; The clergy are worse than the worst of the people in all kind of vice and wantonnes: prelates are ignorant and enemies of learning, having no respect to the salvation of souls, but rather thrusting

thrusting them down to hell by their false teaching or wicked example. He saw how they sought to abolish the *Pragmatica Sanctio*: and therefore when he hath shewed that the riches of the present times are not comparable unto the former times, he addeth, except one sort of men, who indeed should not have been excepted; these are the priests, whom now we behold to be the only rich men, almost next unto Kings. And when he had spoken a little satyrically of them, he addeth; Whence hast thou, o France, that liberty to be called most Christian, if as by religion thou didst deserve that honourable name, so by the same religion thou endeavourst not to retain it still? O how would thine enemies clap their hands, and rejoice who do envy thee this *Talladium* of thy happines & Kingdom, a gift sent unto thee from heaven! which being taken away, or fading from thee, thou canst no more be happy; Beware, I pray thee, that thou bee not too credulous unto these sonnes of the earth, who building honourable estates like unto the *Aloïde*, seeme to make warre against God, & climbe into the heavens, to wrong them who are above: for by consent of all men, the cause of all these cometh from the head & top of Christendom: who unless he be well disposed, all the inferiour members must draw the causes of disease from him. We see likewise, that godly men do wish; that by providence the pillar of the Church may be amended, or another be sett up more profitable; Neither am I ignorant, that the foundations of this house were layd by a cunning hand on a most firme rock, which by no force can be pulled down, &c. Then he sheweth the abuses of the Church, especially those that proceed from simony, whereby the government of the Church is altogether diverse from the institution of Christ. He compareth Christ & his Apostles with the Pope and his court, so that he is compelled to say, The Bride hath renounced her Spouse. Then he complains, that the discipline of the Church, is corrupted by them who should have been the chief maintainers of it, and who can believe, that the men, who have done these things, can acknowledge the good & true faith? who knoweth not, that the choice stones of the sanctuary have been cast down long since, and dispered, so that the Majesty of the Church being ruined, now the Spouse of Christ forgetting her mariage-bond, not only hath left her husband, but shameleily hath been wandering in the broad waies & streets licenciously, & gone a whooring thorough Provinces? who knoweth not, that the shepherds are become not only deserters, but drivers away of their flocks? What? Have we not seen the most eminent of the prelates behaving themselves so preposterously, so filthily, that they who should have framed all the daunce to grauity & comelynes, have altogether abhorred the comelynes of order, &c. The Jesuits of the Spanish Index Expurg. have ordained all such passages to be blotted out. In his second book *De Translat Hellenism*, he saith, O if we had but the relicqueus and ashes of the old faith, which now is almost buried. From which faith God hath called some of his stewards faith, full who being full of Divine courage, of godly emulation, of the Spirit, of God, have been a glory & ornament of the Church; But now and even of a long time the Church is a wasted house; having no colour nor shew of that religion, which Christ taught, if we judge of the universality by the greatest part.

14. *Iacobus Almainus* Doctour of Divinity, in his book printed at Colen, *De potestate Pontificis* (against Thomas de vio, aliàs Cardinal Cajetan the Legate of Leo X.) writeth particularly of indulgences, saying; The power of binding & loosing seemeth not to be extended unto them that are in purgatory. being wheresoever promises are made in the Scriptures, or

grace is promised, it is alwayes said, *on earth*; as whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, &c. and it is never spoken of these who are departed this life. Thence it followeth, saith he, That the souls in purgatory can not be delivered from punishment by indulgences, albeit they may be by prayers.

15. John Tritemius was at this time *Abbas Spanhemienfis*: he had many bickerings with the monkes. In one epistle he calleth the priests contemners of the Holy Scriptures: in another he complaineth, that Aristotle was more preached in pulpits, then Christ. In his answer unto the 8. questions of the Emperour Maximilian, he hath these propositions: If there be any salvation without Christ, Christ is not the Saviour of all. 2. Seeing the Sacred Scripture is the work of God, we must necessarily confesse, it is in all respects perfect: for the great God, whose works are all perfect, hath given unto his Scriptures, such order as he pleased, and without all doubt he inspired his pen men, how they should write *Adquest.* 4. 3. The heavenly doctrine is not in the words, but in the meaning of the Scriptures, not in the pages of an hid oration, but in the secret of mysticall inspiration: *ibid.* 4. Neither hath the Church any authority without the Scripture, nor is faith given unto the Scripture, without the Church: for as *Augustin* saith, I had not believed the Scriptures, if the authority of the Church, had not moved me; So John Gerson said, I would not believe the Church, if the Gospell did not move me: the Church confirmeth the Scripture, and is confirmed by the Scripture: when the Church doubteth, she hath recourse unto the advice of the Scriptures: for the same Spirit of God hath founded the Church on the faith of Jesus Christ, and he only hath inspired the Scriptures: This is the three fold cord, which is not easily broken: when the Holy Scripture is by the Holy Spirit coupled with the authority of the Church, so that the Scriptures commend the Church, and the Church commendeth the Scripture. 5. Some men think, that the Holy Scripture is in many things confused and imperfect, and yet if they would read it with due purity of mind, they would find it very perfect & solid. At last he concludeth; The authority of any Catholik Church (not of any particular Church) is great, which only in the doubts concerning faith, hath place to expound the Scriptures [to wit, out of the Scriptures themselves, which are perfect, as he said before] unto whom speaking according to the Scriptures, the neckes of all powers are subject, &c.

An. 1516. died the worthy Carmelite Baptista Mantuanus, a Poët of such fame, that he is æqualized unto the antient Poëts, as Bostius writeth unto Burellus. In many places he describeth the estate of Rome, to wit, he professeth his own affection toward that Church, in *Fest. lib.* 12. saying,

*Et licet his olim nugis juveniliter aures
Præbuerim: tamen ut melius cum tempore factum
Judicium, his hec mihi perniciofa videri
Capit, & ex gravium cunei abigenda virorum.*

In his Eclog. 9. he describeth the City, thus;

*Mille lupi, totidem vulpes in vallibus istis
Lustra tenent, & quod dirum ac mirabile dictum est,
Ipsæ homines (hujus tanta est violentia cœli)
Sæpe lupi effigiem moresque assumere vidi,
Inque suum sævire gregem, multaque madere
Cede sui pecoris: factum vicinia ridet,
Nec scelus exhorret, nec talibus obviat ausis.*

*Sæpe etiam miris apparent monstra figuris,
 Quæ tellus affecta malis influxibus edit.
 Sæpe canes tantam in rabiem vertuntur, ut ipsos
 Vincant cade lupos, & qui tutela fuerunt
 Hostiles ineunt animos, & ovilia mactant.*

And in his first book *Sylvarum* after a long catalogue of the impieties of Rome, he saith, *Singula texentem convitia deseret atas,
 Tantum ac tale tuæ est impietatis onus.*

*Romanis Pater est Mavors, lupa Martiannurix:
 Hæc hominum mores ingentumque docent.
 Vivere qui sanctè cupitis, discedite: Rome
 Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse pium.*

And in *Fast. libr. 2.* he directeth his speech unto Pope Leo X.

*Sed tria præsertim restant curâ atque labore,
 Digna tuo: bellum est primum, quæ fessa laborat
 Italia, & pleni humano jam sanguine campi.
 Est aliud; Romana gravi maculata veneno
 Curia, quæ spargit terras contagia in omnes.
 Postremum, est oppressa fides, exposta rapinis
 Undique, & in prædam populis subjecta cruentis:
 A te hæc subsidium magnis clamoribus orant:
 Sancte Pater, succurre Leo: Respublica Christi
 Labitur, ægotatque fides jam proxima morti.*

17. The University of Padua in their determination for the divorcement of Augustinus Furnarius a Noble man of Genua, did hold that those things which appertain unto the law of God, are not subject unto the power of the Romish Pope, and that in these things the Pope is not the Vicar of Christ, but only in such things that are committed unto the jurisdiction of men. *Corn. Agrippa in Apolog. §. 2.*

18. *Cornelius Agrippa* Count a Nicttesheim & Doctor utriusque Juris became afterwards counsellor unto Charls V. Emperour. Albeit he continue professing himself to be a member of the Romish Church, and wrote despitefully of *Martin Luther*, yet in sundry of his works he dissemblerh not the estate of the Romish Church. *An. 1510.* he had a declamation against diverse abuses of the Church, and in defence of his declamation he wrote a book which he calleth *De vanitate scientiarum & artium*: in which his purpose is to shew that no where, no not in the Pope, nor in Scholastik Theology is there any Divine solidity, but only in the word of God: and in proof heer of as he taxeth the faults of all studies and Arts, so he concealeth not the vices of priests, monks, Bishops, Cardinals and Popes, as elsewhere I have touched: especially in *cap. 54.* he sheweth, that the Doctors of Theology in *Lovan* do reckon among the canonized Saints *Aristoteles*, who by killing himself had made himself a sacrifice unto the Devils, and nevertheless they had caused to print a book *de Salute Aristot.* and they had published another booke *de Vita & Morte Arist.* with a Theologicall glosse: in the end of which they conclude, as *John the Baptist* was the fore-runner of Christ in things concerning grace, so *Aristotle* was the forerunner of Christ in other things, &c. In *c. 60.* he saith, It is not the least part of Religion, that consisteth in the pompe of ceremonies, in cloaths, in vessell, candles, bell, organs, concents, odours, sacrifices, gestures, pictures, in the choise of meates, & fastes & such other things that are in singular admiration & adoration of the unlearned people, who receive and take heed only to such things as are before their eyes-- But

as it oft happeneth, that those things which are ordained for remedy, turne to harme, so it comes to passe that by the multiplication of the lawes concerning these ceremonies, Christians are now burdened with too many constitutions, with more than the Jewes of old: and which is more to be lamented, whereas those rites are neither good nor bad in themselves, people trust more in them, and observe them more præcisely, than the commandments of God; Bishops and priests in the mean time looking on these things, as it were, thorough their fingers, and providing well for their own bellies, &c. But briefly; for rebuking these and such other corruptions in the Church, Agrippa was delated by the Masters of Lovan, unto the Emperour, as an hæretik, he defended himself by a published Apologia: and for examples sake they condemned him of hæresy, because he had said in *Cap. 100.* The knowledge of the word of God came by no schoole of Philosophers, by no Sorbone of Divines, and by no colledge of Scholastiks, but only God and Christ have given it unto us; To which no thing should be added nor paired. Unto this their censure he answered in *Apolog. Sect. 23.* They think these words offensive unto godly cares, not that they are contrary unto Scriptures or unto the Church, but because it is dissonant from the schooles, who seeme to have decreed, that Philosophy is necessary unto salvation, and they think it all ungodly, that their *Aristotle*, hath not imagined: But if these Propositions be false, the contrary must be true and Catholik, to wit, not God and Christ only, but schooles and Sorbones, and colledges have given us the knowledge of Gods word, and we may against Gods command adde unto, and pair from the canonical Scripture; Who would think that the *Magistri* of Lovan are so fond & dotting, that they will think this proposition Catholike? &c. And in *Sect. 34.* he said, O Moses, ô Salomon, ô Paul, ô John, ô Christ, ô Church of God, what a Disciple of Satan is this, who forgeth calumnies against the words even of the Holy Scriptures? what will he answer, when he shall stand with me before the throne of Christ to give account, that he hath maliciously detracted from the word of God? surely in that day many of *Magistri nostri* will rise and say, O Lord in thy name we have boldly slandered, in thy name we have disputed eagerly; In thy name we have burnt many men confidently; In thy name we have suffered ourselves to be called Masters in Divinity; but Christ will say unto them, I never knew you; &c. This Agrippa is called a Necromancer: but God will have truth to be justified, even enemies being Judges.

19. *Polydorus Vergilius* was born in Urbino, and sent by the Pope into England in the dayes of Henry the VIII. to gather the Peter-pence: because the King saw him a learned man, he wished him to stay, so he became Archdean of Wells. Albeit in his writings he professeth himself a Papist, yet he condemneth the worshipping of images, *Tractat. on the Lords Prayer Pag. 2.* he maintaineth the liberty of mariage unto the priests, *de Inv. lib. 5. c. 4.* and in these books he sheweth the novelty & vanity of many other abuses of Rome, as I have elsewhere noted, and he plainly describeth the matter and manner of the preachin in his daies, saying; John the Baptist preached in the desert of Judæa, our Saviour preached and commanded his Apostles to preach saying, Goe, teach all nations, and preach the Gospell. Whereof some of our Divines are ashamed, when they preach; or then they are weary of it for when they have perfunctoriously read a part of the Gospell, as if their people had no more need of instruction; they digresse to their fained questions, there they wrestle: and as if they were mad, they vex themselves, wresting the Holy Scriptures as they please: they corrupt all, they confound

confound all with their cries: when their fury is allayed, they come to base things, talk of the prices of victuals; of pedlers: like jests some times they jeere: and for the same are they commended by the foolish people, and this sort of preaching is most frequently used, and most commended; But would to God, oft times they spread not worse: for as no sort of men is so profitable for religion, if they would preach the Truth, so none does more harme, when they study to preach for to please the people: for when they have once gotten the name of holyness, they do most harm, because they are most easily believed, as if they would teach nothing, but that men should live better; But some who should preach, teach nothing at all, so that they may justly be called dumbe dogs; So either by vanity or silence, they suffer Christ to be unknown among the people-- Some times they pray one thing after another off hand, that like flying birds they wote not themselves where they will end. *de Inven. rer. lib. 5. cap. 9.* Again in his treatise *de Interpret. Orat. Dom.* he saith; We eat the bread of Christ, when we believe, that he is the Son of God, as it is said, he who believeth in me, hath eternall life: and the priests should distribute this bread unto us by preaching; but thou wilt say, how can priests feed so many, seeing the greatest part of them is ignorant of letters, and the number of people is infinite? Let us also passe by that, &c. Briefly it is manifest how many things he did not love in the Church then, that the Authours of the *Index Expurgatorius* have filled 8 pages, with the catalogue of these things, which now they disallow in that his one work *de Invent. rer.*

20. At the same time some Cardinals & Bishops incited Lewes II. King of France against the Waldenses (who had continued so many hundred years in these places on this side of the Alpes) as if they were incestuous, witches and heretiks: and therefore they wished the King to expell them all without examination. On the other syde they sent commissioners to declare their innocency before the King. The Cardinals would have debarred them from the Kings presence, because the canon-l. saith, Heretiks should not be heard. Lewes answered, If I were to fight against the Turk, I would first hear, what he would say. So he sent for the commissioners of Merindole, and Cabriers: they reverently declared, that they believed the Holy Scripture, and the Creed of the Apostles, but they leaned not to the Pope and his doctrines; if the King shall find other wise, they submit themselves most gladly unto his censure. The King sent one of his Counsellors *Adamus Fumau*, and his confessor *N. Parvus à Dominican*, to inquire whether it were so, as they had said. They went into these Provinces, and after due search, they reported, that the Infants among them were baptized, the articles of faith and the law were preached, the Lords day was religiously observed, and the word of God was expounded: they could find no witchcraft, nor whoredom among them, but they had no images in their Churches, nor ornaments of the masse. The King answered with an oath (as afterwards Pope Gregory XIII. said unto his Cardinals concerning the Calvinists) saying, These men are better then I and my people. *Jo. Lampad. in Mellif. part. 3.* Also *Claudius Seisselius* Archbishop Taurin. gives them a large testimony of approbation, howbeit he following the multitude wrote against them.

21. *An. 1516. John Major à Scot*, & famous Professour of Divinity in Paris, publisheth some propositions, which he handleth more largely on *lib. 4. Sentent. dist. 2. 4. quest. 3.* First, the most great high priest hath no temporal government over Kings, &c.

Christ, and Christ is Lord of all; thou canst not prove, that Christ according to his manhood is Lord of all, seeing he said unto Pilat, My Kingdom is not of this World: and albeit the antecedent were granted, the consequent is weak and impossible to be proved: for the Vicar is not of such authority, as his Superiour: and Christ did institute Sacraments, and gave the law of grace, and he may revoke all the positive law of God, but the Pope may not doe so. 3. If we grant the contrary, then it followeth, Constantine gave nothing unto Silvester, but only restored his own unto him: but the contrary is *dist 96. c. Constantinus & 12. q. 1. c. Futurum*. 4. The Popes. confesse that temporal jurisdiction belongeth not unto them, neither will they derogate from the right of Kings. *Innocentius III. in cap. Novit de iudiciis.* and *Alexander in C. causam: Qui filii sint legitimi*. 5. Many devote Kings, who are canonized by Popes, never acknowledged the Pope of Rome to be their superiour in temporal things, and died in that belief-- for earthly power dependeth not upon the Spiritual power of the Pope, as a Centurion on his Colonell, but as two powers that are not subordinate, or whereof the one dependeth not on the other: for a King is not the vassall of the Pope, so neither is the Emperour any way subject unto him. These were not the opinions of one Scote alone, but the common tenentes of France, as is also manifest, because on the 27. day of March *An. 1517.* was a solemne appellation of the Vniversity of Paris in their general congregation at S. Bernards, for themselves and for all who would adhere unto them; by their Proctour Arnulph Monnart, before William Huk Docto. V. I and Dean as an authentike person, because they could not compeare before him to whom they did appeale; wherein they protest that they will attempt nothing against the catholick Church, nor power of the Pope being wel advised; then they declare, that the Papall power maketh not the Pope *impeccabilis*, that is, such as can not sin, neyther hath leave to sin: and therefore if he command any thing that is not just, he should patiently endure, if it be not done which is wickedly suggested unto him: neyther should obedience be given unto him, if he decree any thing to be established aganst the preceptes of God, yea justly may he be resisted: But if he be aided with assistance of potent men, who are perhaps deceived with wicked suggestion or no good Counsell, so that he can not be resisted, yet one remedy remaineth by the Law of nature, which no Prince can take away, to wit, the remedy of appellation, which is a kind of defense competent unto every man by the law of God, of nature & of man; Then they approve the Councill of Constance and Basile, & they do urge the constitutions made in them for reformation of the Church, which was necessary at that time: this they declare particularly, to wit, the remedies against simony, annates, &c. In prejudice whereof (say they) Leo X. in a certain assembly within Rome, wee know not how, yet not gathered in the Spirit of the Lord, with whom nothing can be discerned nor decerned aganst the law of God & Holy Councill; he, I say, gaping after his own lusts & lucre---; Therefore we, the Rectour & Vniversity feeling ourselves burthened, wronged, oppressed, doe appeal from our Lord the Pope, not being well advised in abrogating the ordinances of the said Sacred Councill of Basile & of the pragmatike sanction, in setting forth new statutes, unto a Councill to be lawfully assembled-- instantly, more instantly, and most instantly protesting, that we will prosecute this appellation by way of nullity, abuse, iniquity or any other way, that we best may, option remaining unto us, &c. The chieff membres of the Vniversity did all subscribe solemnely, and their seall was affixed. *Fasc. rer. expet.*

22. *Vlrichius Vitenus* caused to re print the book of *Laurentius Vallā* against the forged Donation of Constantine, and he prefixed an epistle unto Pope Leo *An. 1517*, where he saith, Let it come to light, if any thing hath been a long time hid; and let it come with the more confidence, as it is more true, or hath been written the more sincerely. What a booke is this? which other Popes could not endure, because they would not heare the truth. What doth that concerne you, that they said, It is written against the honour of the Ecclesiasticall estate? or that they said, it speaks amisse of the highpriests? for certainly they were not highpriests, which did forge the Donation of Constantine, because they were not shepherds. Nor was it the Church, that received it, because it was not the Congregation of believers in Christ. For if these had been shepherds, they would have fed Christs sheep, and not invaded and devoured them. And if they had been the Church, certainly they had called the Nations unto life and liberty, and not have drawn Empires and Nations under their yoke. Certainly, all the most bitter speeches and all the most cruell deeds are justly due unto these highpriests, who have forged that detestable crime. And why not? unto robbers, thieves, tyrants. For who is a more violent robber, then he which catcheth so, that he holds no measure in robbing? such were they, who upon the least occasion have gone into infinite boldnesse of robbing; who have sold grace, and for so long a time have set to sale, pardons, dispensations, and bulls of I know not, how many kinds; who have appointed prices for remission of sins, and have purchased gain from the punishments of hell. who are not content to crave extraordinarily once a year, but sent so oft as they would, to require, some pretending for one thing, and some for another; some at is were for a levie against the Turks, and some to build a temple in Rome unto bl. Peter, and they never doe it. And when they had done all these things, they would be called most blessed and most holy, nor could they suffer a word to be spoken against their manners, much less any thing to be done against them. But if any man had spoken of liberty, or made the least obstacle unto these robbers, they would have raged against him to death, and quickly have undone him. Therefore they were not shepherds, because they did not save souls, but undid them, and they made the sheep of Christ a ready prey unto the devouring wolves. I say therefore, they were not shepherds, but rather wolues; nor guardians, but traitours and thieves. Wherefore it is lawfull to speak ill of them: for certainly God did not regard them, seing they regarded not the peace of God: and so long an high priest hath not been in the Church, as there hath not been peace. who were not content to kill the bodies of men cruelly, for maintaining the truth, but would destroy the souls, beloved of God, the spouse of Christ, that noble spoile of hell, that reward purchased by the blood of Christ have they trode under feet, killed and devoured, &c. This he wrote from his castle *Steckelberg Decemb. 1. 1517*. There indeed he commends Pope Leo, wishing (as it seemes) he were such an one: but a little after that he speakes more freely: for when Pope Leo sent unto Germany to extract tithes for preparation of warrs against the Turk, the Princes of Germany assembled, and there in presence of the Emperour one being demanded to give his advice, had a large discourse. *Ort. Gratius* writes, it was said to be the Oration of *Vlric. Hutten*. Among other things he saith, Yee would expell the Turk: I commend your purpose: but I fear, that yee mistake the name: seek him in Italy, not in Asia: our Kings are able to defend their own Dominions from him in Asia: but all Christendom is not

able to danton the other: the one hath skirmished with his neighbours, and as yet hath done us no harm; but the other oppresseth every where, and thirsteth after the blood of miserable people: yee can not satiate this *Cerberus* with a flood of gold: there is no need of armes nor an Army: tithes will be more forcible then garrisons of souldiers. When I doe weigh the matter seriously, I see, two wayes are propounded; one, at the command of superstition, craves gold; the other, if wee refuse, threatneth the Popes curse: take either of the two, as you will: but ô fond and superstitious opinion of men, who think him to be the God of heaven! he who duely considereth, seeth that all are carried at the becke of the Florentines: Not to give, is offensive; and to give is gracious: the thunder of Christs vicar is not to be despised, but every bolt is not to be feared, especially when it is directed by humane affections: I feare the indignation of Christ, but not of the Florentines: This is the cause of the Florentines, and not of Christ. The last yeare, upon no small charges, were the wars carried on against Francis D. of Urbine, who was expelled out of his Dominion, that Laurence Medices might have it: Lewes was not provident enough to leave more gold. . . . When the Urbin Duke is away, the lyke fortune is threatned against the Prince of Ferrara, and then wee must salute Laurence Medices a Citizen of Florence, King of Herruria. This shall be the effect of the tithes, and this is the craft of the Italian Turk, who by the convoy of superstition entreth into our bowels, &c.

23. About that time the study of learning was in a manner revived in many parts of Europe: for Pope Leo X. erected some Colledges at Rome: Cardinal Francis Ximenius Archbishop of Toledo caused the Bible (called Complutensia) to be printed *An. 1515.* in four languages, the Hebrew with the Chaldaick, Greek & Latine translations. Henry VIII. did endowe the Universities of England: Francis King of France did the lyke there: so also did Charles in Low-Germany; as we heard before of Wittenbergh and Frankford. Because Sanctes Pagnin and Arias Montanus had translated the Bible word for word, which did not so well agree with the Latine phrase; Francis Vatablus the Kings Professor of the Hebrew tongue at Paris translates the old Testament in a clearer style. And here Andrew Cratander the Printer then at Basile deserves to be remembered: hee was both learned and wealthy, and upon his charges set many learned men a worke, to translate the books of John Chrysostom, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Theophylactus and such other antient Greek Authours, which then began to speak Latine in his house, as the Emperour Charles V. testifies in *Exemp. privilegii*, before the works of Cyril. After him (a litle later in time) was Robert Stephanus that learned and famous Printer at Paris: it appears in his *Respons. ad censuras Theolog. Paris.* that, when he was Corrector in the shope of his father-in-law Simon Colen, he, caused to be printed a litle New Testam. corrected in sundry texts conforme unto the Greek: for this cause the Sorbonists cried out against him, as worthy to be burnt; for (saith he) they called that corruption, whatsoever was purged from the dregs of their common ignorance. This was in the yeare 1522. I make mention of him in this place especially, because of that which followes in that his Answer; he saith, I may speak this truly, when I did ask them [*he is speaking of the Masters of Sorbone*] In what place of the New Testament is that written? they did answer like shameles whores, They had read it in *Ierom.* or in the Decrees: but they knew not, what the New Testament was: Even so ignorant were they, that they knew not, the New Testament was wont to be
printed

printed with, and after the old Testament. This [saith he] will be thought prodigious, and yet most true, and certain which I shall relate: a few years agoe, one of Coledge was wont to say dayly: I wonder that these young men talk of a New testament: I was above 50. years of age, and knew not what a New Testament was. Oh blindness, and also desperate shamelesnes! *So far be.* But how gross soever was the ignorance of many not only of the vulgar sort, but of those which were called Rabbies; nevertheless all Sciences, and languages were polished every where, as there were at that time many learned men; and so by mercifull providence the world was prepared for a Reformation.

24. And here *Erasmus a Roterdamer* deserves to be remembered: about that time he was busy in translating some Greeke Fathers into Latine, and in delivering some Latine Fathers from the moths, and gathering from sundry Bibliotheks the dispersed Copies both of the one sort and the other: so that by his diligence many Printers were held in worke, and Europe was furnished with books, more abundantly than ever before: and in the year 1516. he published a translation of the New Testament out of the Greek by the permission of Pope Leo: that worke, as it was acceptable unto good men, so it did provoke the implacable hatred of the idle Monks against him: they had their quarells against him before that: for in the year 1508. he had been in Italy, and in his returning, he wrote a part of what he had seen and heard, in a little book under the title, *Εὐχολογία μωρίας*, the praise of folly; and in a jocund way brings Folly as speaking, what He thought: among other things, Folly speaking of the preachers, saith, They have devised a foolish faith, but a pleasant persuasion, to wit, If one shall look upon a painted Polyphemus Chrystophorus, he shall not perish that day; or if one shall in the prescribed words pray unto Barbara, he shall return safe from battell; or if upon certain dayes he can meet with Erasmus (*this was the name of a Canonized Saint*) and give him some waxe-torches, and say some prayers, he shall soon become rich. And now they have found George for Hercules, as also another Hippolytus, and almost they worship his horse, when he is trimmed with tappers and studes, and they beg his favour with some new gift: it is royal to sweare by his brazen helmet. And what shall I say of them, who most sweetly flatter themselves with the fained pardons of sins, and who measure the space of purgatory with their hour-glasses, (as if with a mathematicall line) without errour, the ages, years, months, dayes and hours; Or of them, who trusting to some little buttons and short prayers, which some pious deceiver hath devised either for sport or gain, do perswade themselves of every good thing, riches, honours, pleasures, fulness, continuall health, long life, able old-age, and at last a chaire next unto Christ in heaven, which nevertheless they wish not for a long time, that is, when the pleasures of this life shall leave them against their will, then let the joy of heaven come.... What is more foolish, yea what is more happy, than they who for saying dayly seven verses of the holy Psalmes, doe assure themselves of more than the highest happiness? and these magical verses some devill (surely a merry one) but naughty rather than crafty, is thought to have told Saint Bernard: and these things are so foolish, that almost I myself am ashamed of them: and yet they are approved, not only by the vulgar people, but even by the professours of religion. And is it not all alike, that now every Country hath their peculiar Saint, and they divide every thing among them, and give unto every one of them their own rites of worship; one will heale the tooth-ache,

another is helpfull in childbirth, another will bring again a thing that is stolen . . . and what seek they from these Saints, but what belongs unto folly . . . Why should I enter into the sea of these superstitions? though I had an hundred tongues and an iron voice, I could not tell all the names of their superstitions, which neverthelesse the priests doe, not unwillingly, both suffer and nourish: for they know, how much gain accrueth hereby. . . . How many will set up a waxe-candle unto the Virgin the mother of Christ, and that at noone, when there is no need of it . . .? Some will goe to Jerusalem, to Rome or to S. James, where they have nothing to doe. . . . It were good for me not to touch the Divines, nor move that stinking puddle: for they are a sort of men very peevish and soon provoked: it may be, they will set upon me with fixe hundred conclusions, and force me to recant? or if I will not, they will proclaime me an heretick: for it is their custome to affright men with this thunder, if they be not content. And indeed albeit none others will lesse acknowledge my bountifullness, these also are not a little obblidged unto mee, while they being happy with their self love, as if they were dwelling in the third heaven, doe from above look down upon mortall men, as so many beasts creeping on the earth, and I almost doe pity them, when they are compast roundabout with such a swarme of Masterly definitions, conclusions, corollaries, propositions explicite and implicate, and so many fly subterfuges, that Vulcan's chaines shall not hold them, but they shall escape with distinctions, where with they cut afunder all knots easily as with a Tenedian sword; they have so many new-coined words and prodigious terms. And then they expound the hidden mysteries at their pleasure, as what way the world was made and set in order, by what conduite the infection of sin is derived unto posterity; by what wayes, in what measure, and how much time Christ was perfected in the Virgin's wombe; how the accidents can subsist without their own house in the sacrament. But those are triviall things: it concerneth the Masters and (as they call them) the illuminate Divines, if at any time they fall out, to declare, Whether there was any instant or moment in the generation of God; whether there be more son-ships in Christ; whether this be a possible proposition. The father hateth his son. . . . What had Peter consecrated at that time, when Christ's body was upon the crosse; whether at that time Christ could be called a man; whether after the resurrection we shall eat and drinke, that so we may prevent hunger and thirst. There are innumerable toys, more subtiler then these, of notions, relations, formalities, quiddities, heccecities, which none can behold with his eyes, unless he can through the thickest darknes behold the things that are not. . . . And nevertheless these doe find by my means some, who when they heare them, thinke they heare Demosthenes or Cicero: of which sort are especially merchants and women, whose eares they endeavour chiefly, to please, because these will give them a part of their ill-purchased goods, if their back be softly handled; and the women for many causes doe favour this order. . . . And the high priests and Cardinals and Bishops have long agoe followed handfomly the fashions of Princes, and goe beyond them. If any will consider what meaneth the linnen surplice with the snowy colour, towit, a life altogether unspotted; and what meaneth the two-horned mitre with one knot tying both the tops, towit, the perfect knowledge of both the old and new Testament; what meane the hands covered with gloves, but the administration of the sacraments pure and free from all contagion of humane things. What the staff, but the most watchfull care of the concredited flock.

stock. what the cross, that is carried before him, but the victory of all humane affections. I say, if any will consider these and many such other things, would he not live a sad and pensive life? But now they do well, if they feed themselves, and leave the care of the sheep either unto Christ, or unto some Frier, as they speak, or unto a Vicare: but in gathering money, they are Bishops indeed; no blindness there. After the same manner, if the Cardinals would consider, that they are successors of the Apostles; and that the things shall be required of them, which those have done; and that they are not Lords, but administrators of spiritual gifts, of which they must ere long give account; or if they would consider their attire, and think with themselves, what meaneth this white coat, but the highest and most excellent innocency of life? and what meaneth the internal purple? is it not their zealous love to God? What meaneth the external purple so large and wide, that it covereth all the most Reverend's mule, yea and may also cover his Camell? is it not his love spreading it self so broad to help all men, that is, to teach, exhort, comfort, rebuke, admonish, compose warrs, resist wicked Princes, and gladly to bestow, not only their riches, but their blood on Christ's sheep? And yet what have the successors of the poor Apostles to do with riches? I say, if they would consider these things, they would not be ambitious of such a place, and they would gladly leave it, or certainly they would be more laborious, as the antient Apostles lived. Now the chief highpriests, which are the Vicars of Christ, if they would follow his life, that is, poverty, labour, teaching, cross, contempt of life; or if they would remember their name *Tapa*, that is, a Father, or their surname, most holy, who were more afflicted on earth? or who would buy that place with all their wealth? or when it is bought, defend it with poison, sword and all manner of violence? how great commodity shall they be deprived of, if they had any wit, or a grain of that salt, where of Christ speakes? I was lately at a theologicall disputation (whither I often go) and one asked, what authority of Divine Scriptures commandeth to burn an heretick rather than to convince him with reason? An old grave man (you might by his stately countenance have known him to be a Divine) said with great indignation, the Apostle Paul hath given this law, *Hereticum hominem post unam et alteram admonitionem de vita*. And when he thundered the words again and again, and many did admire what had hapned unto him, at last he explained himself, and said, Put out the life of an heretick. Some did laugh, and yet many did commend it as a very theologicall commentary, &c. The same *Erasmus in epist. ad Jod. Jon. dated Louan. 6. id. May, An. 1521* shewes the lamentations of all good men for the apostasie of the Romane Church, and the general corruption in doctrine as well as in manners; and how they earnestly dealt for Reformation, but could effectuate nothing, because of the covetousnes of Prelates. of him more followes.

25 *Joh. Ludovic Vives* (borne in Valentia, and living at that time in Louvan) at the intreaty of Erasmus did revise and collation sundry old Copies of Augustin's books *de civit. dei*, and wrote annotations or Commentaries upon them, where he noteth the condition of the time; as *lib. 2. c. 21. not. penult.* he saith, What will ye do with these Princes of the Schools, which as yet know not, that Paul wrote not in Latine, but in Greek? As also it is a very presumptuous thing, that these which are altogether ignorant of the manner of speaking, will so often dispute foolishly, and determine more foolishly of the signification of words: which they do every

where both in Dialectick and philosophy, where as they would seem to be nothing less then Grammarians, and take it very ill, if any who is a little more learned, will but speak of a word in these Arts. *Lib. 7. c. 26.* Augustin speaks of the priests of Cibeles, which in his time were wont to go a begging from the people, where upon they did live lewdly; and *Nota a Vives* shewes; that in the days of Cicero the begging of these priests was restrained unto some daies, because superstition possesseth mens minds, and emptied their houses: and he addeth, What if Augustin and Cicero saw the wealthy and most large Societies begging from them a farthing, who should rather distribute of their own, where with they abound and overflow? and in the mean time the giver biteth dry bread, and drinketh water out of an earthen vessel, for which he must work hard both night and day for himself and children; and the rich beggar surfeits himself with white bread, wood-cocks and good strong wine *Lib. 8. c. 27.* Augustin saith, What believer ever heard a priest say in his prayers, I offer a sacrifice unto thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian, seeing at their monuments it is offered unto God, who hath made these to be men and Martyres? we worship not therefore our Martyres nor turne we the villanies of the gods unto their sacrifices. *Vives addeth*, But now the custome is, when a holy day is kept unto Christ, who hath redeemed mankind by his death, to make playes unto the people, little differing from the antient comedies: albeit I speak no more, whosoever heareth, will think it filthy enough; they make sports in that, which is most serious: they laugh at Judas glorying most foolishly that he hath betrayed Christ: there the disciples fly away, when the souldiers pursue them, and that not without the loud derision both of the Actours and beholders: there Peter cutteth off the eare of Malchus, and the black band clappeth their hands, as if the captivity of Christ were well revenged. And a little there after, he that fought so stoutly, being afrigged at the question of a girle, denieth his Master; then the multitude scorned the maide, and hissed at Peter: among so many laughings, and so many fooleries, Christ only is sad; and while he endeavoureth to fetch up sad affections, I know not how, but not only there, but also in the very act of religion he cooleth to the great crime and impiety not only of the beholders and Actours, but of the priests, who will have such things to be done. *Lib. 11. c. 18. b. Vives saith*, Augustin saith, that there is some of the arte of Rhetorick in Pauls words: it is tolerable, because Augustin saith it: but if any of us would say it, they would cry out against it, not as a crime only, but as heresy: so ready at hand are heresies: they talk of nothing sooner nor more easily, when themselves are full of them. *Lib. 18. c. 22.* Augustin saith, Rome was built as another Babylon, and as the Daughter of the former Babylon. *Vives saith*, The Apostle Peter calleth Rome Babylon, as also Hierom expoundeth it in the life of Mark, and writing to Marcella, thinks, that no other Babylon is described by John in the Revelation, but the city Rome: but now it hath laid off so odious a name. for no confused thing or riff-raffe is there: every thing is distinguished by certain lawes, so that albeit every thing may be sold and bought there, yet yee shall doe nothing without law and formality even of the most holy law. And *c. 31. no. c. Vives saith*, There is mention of this Prophet [*Habacuc*] in Dan. 14. that he brought his dinner from Judea to Babylon unto Daniel: but Augustin useth not this testimony for prooffe of his time, because that story of Bell and all that 14 chapter, and the history of Susanna, are Apocrypha, nor are in the Hebrew, nor were translated by the L X X.

Lib. 15. c. 11. a. Augustin justly derides them, which give more credite unto translations, then unto these languages from which the sacred Scriptures have flowd into others. *And lib. 21. c. 24. d.* Paul signifieth, that no man can boast, that he is made glorious by his own merits, but that it is wholly by Gods benefite. He hath many such passages, that are blotted out by *Index expurgator*.

25. In a word, there was no Nation, that did not oppose their grievances at that time against the impious inuentions of the Romane Court, that they did violate all *Concordata*; they reserve all the fattest Benefices unto the Cardinalls; they without all order dispenſe expectative graces; exact Annates without pittie; measure indulgences according to their luxury; multiply the exaction of tiths under pretense of Turkish war; sell benefices and priesthoods indifferently to unable persons, even to ignorants; and draw all causes unto Rome. Whole volums of such things are extant, and were presented unto Emperours and Kings; and they adjoined the necessary remedies, especially in the years 1516 and 1517, as *P. Mornay testifieth in Myster. pa. 629 edit Salmu. in fol.* and when *Orth. Gratius* had declared the 109 Grievances of Germany, he saith, O, if there were not more hundreds of such, that are here mentioned by the Princes.

C A P. IV.

Of BRITANNE.

1. *John Colet* had learned humane sciences at home, and went to France and Italy for love of the sacred Scriptures. When he returned, he set himself especially to the meditation of Paul's epistles, and expounded them publicly and freely at Oxford. Henry 7 promoted him to the Deanry of Paul's. He professed to distaste many things that he had heard in Sorbone: he called the Scorists men without judgement, and the Thomists arrogant: he said; he reaped more fruit by the books which the Rabbies called hereticall, than by their books that were full of divisions and definitions, and were most approved by them. He never married, and yet regarded not monks without learning: he said, he found no where lesse corrupt manners than among married persons, because the care of a family and other affections suffered them not to deboard so much as others are wont. He spoke zealously against bishops, who professing religion were greatest worldlings, and in stead of shepherds were wolves. In his Sermons he said, Images should not be worshipped, and clerks should not be covetous. Nor Christians willingly be warriours. Two Friars Bricote and Standice accused him for heresy, unto B. Richard Fiziames: and he unto the archb. first, and then unto King Henry VIII. but these two knowing the godlines of the man, became his Patrones, *Erasm. in epist. ad Jod. Jon. dated Andrelac. Idi. Jun. An. 1521.* He died of a consumption *An. 1519* in the 53 year of his age: the clergy would have taken his body out of the grave, and burned it, if they had not been hindred by the King. *Foxe in acts & mon.*

2. Arthur the eldest son of King Henry I. married Catharine the Infanta of Spain, and died without issue: then his father being desirous to continue the alliance with Spain, and to keep her rich dowry within the realme, devised to marry this young widow to his other son Henry: and for this end he purchased a dispensation from the Pope. The King thought to have

made his second son Archbishop of Canterbury; and for this end was the more solicitous to have him well instructed: but he was crowned after his fathers death *An.* 1509.

3. In the beginning of this Century was little stirre in matters of religion in Scotland. After that infortunate battel of Flowdon, where King James 4 and his base son Alexander Archbishop of Saintandrews were slain, fell great strife for that See. Gawin douglas Bishop of Dunkell and brother to the Earle of Anguise was presented by the Queen as Regent: Patrick hepburn Priour of Saintandrews was elected by the Chanons; and Forman Bishop of Murray and Pope Julius his Legate would have it by his power of Legation. This strife was so hot, and continued so long a time, that the mouths of many were opened to speak against the corruptions in the Church.

4. *Heſlor Boece* was borne at Dundy, brought up in learning at Paris; and at this time was professour of philosophy, and afterward Principall of the Colledge at Aberdien. In his Chronicle of Scotland he cometh not nearer than King James 2: but by the by he shewes the estate of the Church in his own time: in *Lib.* 13. c. 11 he saith, Now we will make a digression, and see how farr the Prelats and Church men in antient times were above the Prelats of our times in vertues and integrity of conversation, of which the Prelats now but have the name, and follow not their manners at all: for the antient fathers were given to the imitation of Christ in poverty, piety, humility, and righteoufnes, alluring the people by their fervent charity and continuall preaching in the Service of God with equall affections to rich and poore; not araying themselves with gold, silver or costly ornaments; not haunting the Court, nor accompanied with women or seen in bordels; not contending to exceed Princes in pleasure and insolency; nor doing any thing by deceit, but living in pure conscience and verity: But the Prelats in our dayes and the Church-men are led with more vices than are seen in any other people: such enormities have rung perpetually since riches were apprifed by Church-men. So farr he. If the opposition be marked (which is his aime) we may understand what prelats or clergy were then.

C A P. V.

OF COUNCELS.

1. **W**hen *Pope Julius 2* was crowned, he promised by solemn oath to call a Generall Councell for Reformation of the Church: but afterward no thing was lesse in his mind: and while he made war now against Venice, and then against France, nothing regarding the estate of the Church, nine Cardinals departed from him, and having the concurrence of the Emperour and the King of France with their clergy, a Councell was summoned on May 19 to convene at Pisa Septemb. 1. *An.* 1511, because the Pope had violated his oath concerning the calling of a Councell, and the condition of the Christian Commonwealth admitted no longer delay; and they summoned the Pope to appear before them; and all Princes, Doctours and Prelats that had or might pretend any interest, through Italy France and Germany. On August 1. the Pope published his answer, that when he was a Cardinal, he was most desirous of a councell: but now because

because of the wars a councill can not be assembled in Italy, and far lesse in the wasted and defaced City of Pisa; nor had they authority to call a councill: and therefore he commanded all men not to obey that citation under pain of excommunication *Jo. Sleidan. Comment. Lib. 1.* Three Cardinals returned unto the Pope, and were accepted, saith *Nic. Basel. in Addit.* but the others with the bb. of Lombardy and France did meet at Pisa: and because they were not safe there, they removed to Millan, where Barnardin *Card. S. Crucis* was chosen president and then fearing that Millain was not safe enough, they removed to Lions. Because they continued in their purpose, the Pope in his Consistory at Rome condemned them as hereticks, schismatics and rebellious, and deprived them of their titles, dignities; voice, bishopriks, monasteries and whatsoever Benefices they had by *Commenda* or whatsoever other title; and declareth them incapable for al times to come. *Basel. ib.* In the mean time the Emperour was perswaded by the Pope to forsake that councill: and therefore was noted for inconstancy by some, and others called him an obedient son. But *Lewes XII.* was ready to compell the Pope to obey the Councell. On the other side the Pope levied and directs an Army against him: and the King gave order to his General *Gasto Foxius* in Millane to omit no opportunity of fighting against the Popes Army; and if he should prevaile, he would make halt towards Rome without any respect of the Bishop. And lest it be talked abroad, that the King did attempt this by his sole authority, his army was levied in name of the Councell (which was still called) of Pisa. and Cardinal *Severino* was sent by the Councell with that Army. Whereupon followed a great victory at Ravenna, the Popes army was foiled, his Legate *John Medices* Generall thereof and many other remarkable persons were taken. But the death of *Gasto* stopped the course of the victory, and delivered the Pope from fear. Then the *Swissers* under the pay of *Julius* made irruption into Burgundy, and *Lewes Pelissà* Governour of his Army in Italy was ordered to come into France. In the mean time the Councell had eight Sessions, and continued their process against *Julius*, and did suspend him from all Civill and Ecclesiasticall authority *Aprile 9. 1512.* The report is (saith *Sleidan*) that it is the policy of the Popes, when they are afraid of a Councell, to appoint another serving their own purpose. So Pope *Julius* on *July XVIII.* summoneth a Councell to begin at Lateran *Aprile. 19;* and after that did adjourne it till *May 1. certis causis eum ad id moventibus* saith *Baselius.* This was the work of Bishops and Councells in those days. *Budæus de ass. fol. 176 edit. Ascen. An. 1531* saith, Here were two Councells, the Romane and the Pisane, but both were called through envy and revenge, rather than out of love; and it may be added, or any purpose to doe good: but we see, Reformation of the Church was pretended. and the Pope was opposed.

2. At the foresaid time began the Councell at Lateran which *Bellarmin* calleth the *XVII.* Generall councill. In the first Session the Bible was laid at the Popes feet, and he was called Prince of all the world, the successour of Peter, and not inferiour unto Peter; yea they say unto him, *The respect of your divine Majestie.* In *Sess. 2* *Julius* is called, Priest and King, most like unto God, and who is to be adored by all people. In *Sess. 3* the Kingdom of France is interdicted, and given to any for the winning: the markets and faires are transported from Lions unto Geneve. In *Sess. 4.* the *Tragmatica Sanctio* of France is annulled, and the Pope is said to have the place of the everlasting King on earth, albeit with unequal merites. After the 5 *Sess.* *Julius* died: and in the next *Sess.* *Leo X.* was declared Pope. Then

Begnus *Episc. Modruvianis* comforted the Church, saying, Weep not Daughter Sion: for behold the Lion of the tribe of Juda cometh, the root of David; behold the Lord hath raised up unto thee a Saviour and deliverer. And again turning his speech unto the Pope he saith, O most blessed Leo, we have waited for thee our Saviour- we have hoped, that thou our Deliverer wert to come: take thy sword and buckler, and arise to our defence. In *Sess. 8.* the Cardinals whom Iulius had declared incapable of any title, were restored: for when Iulius was gone, they had no more to worke upon, and so submit themselves, and were accepted. In *Sess. 8.* Leo commanded that the decrees of this councill should be observed under the pain of excommunication. In *Sess. 9.* the Emper. and all Kings and Princes, and all others, are commanded, that they hinder no man from coming unto the Synode, under the danger of God's wrath and ours, saith Leo. Item a lay man blaspheming shall pay 25 Ducats, if he be a Noble man; and for the second fault, 50 Ducats, to be applied unto the fabrick of the Church of the Prince of the Apostles. In this Session, the Synode spake by *Antonius Puccius Clericus Camera*, unto the Pope, saying, In thee the only true and lawfull Vicar of Christ, that saying shall be fulfilled again, *All Nations shall serve him*: Nor are we ignorant, that *All power in heaven and earth is given unto thee*. Then he bringeth in the Church speaking unto the Pope thus, These things may I, most sweet Spouse, thy only beloved and faire one, say, Consider mee not, that I am black, &c. *Ex Cavo. Molinez Monarchia tempor. Pont. Roma.* In *Sess. 10.* they would provide that Books should not be printed against the Roman faith: therefore they ordained, that none should presume to print or cause to be printed any book, or whatsoever writing either in our City (saith the Bull of Leo) or in any other city or diocye, until first they be examined by our Vicar and Master of the holy palace; and in other cities by the Bishop or another man of judgement to be deputed by him to this effect, and by the Inquisitour of the hereticall pravity within that city or diocye, and until they be approved by subscriptions, and these to be dispatched without delay, and freely, under pain of excommunication, &c. *Bulla Leon.* added to the decrees of the Councill at Trent. In this councill it was talked of the Turkish warrs; of the Reformation of the Church; of the immortality of the soul, and how these of Bohem might be reduced. It was determined against Pope Leo, that the souls of men are immortall. Item that none shall speak of the coming of the Antichrist: for it was the common talking of men every where *The Pope is the Antichrist*; and this was judged the fittest way to shunne such speeches. It was also ordained, that all Europe shall pay tiths for preparation of warrs against the Turk: But many prelates knew, that the Pope had no such intention: and therefore the Bishops of Dirrachium, Salamantin, Tarvisin, Grassen, Chien, *Montu viridis*, of Mount Maran, Cervien, Licien, Ferentin, Perusin and others did subscribe with this limitation, *Placuit, quoad Turcas expeditione primum inchoata*. In the year 1516 King. Lewes died, and his successor Francis submitted himself unto Pope Leo: from that time Leo sought to dissolve the councill: and because nothing was concluded concerning the Reformation of the Church, he made shew to adjourne the Councill for five years, to the end, the Bishops being refreshed at home with some spirituall gifts, they might returne with the greater alacrity: and the Pope gave to them and their domesticks remission of all their sins. *Concil. Lateran. Sess. 12.*

A TRANSITION.

It was said in ancient times, *Vltima calicolum terras Asine relinquit*, that is, when all vertue had left the earth, last of all equity or righteousness failed from among the children of men. But now we have heard the Church complaining, that first piety had departed, and in place thereof came formality accompanied with superstition and innumerable rites. Devotion moved people to make good men, but too wealthy, and their successours tooke more pleasure in their wealth then in their industry and piety: and when wealth was severed from godliness, they became proud and ambitious: yet would not want the name of holiness: and by the name of holiness with too much wealth, they did climbe (I will not say, unto the highest pinnacle of honour, but) unto Divine honour, and were exalted above all that is called God, and laid aside even the word of God. So that then it might have been said, *Spernitur à Româ Scriptura novissima Dotum*, that is, when the Romane Church had forsaken piety of conversation, purity of worship, order of discipline, equity of Civill things, and all graces or gifts of God, lastly she despised the very written word of God. Nevertheless God left not men inexcusable, nor suffered He them to passe without reproofe by some Witnesses of his Truth even under the grossest darkness. And so we have heard not only the Waldenses and such others, which made separation from the Church of Rome, as the Greeks, but some Monks, some Abbots, some priests, some Bishops, some Universities, some Counsels of States, some Parliaments, some Councils, yea some Cardinals and Popes, which were, and did continue members of the Romane Church, now and then bewailing and declaring the corrupt estate of the Church, both in the pretended head, and in the body thereof, for the greatest part, not only in manners, rites and discipline, but in doctrine also. We have heard some professing a desire, and attempting a Reformation: but were ever hindered by the Popes and court of Rome. How then can any man be so impudent (if he be not altogether ignorant) to say, that the Church of Rome hath never erred, nor can erre? We have heard also some foretelling, that a Reformation must bee, and shall bee, yea and some pointing at the very time and year of Reformation. We have seen the world prepared for a Reformation by store of ancient books printed and spread through Europe; by reviving of Liberall Sciences and the prime tongues; and by multitude of learned men. It followes now to behold, how God Reformed his Church, not by the direct intention of men, but in spite of all his adversaries, and as it pleased Him in wisdom for the manifesting of his glory and mercy toward ungratefull mankind.

CENTURY XVI.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

Of P O P E S.

HADRIAN. VI. (borne in Utrecht, of Belgia) for his learning and sagacity of judgement was called from Lovan to be Tutor unto Charls the young King of Spaine: then he became Bishop of Derthuse, and chief Counsellor unto Charles, and Governour of Spain in the Kings absence; and at that time being known at Rome by report only, he was chosen Pope January 9. *An. 1522.* When he was advertised of the election, he wrote Letters of thanks unto the Colledge of Cardinals, for the good opinion they had conceived of him; and whereas three Cardinals were appointed to be sent unto him, he desired them to spare their travell: for as soone as it might possibly bee, he would come unto Rome. And because the Senate and people of Rome were displeased, that a stranger should have that Dignity, he wrote unto them, promising whatsoever favour could be expected from him. He arrived at Rome in August following. In the mean time Soliman the Turk was besieging the isle Rodos. And in the seventh moneth carryed it by composition, to the great shame of Christians. *J. Sleidan. Comment. Lib. 3. ad fin.* It appeares, that from Spain Hadrian wrote unto Erasmus, to write against Luther, and accordingly in an epistle *dat. Basile.e prid. jd. Julii. An. 1522. ad Jodoc.* President of the Senate of Mechline, he saith, Here and there partly by word, and partly by epistles I have turned away many from the Lutheran faction: and nothing hath discouraged the Lutherans minds so much, as that I have openly declared my adherence unto the Romane highpriest, and disallowing Luthers cause. Cheregat was sent with a Brieve (as they speak) dated Novemb. 25. 1522. from Hadrian unto the Princes of Germany, shewing that it was grievous unto him, that Luther had moved such a stirre and sedition: for it concerneth the loss of souls, and the destruction of the flock now committed unto him; and it is hapned to beginne in the same Country where he was borne, which Nation was ever furthest from all suspicion of heresy: wherefore he craves earnestly, that they would helpe to remedy it, as quickly as might bee, lest through longer delay, it happen unto Germany, as it did unto Bohem; and he promisseth that he will spare neither mony nor travell here in; beseeching them, that they will every one according to his power do the like, seeing so many weighty causes may move them heerunto; towit, the Glory of Gods holy Name is by this heresy chiefly obscured; the rites of the Church are defaced, and in a manner abolished, and Germany which was wont to have the chief praise of religion, now for this revolt, cometh into contempt: for when they might have easily dispatched Luther, and quenched his heresies, they have not done it, so degenerating from their ancestours, which have left a notable example of their vertue at Constance; Is it not a most notorious wrong, that Luther doth unto them and their forefathers: for where as they have followed the religion of the Romane Church, now when he condemned

that religion, he condemned them; Let them weigh seriously, what those fellows do intend: verily under pretence of Evangelical liberty, to take away all Lawes and Magistrates; Albeit first he seemes only to impugn the rulers of the Church as tyrannicall and wicked; and hitherto they doe craftily hide their intention and traiterously, and do flatter Magistrates, to the end, they may the more freely utter malice against the Clergy; but when the clergy are oppressed, doubtless they will attempt further. . . . Luther differeth not much from the sect of Mahomet, which permits men to marry many wives, and then to forsake them: by which means that wretched hypocrite hath bewitched and allured the greatest part of the world: albeit Luther permits not this, yet he aduiseeth all men, which have vowed chastity, to marry, so giving way unto mans lust, that he may have the more to be of his confederacy, to the utter destruction of the Commonwealth, especially of Germany: Therefore it is their part to put in execution the decrees of Pope Leo and of Casar. . . . If any will say, Luther was condemned ere he was heard; or it is reason, the cause should be debated; these men think amisse: for Christ had taught us the rule of faith and religion (whose authority we must follow, and not scan the articles of faith by humane reason, nor enquire the cause of this or that precept): Indeed he is to be heard, when he is examined, whether he spake thus or thus? whether he set forth this or that book? but touching the faith and sacraments we may not permit him to dispute, nor defend these things which he had written thereof: for here we should follow the custom of the Church, and in no way swerve from it: and seing his doctrine had been already condemned by general Councils, no account should be made thereof again: and there shall be no end of contention, if it be lawfull for every private man to call into question the things, which prudent and learned men with great deliberation have established. . . . Nevertheless it can not be denied, that God, who is the avenger of all wrong, doth thus plague his Church for the sins of the Ministers thereof, as the Scripture saith, *The iniquity of the people proceeds from the priests and Elders*: for certainly they have sinned at Rome these many years, full grievously and sundry wayes, even from the highest Bishop unto the lowest clerk: we have all gone out of the way, every one to his own way, nor have any of us done any good: [*A good confession, if amendment follow*] wherefore we must all give glory unto God, and humble ourselves before him, and consider from whence we are fallen; As for mee, I will endeavour to redresse it, and I will see, that the Romane Court, which perhaps hath been the occasion of all this mischief, be first reformed sharply, as Christ did first purge the Temple, that as it hath been the example of vice, so it may be the beginning of amendment, and pattern of vertue; and so much the rather because all the world crieth for a Reformation. . . but this must be done by degrees, because all sudden mutation is dangerous, &c. These instructions are expressed word by word in *Fascic. rer. expetend.* and others. The Princes did convene at Nurembergh in March *An. 1523.* (the Emperour was not there) and their answer was an humble request, that the Pope would perform his promise, and for the only remedy of all abuses he would call a free Councell within Germany, and not delay it above a yeare. The copy of this Brieve was brought unto Luther: he translateth it unto Dutch, and affixeth his Notes on the margine. But whereas Hadrian so plainly confesseth the viciousness of the Romane Court, which he thought was none of his fault, as never been there before) and delayeth the amendment, it is the

usual policy of the Popes, when they can not eschue solicitations otherwise, they do promise largely, that while men trust to their promises, they may find the means, either by favour of Princes, or by power of arms, to maintain their dignity, which is like to stagger by free and Generall Councils *Jo. Sleid. Lib. 4.* Because of this Brieve, and the conceit that many had of Hadrian's integrity, all men did expect a Reformation. But behold! he becomes ingracious unto all men: for he deprives the best men of their Benefices, for his own advantage in bestowing the same Benefices on others: therefore he was called unrighteous and covetous: and when they, which were deprived, did complain, he said, The times wherinto a man falleth, do much vary his fortune: for the golden times of Leo were abundant with plenty and peace: but the broiles and famine and pestilence in time of the interreigne had laid wast the estate of the Commonwealth, and caused these evils to be imputed unto him most innocently. *Onuphr.* He spake also of reforming the dissolute manners of the City, and said, that according to the lawes he would punish blasphemy, simony, usury, unlawfull lusts. Then he was taken away by death, not without suspicion of wrong. He canonized Benno, and Antoninus Bishop of Florence: he conspired with the Emperour against Francis I. King of France: he held that a Pope, even as Pope may be an heretick, and teach heresy, and that indeed some of them had been hereticks. *Bellarmin. de Ro. Pon. Lib. 4. c. 2.* He died at Rome Septemb. 14. *An. 1523:*

II. CLEMENS, VII. the sister-son of Leo X. after contention of two months came into the chair, by paying 20000. Ducats, and giving a stately house in Rome unto his competitor Pompejus Columna. He had been called Julius, and would have retained his name, as Hadrian did: but the Cardinals would not suffer him: It was Hadrians designe to make the Emperour powerfull in Italy: but Clemens fearing the fortune of Charles, was for the King of France. He had observed, that Hadrian was not wary enough in the affaires of Germany, especially in confessing the faults of the Court, and in asking their advice concerning the remedies, whereupon he had given them occasion to petition a Councell, and to propound their 100. Grievances: therefore he took another course with the Germanes, as followes here *c. 3. Sect. 18.* He kept the Jubilee *An. 1525.* but all that yeare he was perplexed for fear of the Emperour untill he heard that Francis King of France was at liberty in March 1526. immediatly he sent unto him, and drew up a league against the Emperour, which was sealed in May by him, Francis and some Princes of Italy, and he absolves Francis from his oath, that he had given in Spain. This was called *Liga Sanctissima.* Then as being free, he writes menacingly unto the Emperour. and even the next day he directes another Brieve which was more smooth. The Emp. wrote his answers accordingly, as in *Hist. Council. Tr. l. 1.* and at the same time he writes unto the colledge of the Cardinals. That it was grievous unto him to consider, how the Pope could so forget his dignity, as to disturbe the common peace, and even at that time when he (the Emperour) having made peace with France, thought that he had serled the Christian world, he had received such Letters, as he could never have expected from the Father of the Church: and he thinks, these had been written by advice of them all; this (said he) is the more grievous, that such Letters were brought from the Pope and the Fathers, pillars of the true religion, threatening warr against the Empe. defender of the Church, and who had deserved better of them: for in respect unto them, he had shut his eares against the just complaints of the German-Princes, he had dischat-

discharged the Diet, which was appointed at Spira and now he had sent the copy of the Popes Letters unto them, to the end, that they after consideration would aid the Christian commonwealth now fainting, and put the Pope from such dangerous courses; or if he will not, that they would admonish him of his duty, and exhort him to call a general Councell, or if he refuse that, or delay it for a longer space than is expedient, he entreats that holy Senate, that they would call a Councell so soon as may be; but if they also will accept his just demand with deaf eares, it lieth on him according to his authority, to use all just and convenient remedies. Those Letters were delivered unto the Colledge Decemb. 12. Before that time, to wit, Septemb. 20. the Columnneses (the chief Citizens, perceiving that Clemens sought only his own interest) came unawares into the Vatican, (none resisting, because all men did hate the Pope, said Onuphr.) and plundered it. The Pope prayed Hugh Moncata (one of those his enemies) and obtaines liberty upon such conditions, as they would demand. When he was free, he could not digest such wrongs, and recalled his Army from Millain, under pretext, that then all things were settled: but so soon as the army was arrived, he thundered his curse against the Columnneses, and interdictioned all men of their company, and puts Cardinal Pompejus from the Senate. The Cardinal was then at Naples, and there published his appeal unto a Councell; he shewes not only the iniquity and nullity of the Popes censure, but the necessity of the Universall Church, which is brought so low, that it can not be healed, unless both head and members be reformed by meanes of a Councell; and he summoned Pope Clemens to appeare in the Diet, which the Emperour had appointed at Spira. Then Clemens was full of thoughts: for (saith Pet. Soave) he could not endure the name of a Councell; not only for feare of diminishing the Papal authority, and curbing the interest of the Court, but more upon contemplation of his personall condition: for howbeit, when he was made Cardinal, the Pope Leo, would have proved that there had been a contract of mariage between Julian and his mother, yet all men knew (saith he) that his proofes were false [*and some write, that Clemens was the sonne of Leo*] and albeit no law forbids that a bastard may be Pope; yet it is commonly thought, that such a dignity can not consist with such a defect: likewise he was afraid of the Emperour, that he would take part with his enemies; but most of all, that the Cardinals knew well, and could easily prove by what means he had purchased the triple Mitre; and how rigidly Simoniacall elections were discharged by Pope Julius II. so that he feared the like to befall him as it had hapned unto Pope John XXII. But as is it said, *Inter arma silent leges*, the next year there was no motion of a councell: because the Vice-Roy of Naples, alledging that the Pope had violated the articles of the late agreement, and at the motion of Pompejus, brought an Army to Rome; and on the other side the Duke of Burbone (being exiled out of France, and therefore a fitter) Generall of the Emperours Army in Lombardy, brought about 14000. Germanes (whom they called Lutherans) with a promise, that they shall have the plunder of Rome, whether so much gold is brought from all Europe. Clemens agreeth with the Vice-Roy in March: he gives him 50000 crowns; he absolves the Columnneses, and restores the Cardinal Pompejus. Then in May the Duke comes, pretending that he is going into Naples, and craveth refreshment unto his Army. The Generall of the Gwelfes threatneth, that if he go not away quickly, he will sweep him from his horse with a bullet. Then the Duke pitcheth his

camp in the field *Sancto*. he was repulsed two severall dayes, and the third he carrieth it: his thigh-bone being broken in the assault, he died: nevertheless, the souldiers enter the City, and spare neither priest nor prelate, nor had they spared the Pope, if he had not escaped into Hadrians tower: but they ceased not from reviling him. Rome never saw so doolefull a day (saith Onuphr.) nor did the Goths, Vandals nor Lombards so much harme unto it: for they ranged up and down, plundering all, untill the Pope rendred himself: they keep him prisoner: because of the pestilence and scarcity of victuals they went to Narnia, and return in September: they threaten to burne the City, if the Pope will not pay them their wages. *Guicciardin Lib. 18.* saith, the Pope redeemed himself for 400000. Ducats. In the mean time Letters come from the Emperour, excusing himself of all that was done, and commanding the souldiers to let the Pope goe free. Nevertheless they will not obey, untill they receive their wages, seeing their Generall was gone, of whom only they could crave it. The Pope gathereth what ornaments were left in the City, that money may be coined for them: and because that was not enough, three red Capes were profered to be sold, that who would buy that honour, might bring gold, *Onuphr.* Then the Pope returns answer unto the Emperour, that he never thought but good of his affection. and perswades himself thereof, &c. The next year was a treaty of peace betwixt them two, and *An. 1529.* Charles was crowned by him. In the year 1528. the confederate Princes dealt earnestly with Clemens, that then he would demonstrate the sincerity of his mind in that league he hath made with them; especially that he would excommunicate the Emperour, and expell him both from Naples and the Empire. But he feareth, if the French, Venetians, and other confederates were Masters of Italy, they would maintain the liberty of Florence (which in time of these broils they had usurped) and he was more desirous to regain that City, then to revenge the wrongs, the Emperour had done him: but he said unto them, that for that time he was poore and unable to do any thing; and if he would attempt to take the Empire from Charles, it were but a provocation unto Germany, to take unto themselves the authority of choosing the Emperour. And therefore he would lay aside all thoughts of Seculare affaires; and only set himself to restore the Church, and to convert the Lutherans; and for that end he would go into Germany (for he was very cunning in dissembling, saith *Pe. Soave*) Some hearing him, said, his afflictions had wrought well for his amendement: but what he did afterwards, begott an other opinion in their mindes. And in the mean time he was treating with the Emperour that he shall bring his brothers sonne Laurence Medices into possession of Florence, and when the Emperour comes to be crowned, they shall accept one another with the former solemnities and ceremonies; and that the Emperour shall with arms compell the Lutherans unto the obedience of the Roman Church. This last was the greatest difficulty; but when they had agreed in other things, they conclude this in generall terms, that in reducing the Lutherans unto the Church, the Pope shall use all spiritual means, and the Emperour shall use temporall; but if those be pertinacious, the Pope shall do his best, to cause other Princes to aide him. On the other side the Pope renounceth all pretensions unto the Kingdom of Naples, for only giving one white horse in name of fee-farme; and he gives him the patronage of 24. Cathedrall Churches, and passage unto his souldiers through his Lands. When this treaty was closed, the Pope was joyfull, and all men almost did

did wonder, that he who even now was no body, was so soon advanced to his former grandure; especially the Courtiers said, It is a miracle, shewing Gods favour toward the Church. *Te. Seave.* When the Emperour was at Bononia, he was earnest with the Pope to call a Councell: but the Pope had no liking of it, especially as it was craved, to be free, and beyond the Alpes; and the rather, because he had observed, how the Bb. were intending to have in their power the Collation of Benefices, preventions, advocacy of pleas, dispensations, absolutions and such other things: all which with a great part of the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction the Romane Court had drawn unto themselves to the prejudice of the Prelates. Therefore he bendeth himself to divert Charles from that purpose. and saith, A councell will be prejudiciall unto his Imperiall authority: for there be two sorts of people infected with that Lutheran pest, the commons, and the Princes: the Commons are bewitched with the allurements of their teachers: but a Councell is not a mean to deliver them from these enchantments, but it will rather open a doore unto them to attempt greater liberty; and they will rather bow under authority, when they are pressed with your decrees: if they obtain liberty to search into the power of the Church, they will by and by pry into your Secular power: therefore it is easier to refuse their first demands, then, if you once yield unto them, to resist their rushing afterwards, with any reason. As for the Princes, they make no account of piety or Gods worship, but gape for the Church-goods and absolute dominion, that when they are quitt of the Pope, they may next shake themselves free of your yoke: possibly as yet they have not seen these mysteries: but if they shall once smell of them, they will assuredly aime at this marke. It is true, the Pope shall suffer great losse, if Germany fall away, but the losse of Austria shall be more: and therefore while the greater part of the Princes are still at your devotion, you must looke to it in time, and no way suffer the edge of your authority to be blunted: remedy must be speedily applied, before the number of the rebels increase, or they understand the advantages of their falling away: and nothing is more contrary unto celerity, than a Councell: for it requires a long space of time, in which no thing can be effectuated; and many impediments must be removed, arising from the manifold pretences of men intending to retarde, hinder, or to make the Councell null: and those are many. I know, they say, The Popes have no liking of a Councell for fear of curtailing our power: but that respect did never enter into my mind: for I know, that our authority is from Christ immediatly, according to his promise, *The gates of hell shall not prevail against thee*: and I have learned by experience of former times, that Papall authority was never diminished by a Councell, but the Fathers being obedient unto Christs word, did acknowledge, that we are absolute, or tied no way. Or if any Pope in humility, or modesty, or upon any other account, have not used their just power, they have been entreated by the Fathers to resume their place. If you will read antient records, you will find that when a Councell hath been called against hereticks or upon any other occasion, the Popes have always increased in their power. And if we would lay aside the promise of Christ, which is the only foundation of our power, and speak only of humane reason, seeing a Councell consists of Bishops, the authority of the Pope is necessary unto them, that under it, as a buckler, they may be safe from the iniuries of Princes & people. Yea and Kings and Princes, which know the art of ruling, are most Zealous of Apostolicall authority, because

they have no other way to suppress Bishops. And I know as certainly, as if I were a prophet, what shall be the issue of a Councell: for they who cry for it, if their opinions be condemned, will devise some what against its authority: and so your Cesarean power being weak in other Nations already, shall turn to nothing in Germany: but the Papall power, though it faile in Germany, shall increase in other places of the world. You may believe mee the rather, that you see, I make no account of my own interest, but only to see Germany restored unto the Church, and due obedience rendered unto Cæsar. Nor can this be, unless you go quickly into Germany, and by your authority put the Bull of Pope Leo, and the Edict of Worms into execution, &c. It became not the Frier Julius Medices (this was his name ere he was Pope) and farre lesse Pope Clement to use such reasons [*saith Pe. Soave: but he meaneth such a heap of lies*] but they prevailed with Charles, because he was aiming at a more absolute power, than his grandfather or his great-grandfather could attain; but especially he was so advised by his Chancellor Cardinall Mercurius Gattinara, unto whom the Pope had made many large promises, namely, a red Cape unto one of his cousines at the next election. And Clemens sent a Nuntio unto King Ferdinand, with charge to deale earnestly with him, that there be in the Diet no dispute nor determination in matters of religion, nor any decree for calling a Councell: and because he knew, that Ferdinand was of greatest credite in Germany; to have his favour, he gives him power to lay a tribute upon the Church-men in Germany for advancing the warr against the Turke, as also to apply unto this use whatsoeuer Silver or Gold there is on the ornaments of the churches. Of the Diet at Ausburg, it followes in C. 3. *Jo. 27.* When Clemens understood, what was done there, it vexed him, that the Emperour had suffered the Confessions to be read publicly, that he had determined any thing in matters of religion; but more, that the Prelates had given way; and it grieved him most of all; that the Emperour had promised a Councell; and determined the time, which belongeth to the Pope alone; and so now the first place is given unto the Emperour, and the Pope hath but the second place. And hence he did conclude, that seing so litle hope was appearing from Germany, he must think on another remedy: and seing what is done, can not be undone, he resolves to conceal that it is against his will, but will rather commend it as done by his authority. And so Decemb. 1. he writes unto Kings & Princes, that he thought to have extinguihed the Lutheran heresy by the presence of Cæsar in Germany; but seing now he understands that they are rather hardned, he had resolved by advice of the Cardinals to call a Councell, as his predeceßours had done in such cases; and he exhorts them either to come personally or prepare their deputies, when he shall determine of the time and place in Italy. But (*saith Pe. Soave*) few were deceived with this fraud, seing all men knew, that such an invitation to a Councell, whereof neither time nor place was defined, was but an affected imposture. In prosperity and adversity this Machivilian sate 11 years: when he was dead, the Court had no small joy, because of his avarice, austeritie and cruelty, that he had exerceed continually, but especially in time of his sickness, so that he was odious unto many, *saith Pe. Soave.* When the See is vaking, the Cardinals are wont to prescribe some articles of reforming the Papal power, which they sweare to observe precisely, if any of them shall be chosen; albeit it is known by experience of all ages, that none of them hath a purpose to observe that oath: for so soon as they be invested,

they

they professe, that they could not be tied, and they are absolved by their assumption. So at that time it was one of the articles, that he who shall be chosen, shall call a Councell within a year.

III. PAUL III. Had been Dean of the Colledge of Cardinals many years, and would seem, not to be afraid of a Councell (as Clemens was) but to be desirous of it: and ere he was crowned, he propounderh in the first meeting, that it is necessary to hold a Councell, seing otherwise peace can not stand among Christian Princes, nor can heresies be rooted out: he appointeth three Cardinals to advise upon the place, time and other circumstances, and to give their Overtures in the first Consistory after his coronation; and (to lay the blame of opposition upon their side) he saith, Seing a Reformation must be of the Church, it were most expedient, that the Cardinals from that present time begin to reform themselves rather than be reformed by others; neither can there fruit be expected by a Councell, nor can the decrees have any authority, unless they go before by their good example. In the first Consistory Novemb. 12. he speaks of this purpose again. They thought, he spoke ingenuously: but some did smell out his policy, because he had appointed three the most unfit men of all the number, to consult of this. But in December he took away all fear from them: for then he created a Cardinall Alexander Farnesius the son of his own bastard son, and another Guido Ascanius Sforza the son of his bastard Daughter, the one being 14. years old, and the other 15 years. Then the Cardinals had enough to object, towit, their childhood. January 16. *An. 1535.* he had a large speech in the Consistory, that the Councell can be delayed no longer, lest all men think themselves deceived with words: and he sent his Nuntio's unto Princes, shewing his resolution, and that he judgeth Mantua the fittest place: he sayd, There were but two wayes of dealing with the Protestants, force, or allurements; he judgeth the later, the better, and he will refuse no condition of accord, saving his Papall dignity. Vergerius goeth into Germany (as followeth in *Cha. 3.*) and returning the next year, saith, There is no hope to winne Luther and his followers: they must be oppressed by arms. For his service he is made a B. in Istria; and immediatly dispatched unto the Emperour in Naples. Charles heares his report, and hasteneth unto Rome. At this time Lewes Sfortia Duke of Millan was dead without children, and the King of France professeth to recover it with a strong hand. Charles telleth this unto the Pope, who answereth. It were better for him to subdue the Protestants in Germany; and himself with the Venetians will perswade Francis to desist. Pe. Soave saith, The Pope professeth the destruction of the Lutherans, but his purpose was rather that an Italian should be Lord of Millain. But Charles did understand what he meant, and intending *Cretizare cum Cretensi*, said, he would do so: yet thought it not expedient, to raise up so many enemies at once: and adviseth the Pope to call a Councell, that so the world may see, they had used all meanes of peace before arms. The Pope seemes to be wel pleased, because warrs were begun in Pymount, and certainly will come into Italy, and when the Councell is summoned, he will have a faire pretence to guard the Councell under shew of custody. So he calleth a Councell to assemble at Mantua May 27. in the year 1537. and also gives commission unto four Cardinals and some bb. to Reforme the Pænitentiaria, *Dataria* & Court of Rome; threatning his curse against all, that shall disobey them. But nothing was done; and men of judgement said, No better was to be expected of the Councell called so unseasonably in time

of warre between the Emperour & France *Pe. Soave in Hist. Conc.* No Nation would consent unto this Councell; nor the Duke of Mantua, unless the Pope would give him money to hire a guard of souldiers. The Pope was glad, that others had refused, when he had offered it; and to shew his readines, he appoints to convene against Novemb. 1. but he nameth no place. Henry VIII. King of England by a published Declaration, shews, that he is desirous of a Councell, but he will neither go nor send unto any called by the Pope, seing now he hath no correspondence with the Pope, and it is not a new thing, that the Pope deceives the world, as now he blameth the Duke of Mantua, but who seeth not that it is but to delude men? as also that he calleth a Councell, and nameth not the place? and seing now there is no hope of a free Councell, he judgeth it best, that every Prince reforme Religion with in his own dominion: Or if any will shew a better way, he will not refuse it. In Italy also many said boldly, that albeit the Pope lay the blame on the Duke of Mantua, yet it is the Popes only fault, as appears, by that nothing is done in Reformation of Rome, albeit he had made a shew of it, when the Councell at Mantua was proclaimed; and none other had opposed that worke. To wash himself of this imputation, he gives a charge again unto four Cardinals and 5. Prelates, to search out the maladies, and apply remedies with all diligence. Now these gather the heads of Reformation in write, and do present them unto the Pope where in they shew a threefold cause of all the maladies, the proneness of PP. to heare flatterers, their readines to derogate from former lawes; and the neglect of Christs command to take no gain for spirituall things. Then more particularly they observe 24. abuses in the administration of Church affaires, and 4. in the Romane Government; In the ordination of Clerks, collation of Benefices, pensions, permutations, regressions, reservations, pluralities, commenda's, non-residences, exemptions, deformation of Regulares, ignorance of Preachers and confessours. . . then they came to dispensations, first of them that were married, then to marry within degrees forbidden; dispensations of simony, of granting confessionals, and indulgences; dispensation of vowes, of changing testaments, tolerating whoores, neglect of almes-houses and many more such. The Pope gives these Overtures unto the Consistory: where some said, it was not a time to reforme these things, seing the Lutherans would boast, that they had caused the Pope to enter upon a Reformation, not only of abuses, but of laudable rites. *John Peter Caraffa Cardinall of Theate* said, a Reformation is necessary, nor can it be omitted without great offence; as evill should not be done, that good may come of it, so necessary good works should not be omitted for feare of evill, that may follow. The Pope inclineth the first way, and commandeth, that all be buried in silence. Nevertheless the Cardinall of Capua sent these heads into Germany, which, some say, was done by advice of the Pope, to the end, many might conceive hope of a Reformation in Rome. *Pe. Soave ibid.* When November was approaching, the Pope by his Bull nameth Vicentia to be the place of the Councell, and because winter is at hand, he nameth the first day of May in the year 1538. to be the first day of assembling. At that time he sent his Legats to Vicentia, and he went to Nice in Liguria, under shew to make concord between the Emperour and Francis, but as some said, to persuade them both to quit Millain unto his son. He dealt with them to send Prelats unto the Councell: they had excuses, and he was easily contented. When he could effectuat nothing, he returns, and recalls his Legates from Vicentia,

Vicentia, and by his Letters dated July 28. he prorogated the Councell unto Easter in the next year. Pope Paul had been oft advised by the Cardinals to accurse King Henry VIII. but he judged it safer, to keep up his sword, than draw it, when he knew it could not pierce, (as certainly it is effectuall according as men do conceive of it) But now King Henry had not only beheaded Cardinal Fisher (this was an eye-fore to all the Cardinals) and published books twice against the Popes authority of calling the Councell, but lately also he had summoned Saint Thomas archb. of Canterbury (who had suffered death in defense of Papall authority, and was Canonized by Pope Alexander III. and since the year 1171. had been worshipped in the Romane Church) to appeare in Court, had condemned him for treason, and in pursuite of the condemnatory Sentence had caused the hang-man to take up his reliques, and burn them, and throwe the ashes into the river, and had *eschewed* all the treasure and ornaments, that were dedicated unto S. Thomas; And the Pope (having now some hope by conference with the King of France at Nice, that if he had peace with Caesar, he wold invade England;) Upon Decemb. 17. *An. 1538.* accurseth Henry, and ordaines, that all his favourers shall be deprived of all honours and goods; he commandeth all his subjects, that they acknowledge him not as their Lord; and all forreiners, that they have not any commerce with English men; and all Princes, to rise in arms against him, and take his Kingdome and goods for their prey. But what place this curse had, it appeares (saith Pe. Soave) by the Leagues, that the Emperour, the French King, and other Princes made with King Henry not long thereafter. When the Pope heard, that the Germanes were seeking a Conference of Divines, he propoundeth this unto his Consistory, and said, It was necessary to determine some thing concerning the Councell. Some Cardinals said, Nothing could be concluded, untill the Princes were reconciled. Others more politick said, There was more danger to be feared from Nationall Conferences than from the Councell; and therefore it is more safe not to cast off a Councell, but to suspend it at the Popes will indefinitely; and so if any danger were appearing from any Nationall Councell or Conference, he might prevent it, by appointing time and place. And so June 11. by a published Bull the Councell was suspended til the Pope should appoint time and place. In the year 1541. he promised unto the Emperour to hold a Councell the next year, and he would send a Legate unto the Diete at Spira to advise of the time and place; and he shewed his opinion to name Vicentia. He acquaintes the Venetians with this purpose. They refuse, because they had lately made peace with the Turke, and if they consent that the Councell be within their bounds, where they will treat of warr against him, he will say, that they conspire against him. When the Emperour came into Italy, Paul meets him at Busset by Parma, and dealeth with him to give the Duchy of Millain unto his son's son, which had married Margarite the Emperours base Daughter; and if he would do this, the Pope profered to enter into league with him against France; to give 150000. crowns yearly for some years, and make some Cardinals of his nomination. The Emperour demandeth 1000000. crowns presently, and as many within a short space. This he refuseth. The Emperour spake not of the Councell, because he had made it cleare, that the stay was not his fault, and he thought on other remedies after the warr. They parted in shew of friendship: but from that time he enclined more to aid France. While he so full of doubts, he understandes that the Emperour had made a league

with Henry VIII. against Francis: then he thinks it necessary to joyn with France. The Emperour is informed, how hardly the Pope had taken with his league, & sent him answer, that Francis had made a league with the Turke, and by his aid the Turks Navie had spoiled the sea-townes of Naples; and why may he not then make a league of just defence with him, who is a Christian, albeit he deny the Pope to be the head of the Church? yea and with the Popes expresse consent Francis had sought aid of the Protestants, which are more adverse unto the Pope than the King of England is: The Pope should *ex officio* have accursed the French King, when he heard of his league with the Turke: but it is cleare: that he is an acceptor of persons: for when the Turkish Navy did assaile and spoile other parts of Italy, they did no harme unto the dominions of the Pope: and when they came to Ostia for fresh water, and the Romans were amazed at the report thereof, the Cardinal of Carpo, who at that time of the Popes absence was his Vicar, told the Citizens, they needed not to feare. But it did provoke the Pope yet more, that the Emperour would not permit his Legate Cardinall Farnesius to go unto the Diet at Spira; and had decreed concerning religion without his knowledge, yea to the evident contempt of Papall authority. And again more, that when in September *An. 1544.* Charles and Francis were reconciled, Charles propounded this condition, that they should both restore the old religion, and amend the Court of Rome, whence as from the fountain all these evils had flowed; and to this effect they should force the Pope to assemble the Councell. But the Pope did not feare their purpose to reform the Court, because he knew, they had contrary ends, and he knew, how to divide them, when they came to the point and to make his own advantage. Only this did vex him, that it shall be said, They did force him to assemble a Councell. Therefore he resolves to dissemble all his offences, and prevented their solicitation by proclaiming the Councell at Trent against March 15 and in the same Bull he exhorted the whole Church, to give thanks for the peace between the two Monarchs, whereby they may the more safely convene. He knew the time was short, but he did it purposely, that in the beginning his creatures might have the more power, to prescribe the order of proceeding, &c. How he carried himself towards the Councell, I remitt unto that chapter of the Councell. When he could not bring the Protestants unto submission, he kindled the wars in Germany *An. 1546.* Onuphrius writes, Since the Pope was fallen from hope of purchasing Millain, he was not a little displeased with the Emperour, and feared that he aimed at the Empire of Italy; as also he and his faction had so stiffly opposed themselves against the Presidents in the Councell, neither would Charles confirme the Duchy of Parma and Placentia unto the Popes son Peter Loisius: nevertheless they kept an outward shew of amity, and covenanted Juny 26 in this manner; For so much as Germany hath continued these many years in errors, that great danger is thereby to be feared: for eschuing whereof the Councell was called at Trent, and the Protestants do reject it; therefore have the Bishop and Emperour for Gods glory, and safety of the common wealth, and namely of Germany, concluded between themselves, I. that Cæsar shall prepare an Army & all things requisite unto warre in the moneth next following; and those who refuse the Councell, and maintain these errors, he shall reduce them by force of arms to the old religion, and obedience of the Holy See: yet so that he shall use all means to bring this to passe without warre, but make no peace nor composition with them, prejudiciall to the

the Church or religion. 2. The Pope besides 100000 Ducats which he hath delivered already, shall lay down so much more at Venice, which his Lieutenant shall thereafter employ on the warrs, and no otherwise; and if no warr shal bee, he shall receive his money againe: he shall also furnish unto these warrs 12000 foot men, and 500 horses, at his own charge for an half year, over which he shal place a Lieutenant, and Captaines: and if it happen, that the warrs be ended before six moneths, the benefit shall belong unto the Pope. 3. For preparation and furnishing unto these warrs, it shall be lawfull by the Pope of Rome's permission, unto the Emperour to take the one half of the Church-goods in Spain, and to sell as many lands in Spain, as shall amount to 500000 Ducates, &c. *Sleida. Comm. lib. 17.* The Emperour in all his Diets and at other occasions professed, that he undertook these warrs, only because the Princes denied him civill obedience (which they did never refuse, if he would have given them liberty to professe the Truth of religion). But the Pope in this league and his Bulls written unto Germany, professed the only cause of religion. Thus they made different pretexs; to the end, each of them might bring the other into distast, and if they could attain so much, or overthrow the Protestants, they were in part satisfied. At the same time the Protestants, did publish in writt, that they waere advertised by men worthy of credite, how that the Antichrist of Rome an instrument of the Devill and authour of this warre, as in former times by his hired servants, set many towns of Saxony into fire, so now he hath sent others to infect their wells, that he may destroy by poison, what he can not so easily bring to passe with the sword: wherefore they admonish all men generally, but especially their own subjects, to watch and apprehend such men, &c. Within few days John William, son ne to the Electour of Saxony, by letters gives warning, that they take heed unto themselves diligently; for lately an Italian was taken not farre from Weinmar, upon suspition, and had confessed, that he and some others had money given them at Rome in the Bishops name, that with fire and poison they shall doe all the harme in Germany, they are able to do, *Ibid. lib. 18.* When Paul heard, that Charles was prevailing, he recalled his nephew Octavius with his souldiers, ere the warre was ended: wherefore Charles was offended; and not long thereafter the Vicount of Millain killed Peter Loisius, and tooke Parma & Placentia. Then was the Pope so overwhelmed with grief, that he tooke a fever, and died on the fourth day, when he had satt 15 years. I do omit his most vitious and incestuous life, as it is written at large by *Sleidan* from an Italian authour; and that *Onuphrius* testifieth, that he was diffamed for Astrology, and of too great affection to his kindred, whom he did enrich without all shame, and against the will of his Cardinals: but consider, how unlike this Paul was unto the Apostles Paul and Peter: in all his Bouts with these Machivillians Charles & Francis, and in all his Consistories, he never shewes any respect unto Christ or his Gospell, but to his private interest only. *Novemb. 18. An. 1549.* the Cardinals went unto the election: but they could not agree before *Februar. 22.* In time of their contention, Letters were intercepted, which Camillus Osius the attendant of the Cardinal of Mantua was said to have written unto a friend Annibal Contine, and some vulgar verses of his love toward him, with such vile words, that they can not vvithout offence be named. Whereupon arose a report, that some filthy Pope vv as to come out of that conclave. On the forenamed day

IV. JULIUS. III. was consecrated, who being Cardinall of Bolonia

loved out of measure a young man innocentius; and now he caused his brother to adopt him, (that after his name he was called Innocentius de monte) and he made him a Cardinall. It was talked at Rome, and ballades went abroad, how Jupiter loved Ganimedes; yea Julius was not ashamed to talke of the same with the Cardinals. In the year of his election he keeps the Jubilee. *Onuphrius* writes of him thus; Albeit he was 70 years old, yet in all the time of his Papacy he waited more on feasts and pleasures, than on the discharge of his most waighty affaires, to the great dammage of all Christians: for he, who before was most vigilant in his charge, and by stealth followed his lusts, now being Pope, and attaining the top of his desires, casts off the care of all things and too much followed his pleasures: so men are encouraged unto vertue, not with the beauty of vertue, but hope of earthly advantage.... this was also reproovable in him, that without respect to his place he so delighted in idle talke, that his hearers would blush for shame. He died through intemperance rather than by age; after he had satt 5 years. *Ja. Thuan.*

V. MARCELLUS. II. would not change his name, to shew that he was the same man as before: he lived but 21 dayes; yet escaped not the blame of covetousnes, saith *Onuphrius*. He was wont to have histories read unto him at table: once hearing what Pope Urban IV. had said of the misery of PP. he striketh the table with his hand, and said, *I can not see, how a Pope can provide for his own salvation.* *Thuan. Lib. 15.*

VI. PAUL IV. being 79. years old was crowned, with the grumbling of all men: they feared his severity, saith *Onuphry*: when he knew it, he spoke fairly unto the Cardinals and studied by liberality to procure the favour of the people: and when he was secured, he shewed himself in his colours, and began to performe what he had been devising before: therefore was hated of all men. He made a shew of reforming some abuses in the Court, that he might some way satisfy the exceptions of the Lutherans: but his shewes made him not so acceptable, as his deeds made him odious. He deprived many Clerks, because they had entred by simony: but it was for his own gain, and the hurt of many. *Idem* He had most arrogant conceits, and thought by his sole authority to prevent all incommodities without the aid of Princes. When he spoke with any Ambassadour, he often boasted, that he was superiour unto all Kings, and would not keep familiarity with any, he had power to change Kingdoms, and was the successour of such as had dethroned Kings & Emperours, and spared not to say in Consistory, at table, and elsewhere, that he acknowledged no Prince to be his companion, but all must be subject unto his foot. *Te. Seave list Lib. 5.* When he heard, that liberty of religion was granted in Austria, Bavier, Prussia, Poland, &c. he thought to overturne all by a generall Councell at Lateran: and did intimate it unto the Emperour and Princes, not for their advice (said he) for they must obey, but of courtesy: (he knew this would not please them; he would let them see what his See could do, when they had a Pope of courage) and if Prelates would not come, he would hold the Councell with the Prelates of Rome: for he knew his own power. *Ibid.* He gave some Priviledges unto the City: for which the Romans would give him Divine honour, untill they found that it was but a deceitfull bait: for he undertook wars for the Kingdom of Naples, whereby he provoked not only the Romanes, but all the Princes of Europe (except the King of France whom he had perswaded to break his league with the Emperour) with new factions, and through his fault all Compania and Latium were brought

brought under the command of the Spaniard (for Duke d'Alva Governour of Naples chose to invade rather, than to be invaded, and he might have taken Rome, if he had followed his victory *An. 1556*) and the treasury of the Church being emptied, Paul imposed & severely exacted most grievous taxes, whereby he procured more hatred, and was forced at last to seeke peace. Amongst his articles of the league with France, it was one, to create more French Cardinals (that so a French Pope might be chosen after him) but in the beginning of the year 1557. he created neither so many nor such Cardinals as he had promised: he excused himself, that all his clients were no lesse affected toward France, than the French were, and within few dayes he would create more, because he hath a purpose to bring some Cardinals into the Inquisition, and so the present number shall be diminished. But all that year he was encombred with the warr, and when the French Army was recalled, he thought to satisfy the Romanes and the Cardinals by an unexpected conceit, to wit, by degrading his own kindred (whom he had advanced with the malecontentment of so many) and he was earnest in the Inquisition, so that many fled into Geneve, and into woods. *Onuphrius* (an eye-witness) testifieth, that he tormented many of all estates without difference of age, and not without great blame of cruelty. When he lay sick, he sent for the Cardinals and exhorted them to be mindfull of the Inquisition, which is the pillar of Apostolicall authority, said he. His breath was no sooner gone, when the people of the City broke up all the prisons, and set them on fire after the prisoners had escaped; and the Monastery of the Franciscanes *ad Minervam* was hardly saved from violence. They had set up in the Capitole his portraiture of white marble, when he gave them the liberties; but then they threw it down, and cast it thorough the streets, till it was defaced and broken; and would have done so with his body, if some had not kept it by power: Lastly a proclamation was made that the badges of the Caraffes, (a family in Naples, of which he was descended) whither painted or carved, should be demolished within Rome, under no lesse paine than of treason *Jac. Thuan. Hist. Lib. 23.* He died August. 18. *An. 1559.* The Cardinals assemble unto the election: capitulation was made, that the Councell of Trent shall be restored for the necessity of preserving France and the Nether-lands, together with the open departure of High-Germany, and England. Here unto all the Cardinals did sweare and subscribe: but all in vain (as followes *Ch. 5.*) untill other occasions intervene.

VII. PIUS IV. was not sooner enstalled, but he gave out a mandate to burn all books of Lutherans: this command was executed in many places. *Of hand. cent. 16. par. 2. Lib. 3. c. 35.* He imprisoned Cardinall Caraffa, and his brother Duke of Pallia (by whose aid principally he had attained unto the Papacy) and some other Cardinals. He caused to hang the Duke in Hadrian's tower (after he had craved liberty to say once the seven Penitentiall psalmes) and beheaded the rest in the new tower. And for filling up the number again, he created new Cardinals of his own kindred: amongst whom was John the son of the great Duke being 14 years old, and Mark de Embs, whom he made Bishop of Constance, so learned, that when the Emperour Ferdinand said unto him, *deceat vos esse piscatores hominum*: the Bishop understood not what he said, and answered in Dutch to another purpose *Ibid c. 44.* The Duke of Savoy would have given liberty unto the Waldenses within his bounds: but Pope Impious would not suffer it, and did contribute to take armes against them, *Histor. Concil. Trid. Lib. 5.* In the

year 1561. he shewed more than beastly cruelty against the professors of Truth: for in *Monte alto* a towne of Italy he imprisoned 80. men whom they called Lutherans, and caused the hang men cut to their necks, as a cook doeth with a hen, and left then wallowing in their blood. Some suffered with immoveable constancy: some were a little dashed, when they saw the bloody knife in the harkster's teeth: yet none of them would recant. He praised the like cruelty in two townes of Calabria, rowit, S, Sixti & Guarda: where he hired the Marques of Buciana (and gave a red hatt to his sonne (to be his executioner. *Osland ibi. c. 37. & 45. ex Henricpe & Nigrin.* He would in time of the Councell have made a Generall league with all the Princes and Estates against the Protestants wheresoever; and this he did intend, to insnare all the Princes; and thought that none of them durst refuse, if upon no other account, yet so save themselves from suspicion. But when he had sent his Nuntio unto them severally, none of them would consent; every one had their own excuse; and a common one, was, the hindering of the Councell: and yet (saith *Te. Soave*) many thought, the raising of the Councell had not been displeasing unto him, seeing he did alwaies furnish occasions of fomenting that opinion. Of his relation unto the Councell, more followes, in that place. After the Councell, he published a Bull, which is annexed to the Canons of the Councell: out of it I have extracted these words; The duty of the Apostolick service, which is committed unto us, requires, that the things which the almighty Lord hath vouchsafed for provident direction of his Church, to inspire from above unto the holy Fathers assembled in his name, We should speedily execute the same to his praise, and glory [*Observe, what false and hypocriticall pretenses*] Therefore seeing according to the disposition of the Tridentine Councell, all who shall hereafter happen to be advanced unto Cathedrall and superiour Churches, or who shall happen to be Overseers of dignities, chanonries or other Church-Benefices having the cure of souls, are obliged to make open profession of the orthodox faith, and to promise and sweare, that they shall continue in obedience unto the Romane Church; Wee willing.... that the tenour it self, which is noted by these presents, be published.... and observed, and under paines.... wee command, that it be framed by Apostolick authority.... after this and no other forme.... towit, I. N. do with firme faith believe and professe all and every thing contained in the summ of faith, which the holy Church of Rome useth, towit, [*Here is the Confession of Athanasius, and immediatly it followes*] I most firmly embrace the Apostolick and ecclesiasticall traditions and other observances and constitutions of the same Church; I do admitt the holy Scripture according to that sense, which the holy mother the Church held and holdeth, unto which [Church] it belongeth to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; nor shall I ever accept or expound the Scriptures, but according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers; I confesse also that there be truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ for salvation of mankind, albeit they be not all necessary unto every one: these are baptisme, confirmation, the eucharist, pennance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage; and that these do conferre grace, and of these, baptisme, confirmation & marriage should not be reiterated without sacriledge; I receive and approve all the received and approved rites of the Catholick Church in the solemn administration of all the forenamed sacraments; I embrace all and every thing, that was defined and decla-

declared concerning originall sin and justification, in the Synode of Trent; I professe also, that in the Masse is offered unto God a very proper sacrifice of attonement for the quick and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist is verily, really and substantially the body and blood together with the soul and Deity of Christ Jesus, and that there is a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood, which conversion the Catholick Church calleth Transubstantiation, I confesse also, that all and whole Christ and the very sacrament are received under one kind only; I hold constantly, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls there-in are aided by the prayers of believers, also that the Saints reigning with Christ are to be worshipped and invocated, and that they offer prayers unto God for us, and that their reliques are to be worshipped; I most constantly, affirme, that the images of Christ and of the mother of God ever a Virgine, and of other Saints, should be had and retained, and that due honour & worship should be given unto them; That the power of indulgences is left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is very profitable to the salvation of Christians, I acknowledge that the holy & Catholick and Apostolick Church of Rome is the mother and Mistris of all Churches, and I promise and swear obedience unto the Romane Pope, the successour of blessed Peter Prince of the Apostles and Vicar of Jesus Christ; And all other things that were delivered, defined and declared by holy canons and Occumenicall Councils, and especially by the most holy Synode at Trent, These do I undoubtedly receive and professe; And also all contrary things and whatsoever heresies were condemned, rejected and anathematized, I also doe condemne, reject and anathematize; And the same true catholicke faith, without which no man can be saved, which I do at this present willingly professe, and sincerely hold, I the same N. doe vow and swear, that I shall have care, so farre as lieth in mee, that the same faith shall be kept whole and unviolated most constantly (with the help of God) untill the last breath of my life, and that it shall be kept and taught & preached by my subjects or by such as I shall have charge of, in my calling. So may God help mee and these holy Euangels of God; Wee will that these present Letters be read in our Apostolicall Chancelary..... Given at S. Peters in Rome, *An. 1564. Novembr. 13. and fifth year of our Papacy.* These were read and published *Decembr. 9.* Here is a tenure of Episcopall profession, and it is a summ of Papistry. After the Council the Pope thought himself secure, and spent the rest of his time in building sumptuous houses, and entertaining some Princes with Princely feasts. He built in the Vatican a place like unto the amphitheater for all such games. He was most expert in dissembling, addicted to all pleasures of meat, wyne and venery, which were thought to have hastened his death: for he died *ex nimia venere, Decembr. 9. An. 1565. Jac. Thuan.*

CHAPTER II.

Of EMPEROURS.

CHARLES V. the nephew of Maximilian, and King of Spain, &c. was chosen King of the Romanes: he had the largest Dominions of any Emperour for many hundred years: he was crowned at Aken *An. 1520.* and held a Diet at Worms *An. 1521.* where unto Luther was summoned: there it was ordained, that Luthers books should be burnt, and himself be bannished out of the Empire: but of his Acts concerning Religion we will (God willing) speak more hereafter. The Pope had been his Tutor, and the King of France was prevailing in Lombardy: wherefore the Pope and the Emperour made a League against France, and they drew in Henry VIII. King of England with them. Charles began his wars in Lombardy, but was not there personally: at the battell of Pavy Francis was taken prisoner, and carried to Madrid: afterwards he was dismissed, and gave his two sonnes in hostage, and married Leonor the Emperours Sister. But Francis got from Pope Clement, a dispensation of his oath which he had given to Charles, for the performing of certain conditions after his liberty, and the rather, because that Charles did aim with unsatiable lust at the Empire, not of Italy only (saith *Onuphr. in Clement VII.*) but of whole Europe. When Charles heard of a League made against him by the Pope and the Princes of Italy and King Francis, he was not a little offended, and making the more hast, sent Charles Duke of Burbone Generall of his Army, into Italy, who did so prevaile, as is hinted before. Then in his Letters he challengeth Francis of the breach of his oath, as he often spoke thereof unto the French Ambassadors. The King sent his Letters (by an Herauld) dated at Paris March 28. *An. 1528.* saying, By the talk, which thou hast with some of mine, I understand that thou braggest of certain things sounding to my dishonour, as if I had escaped thy hands against my fidelity: now; albeit he who after the compact hath left pledges, is him selfe quitt from bonde, so that I am thereby sufficiently excused; nevertheless in defence of my honour, I have written thus briefly unto thee: therefore if thou doest blame this my fact and departing, or sayst that I have at any time done contrary unto the duty of a Noble Prince, I tell thee plainly, Thou liest: for I have determined to preserve my honour, while I have a day to live: therefore we need not many words: if thou hast ought against mee, thou shalt not need hereafter to writemore, but appoint the place and time, where we may fight hand to hand: If this thou darest not do, and in the mean time revilest mee, I protest, that all the shame thereof belongs unto thee. The Emperour receiveth the Letters, and sent another Herauld appointing the place. Francis would not accept the Letters, but considering the danger of his children and his former misfortune, sought peace: it was concluded in August. *An. 1529.* At the same time Solyman was besieging Vienna in Austria with 25000 Turks: he assaulted it 20. times: it was defended so viliantly by the Germanes under the conduct of the Palsgrave, that the sege was raised after a moneth, and Solyman returned, many Turks being killed or taken. Then Charles had peace everywhere, and went to be crowned in Italy: ere he came to Bononia (where the Pope lay) three Cardinals were sent to demand, and take his oath of fidelity, that he would never pre-
judge

judge the liberties of the Church. He answered, He would not refuse that, so far as it should not be prejudiciall unto his own right; Meaning to recover Parma & Placentia, which the Church did then possesse, but was a part of the Dutchy of Millane. The Pope and Cardinalls loved not such conditions, but they durst not resist. So on Febr. 22. he was declared King of Lombardy, and Febr. 24. he was crowned Emperour *An. 1530.* He restored the Dutchy of Millain to Francis Sfortia: he created Frederik Gonzaga Duke of Mantua, and by meanes of the Prince of Orange he conquered Florence, and gave it to Alex. Medices. Then he went unto Germany: in the Diet at Ausburg he caused his brother Ferdinand to be declared King of the Romanes, not without opposition of the Duke of Bavier & of the Protestants. *An. 1532.* Solyman returned into Styria: Charles waites him at Vienna: yet sent some horse men against Cason a Turkish Captain with 15000. men plundering the Country. Cason was taken, and many souldiers were slain: wherefore Solyman returned now the second time with shame. Charles then goeth into Italy to talke with the Pope concerning the Generall Councell: thence he sailed into Spain *An. 1533.* After two years he relieved 22000. Christian captives, and wonne the Kingdom of Tunis from the Turks, and rendered it to King Alzaten Muleasses, who had been expelled by treason of his own sons. He returnes into Italy, and again talkes with Pope Paul concerning the Councell: and went into Spain: thence he returnes into Germany *An. 1541.* When he was at the Diet in Regensburgh, he heard of the losse of Tunis again, and went thether, and lost a great part of his army to his discomfort, and returned into Spain in November. Of his business with France, and with the Protestants in Germany, it follows in the next Chapter. His victory at Smalcald was his ruine: for upon no condition would he grant liberty unto John-Frederick Electour of Saxony, and the Landgrave: therefore Maurice son of Henry successour of the Popish George Duke of Saxony, and son-in-law to the Landgrave, though a Protestant, yet had followed the Emperour in and after these warrs, and therefore was honoured with the title of Electour) now seeing that the Emperour aimed not (as he had oft professed) at wonted and civill obedience only; did entreat for liberty unto his father-in-law. Charles dreameth of security, as if Germany could not stirre any more, and would not remitt any part of his will. Wherefore Maurice by the advice and with the aid of Albert Duke of Brandenburg raiseth an army quietly, and approacheth to Ispruc: when Charles was informed of it, he sets the Electour at liberty, lest Duke should Maurice have the honour of his delivery, and himselfe sleeth with his Court by night into Italy: he climbeth the Alpes with torch-light. After all his travels he had not a foot of ground in Germany, but the Netherlands. After his departure within few hours Maurice took Ispruc, and was Master of all the baggage belonging to the Emperour and his court *An. 1552.* but touched nothing appertaining unto the burgessees. It came to passe, that King Ferdinand & Duke Maurice concluded a peace at Passaw, and ordained a Diet to be held at Ausburg. It was delayed two years: and albeit Maurice was killed by the before-named Albert, yet all discords for religion were commodiously composed in Septemb. *An. 1555.* liberty was granted unto the Protestants; the Landgrave was restored; but liberty was not permitted unto bb. and clerks, to retain their Benefices, if they left Popery *Te. Soave histo. Conc. Trid.* Charles would always hold up the Councell: but when he saw, that his fortune was changed, and his hope of a new Mon-

narchy was gone; nor would his brother Ferdinand, nor the Electours condescend to the succession of his son Philip in the Empire; he laith aside all care of the world, he resignes his inheritance unto his sonne (reserving 100000 crownes to himself and family) and quiteth Austria and the title of Emperour unto his brother Ferdinand (to use his own words, as Pe. Mexia recordeth) as if himself were dead, he tetiereth into Spain, lived in the monastery of S. Just two years, and died as humbly, as he had lived gloriously. All that space he read diligently the Books of Bernard, and with confidence would argue thus, I am unworthy to attain the Kingdom of heaven by my merites, but the Lord my God (which hath a twofold right unto it, by inheritance, and by meritt of his suffering) hath reserved the one title unto himself, and hath given mee the other: by this gift I will claime it, and in this confidence I will never be ashamed: for the oil of mercy is not kept without the vessell of assurance: this is the confidence of man, to mistrust himself, and rely upon God: to trust in our own works is not faith, but unbelief: sins are remitted by the mercy of God, and we should believe, that sin can not be forgiven but by him against whom we have sinned, and who can not sin, and by whom only all sins are pardoned. In the end when unto his lingring sicknes was added an hot fever, he held the crosse in his armes, saying, Abide in mee, O sweet Saviour, that I may abide in thee. He took the sacrament in both kindes, and repeating the same words, he rendred his most glorious soul unto God, who gave it. So *Ja. Thuan. hist. Lib. 21.* and *Te Soave hist. conc. Tri. lib. 5.* faith, After his death, Constantius Pontius was committed to prison for suspicion of heresy, who was Confessor of Charles the Emperour in time of his solitarines. and in whose armes he died. This Pontius died in prison, and Philip caused one to burn him in *effigie*, and used such cruelty against his dead body: that many were amazed, and looked for no mercy from him, who had been so mercifull to that man, whose infamy was not without the aspersi- on of his dear father.

II. FERDINAND II. assembled the Electours at Frankford, and shewed the renuntiation of Charles: this was accepted, and he was received by them. He sent for confirmation of the Romane Court: Ere the Ambassadour was heard, the Cardinals object, The Imperiall seat can not vaie but by death, or deprivation or euration: and the last two belong unto the Pope only: for as the Pope only can depose, so euration can be made before him only: as for any thing that had passed in Germany, it was done by hereticks, which have lost their power: and therefore Ferdinand should purge himself in judgement, and do penance, and send his Proctour with full power to renounce all that was done, and he should submit all unto the pleasure of the Pope only. When the Ambassadour craved to be heard, the Pope said, Charles could not renounce but in his presence only, nor can Ferdinand accept without his consent: therefore he must satisfie within three months for such things as the Cardinals have to lay unto his charge. So his Ambassadour was not heard. Grisman adviseth the Emperour: who willed him to shew, that if he were not admitted within three dayes, he should make protestation, that seing he had waited so long, and could not be heard, to the dishonour of his Master, he will return, that the Emperour may advise with the Electours, what shall be most expedient unto the Imperiall dignity. Briefly Ferdinand could not be confirmed at Rome untill Pope Pius 4. *Thuan. hist. Lib. 21. An. 1559.* Ferdinand held a Diete at Ausburgh, where the Oratours of sundry Nations were present; and the Pro-

Protestants did present their grievances, to wit, that albeit peace of religion was concluded & confirmed by subscriptions & seales, yet the judges of the Chamber had enacted strict lawes in mixt causes against them; and seeing controversies do depend on religion, they should be suspended conforme to the Articles of peace; nor would the Popish Princes and Magistrates suffer their subjects freely to professe the Augustan Confession, nor suffer them to sell their lands (as the Articles do permitt) that they may dwell in other territories, but they imprisoned them, or sent them away empty. The other party wanted not replies. The Emperour appoints another meeting, when his Deputies shall hear both parties more fully. The Protestants were content, if a like number of Judges were chosen of both parties. At that time they petitioned, that liberty might be granted unto bb and clergy: but it was not granted. Ferdinand was addicted to Popery, yet was not an enemy to Protestants. Ere he was Emperour he was continually for warrs, but afterwards he was desirous of peace. He caused his son Maximilian to be chosen King of the Romanes *An. 1561.* and died *An. 1564.*

C H A P. III.

Of diverse COUNTRIES.

IN the year 1516. Pope Leo X. under pretext to collect money for wars against the Turk, sent indulgences through all Christendom, granting pardon of sins both for guilt and punishment, unto all which would give money; and extending this grace unto the dead, if any would buy for them: for his will was, that for whomsoever the disbursement was made, albeit they were in purgatory, they should be free from their pain; granting also liberty to eat eggs and milk on fast daies, and to choose a Confessor unto themselves &c. He began to distribute this harvest, ere it was well sown, giving unto certain persons the benefit to be reaped out of certain Provinces, and reserving what pleased him for his own treasury. Especially he gave the gain of Saxony and other parts of Germany about the sea-coast, unto his Sister Magdalen and her husband Francis Cibo the base son of Pope Innocent VIII. for recompense (as he pretended) of the charges, the house of Cibo had sustained in the daies of Alexander VI. who was an enemy to the house of Medices, and had chased Leo and others of that family out of Rome. Magdalen (living then at Genua) agrieth with the B. Angelus Arembold, and he proclaimed to give that power of selling these indulgences in Germany unto any which would ingage to bring up most money, even so sordidly, that none of credit would contract with him: yet he wanted not merchants, *Te. Soave in Hist. Conc. Trident.* and he went into Denmark and Sweden. Among these merchants was John Teclius a Dominican, who was once condemned by the Emperour Maximilian, for adultery to be drowned in the River at Ispruck, but by intercession of Duke Frederik had escaped. At this time returning into Germany, he began to teach how great power he had from the Pope, that albeit a man had defiled the Virgin Mary, and had got her with childe, he had power to forgive that sin for money; and he had power to forgive not only sinnes already committed, but whatsoever in one shall commit afterwards. Shortly comes forth a little book under the name

The occasion of the Reformation.

of Albert Bishop of Mentz, commanding the pardoners to set forth these indulgences most diligently. *Joann. Sleidan. Commentar. Libr. 13.* It was the custom of Saxony, that the Augustinians were employed in the selling of Indulgences: but Tecelius would rather employ the Dominicans: and they spent prodigally in taverns, what others did spare from their necessities to buy the pardons. So the luxury of the pardon-mongers, and the preaching of the Dominicans were scandalous to very many of all estates, and the Augustinians took it ill, that they were deprived of their privilege. *Te. Soave. lby.*

The beginning of
Martin
Luther.

II. MARTIN LUTHER. was borne in Islebia a town of Mansfield *An. 1483.* in the 22 year of his age he had finished his course of Philosophy in Erford, and there entred into the monastery of the Augustinians. After three years he was invited to be professor of Philosophy in Witembergh, and there he was graduat Doctour of Divinity by Andr. Carolstadius *An. 1512.* In Erford he had learned of an old Augustinian, that it is not sufficient to believe generally the remission of sin, or that it belongs unto them only, whose names are registred in Scriptures, but every true penitent may believe, that his own sins are forgiven him freely in Christ: and accordingly is that to be understood, *Wee are justified by faith freely.* Afterwards he read the works of Augustin, and despised not the Sententiaries, namely, Thomas, Biel, Occam &c. In the year 1516. he had a publick disputation of *Free-will* against the common doctrine of the School-men, as *Lu. Osiand. in Epit. hist. cent. 16. li. 1. c. 19.* rehearseth. His Question was; Whether man being created after the image of God, can by his naturall power keep the commands of God the creator, or do or think any good, and by grace deserve; and know his merites? *Hee answereth in three Conclusions, and so many Corollaries unto each of them.* Conclu. I. Man in respect of his soul made to the image of God, and so fitted for the grace of God; doth by his naturall strength only, make every creature which he useth, subject to vanity, and seeketh himself, and things according to the flesh. Corollar. 1. The old man is vanity of vanities, altogether vanity, and makes all creatures, even which are good, to be vain. Coroll. 11. The old man is called flesh, not only because he is led with sensuall concupiscence, but (albeit he be chaste, wise, just) because he is not renewed of God by the Spirit. Corol. 3. Albeit all unbelievers be vain, and do no good, yet they shall not all suffer alike punishment. Concluf. 2. A man, without Gods grace, can no way keep his commandements, nor prepare himself unto grace, *vel de congruo. vel de condigno,* but necessarily abides under sin. Coroll. 1. The will of man without grace is not free, but serveth, albeit not unwillingly. Cor. 2. When a man doeth what is in himself, he sinneth; seeing of himself he can neither will, nor think *[well]* Cor. 3. Seeing the righteousness of believers is hid in God, and their sin is manifest in themselves, it is true that only the un just are damned and sinners & whoores are saved. Concluf. III. Grace or charity, which helpeth not (but in extreame necessity) is very dull, or rather no charity; unless by extreame necessity be understood, not the perrill of death, but every one's want. Coroll. 1. Christ Jesus, our strength, our righteousness, the searcher of the hearts and reines, is the only searcher and judge of our merites. Cor. 2. Seeing unto a believer all things, by the power of Christ, are possible; it is superstitious to depute other helps unto mans will, or of other Saints. Cor. 3. According to the premisses is the answer unto the Question. *He wrote* unto an Eremitic thus; I desire to know, what thy
soul

ould doeth; whether now in the end it be weary of it's righteousness, and lea-
 eth to be refreshed with, and trust in the righteousness of Christ: for in
 our time the temptation of presumption is strong in many, and chiefly in
 those, who study to be just and good by their own strength, and being
 ignorant of the righteousness of God, which is in Christ abundantly, and
 given freely, seek by themselves to do well so long, untill they have
 confidence to stand before God, as it were adorned by their own strength
 and merites; which is impossible: Thou wast some time in this opinion,
 or errour; and so was I: but now I fight against this errour, but as yet
 have not overcome: therefore, dear brother, learne Christ, and him
 crucified: learne to sing unto Him, and despairing of thyself, to say unto
 him, Thou, Lord Jesus, art my righteousness, but I am thy sin: thou
 hast taken mine, and hast given mee thine: thou hast taken what thou wast
 not, and hast given mee what I was not. Take heed lest at any time thou
 aspire unto so great purity, that thou wouldst not seem to thy self a sinner,
 yea, or not to be a sinner: for Christ dwelleth not but in sinners: for therefore
 came he down from heaven, where he dwelt among the righteous, that
 he might dwell in sinners. Think upon that his love, and thou shalt see
 his most sweet consolation: For if we must come by our labours and affli-
 ctions to the peace of conscience, why hath he died? therefore thou canst
 not finde peace, but by him, and by fiduciall despairing of thyself and thy
 works: and further thou shalt learne thereby, that as he hath taken thee,
 and made thy sins his, so hath he made his righteousness thine. *Hombelt*
Luther had so disputed and written, yet none did oppose him: but rather
 he purchased love and estimation.

3. When the Indulgences were proclaimed and preached in the manner
 named before, his zeal could not endure the vanity of them, and the blas-
 phemies, wherewith they were commended. At the first, he spoke not
 against the use of indulgences, but against the abuses of them, and against
 the blasphemous commending of them: and (as he shewes in his *Apology*,
 which is in *Sleidan. lib. 13*) he wrote unto the Bishop of Mentz, exhor-
 ting him humbly to inhibit or restrain these Friars: but the Bishop retur-
 ned him no answer: yet the Bishop of Brandenburg hearing of that e-
 pistle, did admonish Luther, to take heed, lest he brought himself into
 danger. Likewise Alb. Crantzius the historian said unto him, Brother,
 you speak truth: but you can not help it: go into your cell, and pray,
 Lord have mercy upon us. And the Prior and subprior of Wittembergh
 did entreat him, that for respect unto their Order, he would be silent,
 and not bring it into contempt; and the rather, that the Franciscanes
 were beginning to rejoyce, that the Augustinians were falling into contempt
 even as they. Luther answereth, All this will fall, if it be not begun in the
 name of the Lord: but if it bee, let us trust to God, that he will carry it on.
Schulzet. Annal. ad An. 1517. John Bishop of Misna at that time said, he
 had lately read the holy Scriptures, and therein had found a religion very
 unlike unto that, that was presently professed. And a litle before his
 death, he heard of Tecelius, and said, This will be the last seller of such
 wares: for intollerable is his impudence *Ibid.* A rich woman of Magde-
 bourgh after confession could not have a pardon from a Dominican, unless
 she would give a hundred florenes: she adviseth with a Franciscan her for-
 mer Confessour, and he said unto her, *God forgives sin freely, and selleth*
not as a merchant. And he besought her, that she would not tell Tecelius,
 who had informed her so. But when Tecelius knew, that for this cause
 she

she would not give the money, he said, that he shall be either burnt or banished, who hath given such advice. *Ibid.* After this Luther was the more diligent in searching the originall of the doctrine of indulgences; and then he publisheth 59. conclusions to be disputed in Wittembergh, October 31. *An. 1517.* within few dayes they were carried through all Germany, and were joyfully read by many: for all men almost were complaining of the pardons, especially as they were preached and sold by Tececius. None came to set face against these Propositions, and the name of Luther became famous, for that at last one was found to oppose the corruptions of the Church. Then Conrad Wimpina a Doctour in Frankford upon Meane publisheth contrary propositions, in defense of the Indulgences. Luther writes in defense of his own propositions; and John Eckius opposeth them. When Luthers propositions and book were carried to Rome, a third Dominican Silvester Prierias wrote against him. Thus the contestation waxeth hott, and is more known abroad. Upon this occasion. *Te. Soave in hist. Conc. Trid.* shewes the originall and progress of indulgences.

The originall and
progress of indul-
gence.

Where as (saith he) the matter of indulgences was not much scanned in former ages, nor was it weighed by the Divines, by what arguments they could be maintained, or weakned, their causes and essence was not thoroughly known: for some thought, that indulgence was nothing else, but an absolution by authority of a prelate, from that penance, which according to that manner of discipline the Church in these times, did enjoin unto a penitent, (in following ages the Bishop took unto himself alone the prescribing of that punishment; afterwards he did concede it unto the penitentiary priest, and at last unto the discretion of the Confessary) yet so that he was not free from the punishment due by Divine justice: When this was thought to turne more to the hurt, then benefit of Christians, because when a dispensation of canonical punishment was given them, they became careless to seek the favour of God by voluntary punishment, they did conceive that indulgence was a freedom from both punishments. And again they were divided: for some thought, this freedom was absolute without any satisfaction: but others on the contrary said, So long as communion by charity continues in the Church, the repentance of one believer is communicable unto another so farra, that he is freed upon the account of the other. But because that was thought to be more proper unto them that were of a blameless life, and exercised with strict discipline, then unto the authority of a bishop; a third opinion was taken up, that the essence of indulgences consists partly in the authority of the prelate, and partly in compensation. And because the conversation of the Bishops is not so blameless and free from sin, that he by his merites can help others, they devise the treasure of the Church, into which are layd the merits of all, which had more plenty, then which was sufficient unto themselves; and the dispensation of these merits belongeth unto the Bishop of Rome, so that it is in his power to give indulgences, and recompence the debt of a sinner, by the merits of the same value, out of the common treasury of the Church. And where as neither this treasure could satisfy for all sinners, seeing the merits of the Saints have certainly an end and bounds; and so it may faile; they thought good; to adjoin the infinite merits of Christ unto the finite merits of the Saints, that so the treasure might be perpetuall. And here again arose another scruple; what need is there of the drop of mans merits, seeing the infinite ocean of Christs merits floweth for ever. And truly this gave occasion unto many, to put all
their

their confidence of indulgence, into the only treasury of our Saviour, which never can be emptied. All these things were so uncertain, and had no ſurer ground, but the Bull of Pope Clement V I. which was proclaimed for the Jubilee, *An. 1350.* that they were thought not sufficient to convince *Martin Luther*, or to confute his reasons: therefore *Tecelius*, *Eccius* and *Prierias* perceiving the weaknes of their cause in the places proper unto that matter, took their refuge unto Common places; and lay their ground upon the authority of the Pope, and consent of the School-men; towit, Seing the Pope can not erre in matter of faith, and had confirmed the Scholastick doctrine of indulgences, and by his Bull hath bestowed them on believers, the doctrine concerning these is an article of faith, to be believed necessarily. Hence *Martin* takes occasion to digresse from indulgences, and to sift the power of the Pope. Albeit others had commended this power as the highest, and subject unto none other, yet he made not such account of it, but held it to be subject to a General Councell lawfully assembled; which he affirmed to be very necessary at that time, in respect of the condition of the Church. And howbeit in this fire of contestation *Luther* did overthrow the power of the Pope, and ever the more, that the others did advance it, yet he did always speak no thing but modestly of the person of Pope Leo; yea and for a time he declined not his judgement. Nevertheless they fell upon other particulars, and the dispute concerning remission of sin, repentance and Purgatory, by which the Chapmen of the Roman court did confirme their indulgences. But among them all, *James Hoghstrate* a Dominican and Inquisitor of the faith wrote against *Luther* most properly: for he left other reasons and purposes, and adviseth the Pope to beat down the mans pertinacy with fire and sword. So writes *P. Soave* summarily.

V I. On Christ-mass-eeven *Frederik Electour* of Saxony, and his Brother *John* went to Church in Wineberg, *An. 1517.* with their traine; and the aire being cleare, he seeth above his house clearly a fiery cross: they stand beholding it, and were amazed: then *Frederik* saith unto his Brother, That is a signe, that there will be strife for Religion, and the house of Saxony will be in danger. *Abr. Schultet. Annal.* At that time the prime Divine had published a booke in defense of *Luther*; the young Students at Wittembergh burned the propositions of *Tecelius* in the market place, and the Duke *Frederik* (not being required) undertakes the patronie of *Luther* and *Carlostad*. When *Luther* saw the Book of *Sylvester*, he called it a wilde one & diuelish, and (saith he) if Rome do so judge, as this book speakes, it is the very seat of Antichrist. He is summoned by the General of the Augustinians to answer at Heidelberg: many did dissuade him: but he would yield obedience: by the way the Bishop of Wortsburg entertaineth him friendly; and the Palsgrave receives him graciously at Heidlebergh: In the Monastery of Augustinians (which afterwards was called *Collegium Sapientie*) he disputeth 28. propositions concerning justification by faith, chiefly these two, Free-will (after sin) is but a title: He is not just, who workerh much, but who believeth much in Christ. *Martin Bucer*, wrote *Luther's* words so quickly as he could, and sent a copy thereof unto *Beat Rhenan*, with these words in the end, *Luther* in the solemnized Synod of his Brethren here was president of a learned dispute in a solemne manner, and hath disputed some paradoxes, which not only were above the opinion of us all, but even seemed heretical for the most part: marvelous was his Sweetness in answering, incomparable was his

patience in hearing, and in dissolving knots you might have seen the witt of Paul, and not of Scotus, he did so easily bring them all into admiration of him with his short answers, that were taken out of the treasury of Divine Scriptures: he agreeth in every thing with Erasmus; in one thing he goeth beyond him, that what the one doeth convey closely, the other teaches plainly. When Luther had returned, he publisheth a Declaration of his propositions concerning indulgences, and dedicates it unto Pope Leo in his epistle, and in another unto the Bishop of Brandenburg he shewes the motives of that his divulged declaration; To calme his adversaries. 2. To satisfy the desires of many, that he suffer them not to be deceived, who think that he asserts all these, seeing he doubteth of many of them, and in some he is ignorant; some he denieth, and he asserts none of them pertinaciously. And he entreats the Bishop of Brandenburg to take his pen, and blot out as he pleaseth, or burn all in a fire; seeing he doth only dispute, but determines nothing. Likewise unto the Pope saith he, I do present myself prostrate at the feet of your blessedness with all that I have, or am: refresh, kill, call, revoke, approve, disprove. I will acknowledge your voice to be the voice of Christ presiding and speaking in you, *Sibulot. ibid.* Luther had written many of his first propositions according to the current of the time, which afterwards he did recall and refuse. The Emperour wrote unto the Pope, advising him to put an end unto these disputations in time: and the Pope sent word unto Hierom *Auditor cameræ* then in Germany, to summon Luther unto Rome. Luther craveth to be examined in Germany in a place and before judges convenient. Duke Frederik writes unto Thomas *de Vio* Card. Caieran the Legate, that Luther may be heard in Ausburgh. Then the Duke of Brunswyke amongst other invectives wrote, that Luther had raised this tragedy by motion of Frederik Duke of Saxony, for envy of Albert Bishop of Mentz, because he keeps still the Bishoprick of Madenburgh. Others said, Luther was provoked for the losse of gain to his sect. Concerning the first, Luther wrote the contrary, as is to be seen in his abovenamed Apology, in *Sleida. comment. lib. 13.*; as also histories shew, that Frederik was a prudent and peaceable Prince, and the choise of Germany after the death of Maximilian, but having understanding, and following the Rule of Gods Word, he preferreth the clearing of the truth in such a matter unto every thing: and so when Maximilian and Leo commanded him in August *An. 1518.* to remove Luther from preaching; the Duke considering the matter of Luther's doctrine, and searching the sentences of Scripture quoted by him, he would not withstand the truth, when it was made cleare unto him. Nor did he so, trusting to his own judgement only, but was inquisitive to know the judgement of others more learned and antient; especially he wrote unto Erasmus (who was then about 58 years of age, and famous for learning) protesting, that he would that the earth did open and swallow him rather than he would maintain any opinion against his knowledge and conscience; but he could not permit an innocent man to be oppressed by these, who were seeking their own interests, and not the glory of Jesus Christ; and therefore he besought him to declare his judgement freely in these controversies. So writes Erasmus in *Epist. Rossens. Episc. dated. prid. Luc. Ann. 1519.* Erasmus answereth at first darkly, that in Luther were two faults; he smote both at the head and belly of the Church [that is, *the Pope and the monks*] which two should not be medled with. Then the Duke was instant with him, to shew his mind more clearly: and Erasmus answereth, Luther

Luther doth well in discovering errors; and Reformation of the Church is very necessary: the substance of his doctrine is true, but his style would be more moderate both in writing and speaking against mens persons. Whereupon the Duke wrote unto Luther, that he should temper the vehemency of his invectives. As for the aim of Luther, Paul Langius, a disciple of Tritemius, and at that time a Monk Citicensis, writes in Chronic. saying, Martin a very perfect Divine, profound, incomparable, endeavours to bring sacred Theology unto its originall dignity, and primitive purity, as also unto the Euangelicall, sincere and simple innocency, all feculare Philosophy being put clean away he follows Simon de Cassia a most Christian Divine in former times, despising all Philosophy, teaches the Holy Scripture most purely, declaring continually the most reverend and almost not-heard mysteries of Gods Word: he became most famous through the world, albeit like another Jerom he wanted not the envy of enemies, and persecution of the Scholasticall Divines. And the same Langius speaking of Carolstadius, Luther and Melanchton, saith, They most purely do treat of Divinity, the wheat of Gods Word without all chaff, that is, without all Philosophy and mixture of Syllogismes: they have the Sacred Scriptures, and especially the Gospell of Christ and epistles of Paul, for their principles and foundation; with the study of learning they powre into the breasts of their disciples the fear of God and seeds of all vertues by their word, example and pen. And lest any should say, that he speaks of them before their separation, he addeth about the year 1520. He by his doctrine, and admired preaching, brought indulgences to nothing, and called them altogether into doubt, and diverted the people from buying, affirming that they were not necessary unto salvation, nor were availeable unto forgiveness of sin, but were a neglecting of repentance, and a casting loose and an impediment of all works of piety; nor was such a treasure of the merits of Saints known in the primitive Church for the space of 1000 years and more affirming also that the Church of Rome is not the first and head of all Churches *de Jure Divino*: and therefore unto this present time they persecute him like another Athanasius . . . and he hath taught other rare and sublime things, which not only some Romanists, but many of the most learned, especially the Thomists cease not to maintain; Nevertheless Martin a most learned and wise Divine in our age, confirming and proving his doctrine by testimony of the Gospell and of the ancient Orthodox Fathers hath remained invincible hitherto. This and much more is written by that Monk not affirmatively, but by admiration, and doubting after the manner of many, as he speaks, untill it be decreed by a Generall Councell. To this purpose writes *Laur. Surius* a Carthusian Monk of Colein, and enemy of Luther, saying, Because not small abuses were mixed with these proclaimed indulgences, Luther took occasion to inveigh bitterly against some immoderate and filthy preachers of them, and sent Letters unto the Bishop of Mentz, writing far otherwise of matters of religion, than he did afterwards in his book *de captivitate Babylonica* and other books: also he set forth 95. propositions against the indulgences, and Tecelius set forth 105. contrary propositions: out of this contention arose that fire, where with all Europe was almost enflamed: in the very beginning of this tragedy many grave & learned men did judge, that Luther was moved, not with a very bad zeal, and that he looked upon no other thing but the Reformation of the Church, in which every good man was grieved at many abuses &c. And in the year 1519. Novemb. 1. Erasmus wrot from *Lovan* unto Albert Bi-

shop of Mētz, saying, Many things are in the Books of Luther, condemned as heresies, by Monks and Friars, which in the books of Augustin & Bernard are found as sound & godly: the life or conversation of Luther is universally approved of all men; And the world is burdened with mens ordinances, with School-doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of begging Friars, who so far as the Pope makes for them, they make him more than a god; but if he make any thing against their purpose or advantage, they account no more of his authority then of a dream: they have left off to speak of Christ, and teach nothing but their own new conceits, which even idiots can not endure, and good men groan, when they see such things: These things (as I suspect) have moved Luthers mind that he durst oppose himself against the intolerable impudency of some: for what other thing can I suspect of a man, who is neither ambitious of honour, nor covetous of money? And in his epistle to Cardinall Campeggius dated *Lovan. Natal. Nicol. 1526.* he saith, I have heard very worthy men of approved life and doctrine rejoyce, that they had found some of Luthers books: and I have seen, that whosoever was of most innocent life, and nearest to the purity of the Gospell, was least offended at him: further his life is commended even by them, who hate his doctrine: God only can judge of the mind. . . . the world now being wearied with this doctrine of humane traditions & constitutions, seemeth to thirst for the pure water of the Evangelicall fountaines: and it seemes unto mee, that this man is framed by nature unto this purpose, as he is kindled in desire.

Card.
Cajetan.
dealeth
with
Luther.

V. The Pope was persuaded by some, that Luthers cause should be first examined in Germany: and so he committeth it unto Cardinall Cajetan, ordering him, that if he find any appearance of amendement, to accept him, and restore him unto the Church, and not only forgive him what was passed, but give him hope of preferment and rewards: but if the man be obstinate, he should deal with the Emperour and Princes, to restrain him with bodily punishments, Upon citation Luther goeth to Ausburgh, and hearing that the Cardinall had gained upon the Emperour and some Princes to hate him, he writes unto George Spalatinus, For all these I fear not: though they prevaile by flattery or credite, to make mee odious unto all men; yet I am sure in my conscience, that whatsoever I have, and whatsoever they impugn, I acknowledge and confesse that I have it from God: and these things I do referre and offer unto Him: if he take them, let them go: if he maintaine them, they are safe; and blessed be his holy name for ever. He came to Ausburgh in the beginning of October, but did not present himself, untill he had received a safe-conduct from the Emperour and then he appeareth before the Legate October 12. he was accepted courteously, and the Legate spoke of some controverted points: but when he perceived (saith *Pe. Soave*) that he was not like to yeeld, no not for the great weight of Schoole-divinity, in which profession he was very well acquainted; and he was prompt with the texts of Scripture, where in the School-men had little confidence: therefore he professed openly that he would not deal with him in way of disputation: only he did exhort him, to recall what he had divulged, or at least to submit his books and doctrine unto the Popes judgement; and the rather he should not refuse, because of the present danger, if he repent not, and of Leo's favour, if he despise it not; when it is tendered. Luther pauseth a litle, without any answer: the Legate thought he wold not presse him instantly, but gives him leave for some days, that the menaces and promises may take the more upon him:

him: and he sent Jo. Staputius Vicar generall of the Augustinians to deale with him in the same manner. Another day the Legate professed, that he would deal with him, not as a disputant, but as his Judge, and to encline him to reconciliation, he adviseth him that he let not the faire opportunity of favour slip. Luther answereth with his accustomed freedom, I will not prejudice the truth for any passion; nor have I offended any man by word or deed, that I should hunt after any man's favour, nor do I fear the menaces of any adversary: and if they will attempt any thing against mee illegally, I am resolved to appeall unto a generall Councell. The Cardinall had heard, that he was encouraged by some Princes who intended by him to restrain the Popes power; and he suspected that their perswasion had made him so confident: therefore he was full of wrath, and chideth him bitterly, revileth him, admonishes him, that *Princes have long hands*, and commandeth him to pack him out of his sight. He going away, calleth to mind, what they had done to John Hus: he intendeth to depart quietly: but after another advisement he sent Letters unto the Cardinall, where in he acknowledgeth, that he had spoken hastily, as the importunity of his adversaries and these bankers had provoked him; he promiseth to use more modesty, yea he will satisfy the Pope; and shall speak no more of Indulgences, if his adversaries shall be likewise tied. But (saith the same authour) while neither party will be silent, but rather provoke one another, the fire was the more kindled. The Court of Rome was offended with the Cardinal, that he had dealt too peremptorily and contumeliously, nor had allured him with hope of a miter or red hatt. Others relate that conference in other words, yet not contrary, that when Luther was commanded to recant, he desired to be informed, where in he had erred? The Legate alledgeth the Extravagant of Pope Clemens. Then Luther protested, that he did reverence the Church of Rome, so far as they are not contrary unto the written word of God; as for any thing that he had written or said, he protested, that he thought it Catholick, and was ready either presently, or at any time shalbe appointed, to give reasons of this his assertion, out of the written word, and to answer any objection. But the Legate would not heare of Scripture. When Luther was gone, the Legate wrote a sharp letter unto Frederik, requiring him as he tendered his own honour & safety, or respected the favour of the great high priest, to send Luther unto Rome, or expell him out of his Dominion. The Duke replieth, excusing himself, that he could not do that with his honour nor with a safe conscience, unless he knew a just cause; and if the Legate will shew that, nothing shall be lacking on his part. Nevertheless the Duke began to be timorous, until he sought information from Erasmus, and the University of Witembergh: they did encourage him unto constancy in Gods cause. *J. Fox in Act. & mon.*

VI. Leo feareth an innouation in Germany, not only by loosing the benefit of Indulgences, but by contempt of his authority: and for remedie of both he confirmeth the Indulgences by a new Bull, dated Novemb. 9. *Ann. 1518.* and therein declares, that unto him as the successeur of Peter, and Vicar of Christ, belongs the power to bestow so great a benefite both on the living and the dead; and the Church of Rome is the mother and Lady of all Christians; and all men must obey her, who will not be separate from the communion of the Church. This was sent unto Cajetan, and he directed severall coppies thereof unto the Bishops throughout Germany; adding threats against all who shall think otherwise. Then Luther, saw that nothing was to be expected from Rome unto him, but

*Another
proclamation
of in-
dulgences.*

condemnation: therefore he published an appeal, wherein he professeth, that he would not decline the authority of the Pope in so far as he followeth truth, but he is not so free from the common condition of men, that he can not erre, seeing even the example of Peter (who was rebuked by Paul) testifieth the contrary: indeed it is easy for the Pope by his wealth and power to oppresse any man dissenting from him; and they who are oppressed, must have their refuge to a general Councell, which every way is to be preferred before the Pope. By this appeall (after it was spread, and many did judge it reasonable) it did quickly appeare, how weak the Popes Bull was to quench the fire of Germany. *Pe. Soave in Histor.* In the end of this year Luther wrote unto Wenceslaus Linckius, saying, I send unto thee my proceedings more exactly written than the Lord Legate thinks: but my pen is a breeding for higher things: I know not whence these meditations do come: in my judgement this business is not yet begun; so far is it from that the Peers of Rome can hope for an end: I send thee my trifles that thou mayst see whither I guesse rightly, that the very Antichrist (as Paul speaks) be reigning in the Court of Rome: I think, I can demonstrate that he now is worse than the Turks. *Schuliet. Annal.*

Others
arise for
the truth.

VII. After the publishing of the foresaid Bull, the minds of the Roman Court were lifted up again, (and ere they heard of Luther's appeall) as if all were then well: presently they fly unto their harvest, and send Samson a Franciscan of Millan into Helveria, to sell Indulgences: in some places he reapeth abundantly: he comes to Zurick, where Hulderik or Ulrick Zuinglius opposeth him, and preacheth not only against the abuses of the indulgences, but confuteth the use of them and the power of the Pope sending them: and many did hear him gladly, and commended him mightily, saith *Pe. Soave*. Here it is to be remembred, that albeit Luther was the first who entred into debate with the corrupt Court of Rome, yet not he alone. Wolfgang Fabritius Capito was born in Haganoa of Alsaria *An. 1478*. his father abhorring the wicked life of priests, took him from the study of Divinity, and applied him unto Medicine: but after his fathers death he returned unto the subtilties of Scotus, in Friburgh of Brisgoia, and wearying there, he became preacher in Brusella by Spira: thence he was called unto Basile *An. 1508*. where by preaching and disputing he sowed the first seed of the Gospell. Likewise John houffschine or Oecolamp. made such progress in his studies at Heilborn & Heidelbergh that Philip the Palsgrave made choise of him to be Tutor of his children: about the year 1514. his native town Winsbergh calleth him to be their preacher, where he was the admiration of all learned men: and in the year 1516. he was called unto Basile, and there did concur with Erasmus in translating the New Testament, and the same year was graduat Doctor of Divinity by Capito. Also at Strawsburgh Doctor Keisersberger and John Creutser another Doctor of Divinity, howbeit they did use the usuall rites, yet they preached no other doctrine then afterwards was declared in their Confession *An. 1530*. so that Strawsburgh was the first town of Germany professing the truth of the Gospell, saith *Abr. Scultet. in Annal.* As for Zuinglius; his father was wealthy and old; and his son very young: he thought, the fittest way to preserve his riches unto his son, was to build a Church in Glarona, and adde all his riches unto the priest thereof, upon condition; that his son be the first priest: when the boy came to 16 years of age, he was sensible of his unworthiness to have the charge of souls: therefore he went to the schools in Basile *An. 1505*. where he heard Thomas V Vittenbach teach, that the death

death of Christ is the only price of our redemption; and indulgences are but a device of the Pope. Then he read the Scriptures diligently, especially the New Testament in Greek: and finding in the epistle of Peter, that the Scripture is not of private interpretation, he made it a part of his prayer daily, that God would give him his Spirit, to attain the knowledge of the hid mysteries. And lest he should be deceived with a fond conceit of his own imaginations, he compared the Scriptures, and by collationing one passage with another, he searches the meaning of the darker places: and he read the writings of the antients, yet so that he judged, they should be examined by the touchstone of Gods word. Thus he attained to the knowledge of many things, which were not spoken of in these days. He was called by Francis à Sickengen a Germane Knight, to be his preacher, and there he read the gospell and the epistle and the Letany in the Germane language; not intending any Reformation, but that they under his charge might the better understand what they heard. Then came unto his hands the Resolution of the questions, which Picus of Mirandula had propounded at Rome: these he did approve; and therefore was suspected and hated by some: nevertheless with boldness he spoke against the pardons, and openly disputed with Cardinall Matthew Bishop of Sedune, before there was any word of Luthers propositions: and he preached against the superstitious running of the people unto the Eremites. In the year 1517. he was called to be preacher of Zurick, and at his admission he protested, that he would declare the History of Christ out of the Gospell, not according to the expositions of men, for he would be tied to none, but to the mind of the Spirit, which he trusted to attain by prayer and meditation of the Scriptures. Many rejoiced at this protestation, and others were offended. *Ex vita Zuinglii prefixed unto his Epistles.* When the books of Luther came into Helvetia, he had heard of them, but he professed publicly, that he would not read them, yet exhorted the people to read them diligently. Behold his intent! he would, that the people hearing him, and reading the other, and knowing that he did not read them, might the better see the unity of the Spirit flowing in them both out of Divine Scriptures, and so the more willingly believe the Truth. And by Gods blessing there followed a wondrous successe, as here after we shall heare.

VIII. In January 1519. comes from Pope Leo, Carol. Miltitius with a 1519. present of a golden rose and consecrated, unto Duke Frederik, and with Letters unto his Counseller Degenhart Pffessinger, entreating him to assist Miltitius for bannishing Luther that child of Satan. In the mean time word is brought, that the Emperour is dead Januar. 12: then the eies of all men were toward Frederik as successeur: whereby Luther had rest for a time, and the fury of his adversaries was abated. He spoke with Miltitius at Altenburgh, and promised silence, if the same were enjoined unto his adversaries; and to recant, whensoever he shall be convinced of an error. To the same purpose he wrote unto Leo March III. adding, he could not recant simply; because it would be an imputation unto the Apostolicall See, seeing many learned and judicious men in Germany understand all the controversy. On the first of May Erasmus writes unto the Duke of Saxony, that so long as he is President of justice, an innocent man should not be given into the hands of ungodly men, under pretense of piety; all do commend the innocency of Luther; nor is he to be thought an heretick, who displeaseth this or that man: his accusers do but seek their own interests; nor should he be rashly condemned of heresy, who leadeth a godly

life as becometh a Christian. In the end of June and some days of July there was a disputation at Leipſich betwixt Eccius and Carolſtad: there was alſo Luther and Melancthon, all under the protection of George uncle of the Duke Frederik. When Tecelius heard of this appointment, he ſaid, So would the Devill: and he died in the mean time. This diſputation is written by many. Agrippa telleth the ſubſtance of it in few words, thus, Hoghſtrat and Eccius gained nothing but ſcorne. They diſpute moſt of the power of the Pope. After the diſpute, the Duke George touches Eccius and Luther with his hand, & ſaith, Whither *Jure Divino* or *Jure humano*, yet the Pope of Rome is the great highprieſt. This diſputation brought forth many books, eſpecially from Carolſtad and Eccius, whereby both their names were much empaired. Then Luther publiſheth his Sermons of a twofold righteouſneſs; of the ſaving meditation of Chriſts paſſion; of baptiſme; of preparation unto death: Alſo a declaration of the propoſitious diſputed at Leipſich concerning the power of the Pope; A confutation of the Antidotes falſely imputed unto him by the Monks of Jutrebok: And a Commentary on the epiſtle to the Galatians. In October the Bohemians write from Prague unto Luther, exhorting him unto conſtancy and patience, and affirming his doctrine to be pure Divinity. Likewise Wolfgang Capito wrote from Baſile unto him, that Helvetia and the country about Rhine even unto the ſea did love him; yea and the Cardinall Biſhop of Seduna learned and very faithfull man, and many other chief men, when they heard he was in danger, were willing to have beſtowed on him not only for his ſuſtentation, but a ſafe refuge, where he might either lurk or live openly: but when they had ſeen the copy of the letter, which the Duke had ſent unto the Legate, they perceived that he had no need of their aid: and that they had cauſed his books to be printed, and ſpread them in Italy, Spain, France and England, heerin regarding their common cauſe. The ſame Capito wrote alſo then unto Eraſmus, exhorting him, that he would not oppoſe Luther, albeit (ſaith he) I do miſſe (or wiſh that he would write otherwiſe] many things; yet it is expedient that he be encouraged, that young men may be the more heartned for the liberty of the Church: I know that the adverſaries wiſh nothing more, than to have you provoked againſt him: but it is better to have all the other Divines againſt You, then to have his abettours your enemies: many Princes, Cardinals, Biſhops, and the beſt of the clergy do affect his buſineſs. *Schulzet. Annal.* This ſummer the Monks made it the principall matter of their preaching, to inveigh againſt Luther; and ſo they ſpread among the people what was before packed up in Latine within the walls of the Schooles: and Luther for this cauſe ſpread his books in the vulgare language. In Auguſt the Univerſity of Colen, and in November the Univerſity of Lovan came forth with their bare articles and Sentences of damnation or (as Eraſmus then ſpoke) prejudged opinions, thinking with the fire of words to quench a ſtronger fire of reaſon: but they made the books of Luther the more vendible. The Univerſity of Paris had been held moſt famous for many years: their judgement was alſo expected, but they would not write. *Eraſmus in Epistol. ad Cardinal. Campegi. dated Lovan. Natal. Nicol. Anno 1520.*

1520. IX. In January 1520. a new broile ariſeth upon a Sermon of the Eucharift, that Luther publiſhes: in it he ſaith, It ſeemes good unto mee, that both the *Species* of the Supper were given unto the communicants. Therefore George Duke of Sayony, writes unto Duke Frederik, accuſing

sing Luther of the Bohemian heresy. And the Bishop of Misna by a published mandate condemneth that Sermon. The Elector answered his uncle, that Luthers cause was not legally decerned. Unto the Bishops mandate Luther writes; he did judge as he had written, if it were permitted by authority of a generall Council; and in the mean time the Acts of the last Council should be obeyed; and he thinks that Christ is not partially, but wholly under both the bread & the wine. Januar. 15. Luther writes unto Charles V. and afterwards unto Albert Bishop of Mentz, and unto the Bishop of Mersburg, humbly beseeching, that they would not condemne untill they heare him. These two bb. admonish him, to temper his pen for the love of Christ, and to write of other things more usefull for advancing piety, than to medle with the Popes power: as for themselves, they had not leisure to read his books; only they hear that he had written of free-will and such other idle questions & trifles, and of the Sacrament and such other things that are determined by the generall Councils *Osiand. in-Epit. Lib. 1. Cap. 27.* In March Luther publishes his answer unto the Censure of Colen and Lovan. These writings are reported at Rome, and some do charge the Pope of negligence, that he provideth not timely against so great evils; especially the Monks do grumble, that he takes more pleasure in hunting, gaming and musick, and is careless of weightier things: they tell him, how arianisme might have been prevented; if Arius had been at his first appearing put out of the way, as they did at Constance with Huls and Jerom. On the other side (saith *Pe. Soave*) Leo began to repent that he had medled at all with the business: for he thought, it had been better for him, to have permitted the Monks to fight together, so long as they both professed obedience unto him, and not to have sided with either party, to the offense of the other; yea if he had not medled with it, it might have vanished in a short time. Nevertheless upon the continuall solicitation of some bb. of Germany and the two Universities, and especially of the Friers, Leo was moved to yield. So the Cardd. Prelates, Divines and Canonists were assembled, and Leo commits the cause unto them. They unanimously agree that so great impiety must be blasted with the thunder of a curse: but the Divines and Canonists do vary in the manner. Some said, the curse must be given peremptorily: others say, A citation must precede. The Divines say, The case is notorious by his books and publik Sermons. The Canonists say, Notoriousnes takes not away just defense, neither by the law of God, nor of nature; and they had given a precedent in summoning him before Cardinal Cajetan. Again the Divines say, This cause doth concerne them only, seing it is of faith & Religion. The Canonists say, It concerneth them also, seing it is a case to be judged. After much jangling they fall upon a course to please both parties, and distinguish between the doctrine, person & books: let his doctrine be presently condemned; a certain day be named wherein he may appeare; and that may serve for a citation: but for the books, there was another variance: some would have them go with his doctrine, and some with his person. And when neither party would yeeld unto the other, a mid way was devised to please them both, to wit, the Books shall be condemned with the doctrine, and be burnt when he is accursed. And accordingly one decree is made for all: therein he is not warned to appeare, but that he and all adhering unto him shall abstain from these errors, and burn the books within 60 dayes, or els they are presently declared notorious and obstinate hereticks, and also all men are charged, that they keep not, nor receive any of his books, howbeit they

Com-
plaints at
Rome a-
gainst Leo;
he knowes
not what
to doe.

A decree
against
Luther.

containe not the condemned errors, but flee from him and all his favourites, or take his person, and bring him up, or chase him out of their dominions: yea and whosoever shall receive him, their lands also are made subject unto the curse of the Church. The forenamed authour shewes what were the censures of this Bull; men of understanding (saith he) did admire it; first in the forme, that whereas it should have been handled in the language of Scripture, yet it was set forth in the style of a Court; and that in such intricate & prolix sentences, that it was hard to find out the meaning of it, and as if it were a decree in case of a fee-farme; namely in that clause, *Forbidding all men, that they presume not to assert these errors*, was such polixity, that between *forbidding* and *preserve* were 400. words at the least. Others did marke, that unto 41. positions, that were condemned as hereticall, scandalous, false, offensive unto the godly, and seductive of the simple, it was not shewed, which were *Hereticall*, which *scandalous*, which *false*. but by adding a word *respective*, all was made uncertaine, seeing that Generall word determineth not the particulars: and therefore some prudence or other authority is necessary to define these controversies. And some did admire with what face it could be said, that among these 41. propositions some were the errors of the Greeks condemned long ago. Others thought it strange, that so many positions of severall heads of the faith were condemned at Rome by the sole pleasure of the Cardinals and other Courtiers, without the knowledge and suffrages of bb. Universities and other learned men through Europe. Now hear from *Abr. Schultet*. how it was accepted in Germany. Eccius brought it to Lipsia; Marinus Caracciola & Hier. Aleander to Colen: Eccius is flowted in Lipsia? the Bull was not received in Bamberg, because, as they said, it was not legally intimated: the Rector of Erford by a publick program exhorts the Students, if they see that Bull set up in any place, to teare it in pieces, and oppose themselves unto the enemies of Luther. So when Eccius came to Erford, the Students went against him in arms, and they threw the Bull (being torne into pieces) into the water. Ulrik Hutten a noble man of Franconia did publish the Bull with interlineary and marginall glosses, not without great reproach to the Popes honour. Luther, before he saw it, had set forth his book *De captivitate Babylonica*, wherein he professeth that dayly he saw more and more, and he wishes that all his books concerning Indulgences were burnt, and in place of them all he sets this one position, *Indulgences are the wickednesses of Roman flatterers*: And he wishes that his books were burnt, in which he had denied, that *Papacy is of divine right*; and had granted, that it is of humane right; and for them he sets this Thesis, *Papacy is the mighty hunting of the Romane Bishop*. Then he teaches that the captivity of the sacrament of the altar is first, that one of the elements is denied unto the people. 2. that transubstantiation is believed. 3. that the masse is made a sacrifice. And he acknowledgeth but two sacraments, baptism and the Lords Supper. and he willeth that this book be accounted a part of his recantation. When he had read the Bull, he said, At last the Bull of Rome is come, of which some write many things unto the Prince: but I despise it, and will set myself against it as impious and altogether Eccian: yee see Christ is condemned in it: there is no reason named: I am called, not unto audience, but to a recantation: ye may see, they are furious, blind and madd. O that Charles were a man, and would for Christ's sake set himselfe against these devils! Then he wrote against the Bull, calling it execrable, excommunicates the authors of it; maintaines all the condemned articles,

articles, calleth the Pope the Antichrist, and appealeth from him unto^a Councell. When he heard, that his books were burnt at Colen, Lovan and Luik, he assembleth the Professors of Wittembergh Decemb. 10. and in a solemne manner he causeth publickly to be burnt the last Bull of Leo the X. the Decrees of Gratian, Decretals, Extravagants, Summa Angelica, and some books of Eccius: and then he publisheth unto the World the reasons why he had done so. By this provocation of Luther (saith P. Soave) and for other just causes all men of sound judgement said, A Councell is necessary, not only to compose controversies, but to provide against the abuses that have been for such a long time in the Church: and the necessity was the more apparent, because their mutuall writings did but kindle the strife more; seing Martin (saith he) failed not to confirme his doctrine with much writing; and the more earnest he was in the cause, he advanced the more; he is the more enlightned, and findeth the more matter of disputation, and discovers more errors, even beyond his own intention: for howbeit he professeth to do all through the zeal of Gods house; yet every one may perceive, that he is driven thereunto by necessity. When Duke Frederik was going to the Emperours coronation, he meeteth with Erasmus at Colen, and askes him, What he thought of Luther? Erasmus saith, It is true what he teaches, but I wish, he were moderate. Why (saith the Prince) doth the clergy hate him so? Erasmus saith, He hath committed two great faults, he touches the Popes crown, and the Monks bellies: and therefore it is no marvell, that all the Papall Kingdom be bitter against him. The next day Erasmus writes unto Conrad Peutinger, one of the Emperours Counsellors, and adviseth to cause Luthers business to be examined by learned and indifferent men in the following Diet at Worms. Luther was advised by many to teach and write more moderately: and he excuseth himself in some Letters; in one unto *Spalatin* he saith, If I must continue in teaching, I understand not your and others counsell, towit, that Holy Divinity can be taught without offense: the Scripture doth especially pursue the errors of Religion: this the Pope can not endure. I have given up my self unto God: his will be done. Who did entreat Him to make mee a Teacher? Seing he hath made me, let him have me; or if he repent that he hath made me, let Him undo me again. I am so far from being afraid for trouble, that it filleth the failes of my heart with an incredible gaile; that now I understand why the Scripture compareth Devils unto the wind: for while they blow forth in rage, they carry others unto patience. This is only my care, that the Lord be my friend in these causes, which are not so much mine, as his: and be you pleased to help here, as you may. And in another Letter dated unto the same *Spalatin* Febr. 15. he saith, There will be a new & great fire: but who can resist the Counsel of God? I intreat you, let the business passe on with it's own motions: it is Gods cause only: so far as I can see, we are driven and moved rather than do move. *Abra. Schultes. Annal.*

X. The same year Christiern King of Denmarck sent unto the Elector of Saxony for a Preacher of the truth: and one M. Martin was sent; he in Coppenhagen did preach upon the festivall dayes in the after-noon with great applause of the people: the Chanons did not medle with his doctrine, but they did deride his manner of delivery. John Thürzo Bishop of Vratislavia was the first Bishop, who hearkned unto these new preachers, and maintained them, and died August. 2. Caspar Hedio being a Doctour of

Divinity in Basile, was called to be preacher in the chief Church of Mentza, and by advise of Ulrick Hutten, Albert Bishop there sent for Wolfgang Capito to be his preacher and Counseller: Capito embraces the call, to the end, he might have the fairer occasion to sow the seed of the Gospell there. The Senate of Zurik gave command unto all the Preachers with, in their jurisdiction to lay aside all the devices of men, and freely to preach what they could confirme by the writings of the Prophets and Apostles: and in time of Lent they despised the old ordinances for abstaining from flesh. Hugh Bishop of Constance commandeth all men by his edict, to continue in the faith of the Roman Church, untill a Generall Councell be convened: and for the same purpose he sent his Commissioners unto Zurik. Zuinglius maintaineth before the Commissioners, what he had taught, and the Senate entreates the Bishop to call a Synode, and there let the learned examine and declare what the people should believe. Then Zuinglius wrote of himself unto Myconius, saying, I have given up myself unto God, and do wait all evill both from Church-men and laity, praying for this one thing from Christ, that he will enable me to suffer with a couragious heart, and as he pleaseth, either break me, or preserve mee, who am a pot in his band. If they shall excommunicate mee, I will think on the very learned and godly Hylarius, that was exiled from France into Africa, and on Lucius, who being beaten from Rome was brought again with great glory; not that I compare myself unto them, but I will comfort my self by their example, which were better, and suffered worse: and if it were expedient to rejoyce in any thing, I would rejoyce to suffer reproach for the name of Christ. *Ar. Schult.* The same author faith. The first Nation, that was enlightened by the Gospell, was East Friseland, where the Prince Edsard reading diligently Luther's books, and thereby receiving the light of knowledge, did forsake the rites of superstition, and permittes these books to be sold & read; yea by his example and exhortation did encourage the Nobility of the Land to read them, and others also who could understand. The first preachers there, were Henry Brune unto the Auriaci Lubbert Cant at Leer, Jo. Steven at Norda; Jo. Sculto at Wenera, albeit afterwards he fell away; but the most eminent was George Aportan at Embden. He had been a Monk at Zwooll, and the Prince made choise of him to be Tutor unto his children: then giving himself to search the truth, he was ready to communicate unto others what God gave him to understand, and at last became Preacher of Embden: the priests oppose him, but by permission of the Prince, he preached in the open fields; and afterwards he was brought by the people into the Church: Bernard Campius maintaining him with a guard lest the priest or their followers should have made any disturbance. Herman Henriks, one of the Priests forsook the idolatry, and became his Colleague: the other priests were by degrees put from the altars; some went to other places: and they who stayd, had liberty to exercise their blind devotion within the Cloister of the Franciscans. The Prince did presse none; but he did most aide those who were for the Reformation: and the superstition had place whithin private wall and the cloister,

What was done for & against religion An. 1521.

II. In Aprile An. 1521. Charles V. calleth a Dyet at Worms: thither was Luther summoned, and a safe conduct was sent unto him. Some would have dissuaded him; because his doctrine was condemned at Rome, and his person was accursed there on maundy-thursday, he might be sure, that the proceedings of that Court were to be confirmed in this, if

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worſe were not done unto himſelf, as was done to John Huſ. Luther answered, I will go thither, albeit there were there, as many devils as there be tyles in the houſes. He appeares before the ſtates Aprile 17. and was demanded. Whether he acknowledges the books that were abroad in his name; and when they were named, he did acknowledge them. Then, Whether he would maintain what was written in them, or recall any part of them? he answered, That queſtion is of great importance; I humbly crave ſome ſpace to adviſe. They grant him one day: and then he ſaid, theſe books are not all of one nature: ſome containe the doctrine of faith and piety; ſome were againſt the errours of the Romanists, and ſome were written contentiouſly againſt the maintainers of theſe errours: to recall the firſt ſort, was not the duty of a good man, becauſe albeit the Bull of Leo had condemned them, yet he had not judged them as impious. As for the ſecond ſort, it is too well known, that all the Chriſtian World and eſpecially Germany being miſerably vexed, doeth groan under a heavy yoke; and ſo to abjure theſe books, were a confirmation of that tyranny. He confeſſeth, that in the third ſort he had written a little tartely, but he is now called to give account of his doctrine, and not of his manners: and if any will convince him by reaſon, of all men he will be leaſt obſtinate, nor will he reſuſe to burn his books, if he ſhall be convinced of any error int. em, by teſtimonies of ſacred Scripture: the acknowledgement of manifeſted truth is an excellent gift of God; and the rejecting of it, or deſiling of ſit with lies, hath brought from heaven many thouſand calamities. Then he was commanded to give his answer in few words. He answered, I can not recall what I have thought or written, unleſs I be convinced by teſtimonies of Scripture or manifeſt reaſon. The Emperour hearing of this answer (for he was not preſent, nor was confirmed by the Pope) ſent them word, that he would defend the Church of Rome, and uſe all remedies to extinguiſh that fire; but he will not pronounce ſentence againſt that man, untill he be ſafe at home according to his promiſe. Some there, would have followed the example of Conſtance, and ſaid, Promiſſes ſhould not be kept unto hereticks. Lewes the Palgrave Elector did oppoſe, ſaying, It were a perpetuall diſhonour unto the Germane Nation; nor is it tolerable, that for favour of prieſts the publick faith ſhould ly under that infamy. Some alſo ſaid, They ſhould not proceed ſo raſhly in a matter of ſo great importance, nor do all men as yet perceive what may follow. After ſome dayes the Biſhop of Trevers, the Marques of Brandeburgh, and ſome others were named to deal with him; and they exhorted him to ſubmit the whole matter unto Ceſar and the Princes. Luther ſaid, The Prophet ſaith, *put not your truſt in men, nor in Princes*; but eſpecially the word of God is not ſubject unto men: if they will convince me by that Word, I will willingly ſubmit. Then they ask, Whether he will ſubmit unto a Generall Councell? Yes, ſaith he, if they rule themſelves by the holy Scripture. What remedy, ſay they, think you, may there be in ſuch a deplotted caſe? He answered, I know no better than that of Gamaliel; *If this Councell or work be of men, it will turne to nought: but if it be of God, yee can not deſtroy it, leſt yee be found to fight againſt God*: and I wiſh, the Pope would follow this advice: for certainly his purpoſe, if it be not of God, will ſhortly be brought to nothing. The Biſhop of Travers dealt with him privatly: but he continued in that aſſertion, that this cauſe can be ruled no other way but by the Scripture. Then he was commanded to be at home within 21 days, and in his way he ſhould not provoke the people

pleby teaching nor writing. He gave thanks unto Caesar and the Princes, and went away Aprile 26. On May 8. a Decree was published in the name of the Emperour, wherein was declared what was done with Luther both at Rome and Worms, and that he continueth obstinate in damned heresies; and therefore all men should take him for such a one, and after 21 dayes none defend nor lodge him, but rather take and imprison him, and take all the movables and immovables of all his favourers and abettours; and none shall read, nor have, nor print, any of his books, but burn them &c. This decree did more good unto the Emperour then harme unto the cause: for soone after the Pope breaketh his league with France; and receiveth Charles into his bosome. As for the judgement of others, it appeares by *an epistle of Erasmus dated, Basil. 3 non. Septemb. An. 1522.* saying, I was ever of this mind; this tragedy can not be calmed any better way than by silence: and this is the judgement of the most prudent among the Cardinals and Princes. A most cruell Bull came from the Pope, and it did nothing but stirre up the fire. Another more cruell Edict comes from Caesar, who is altogether prone that way: and that restraines the tongues and penne of some, but changes not their mindes. Some commend his pious mind; but they say, his judgement followes such, as the learned men do not much value. So far he. It is true, Luther was forced to hide himself for a time; but was not idle, and after this Diet many did contrary unto the Edict. Even in Worms, after they had seen the constancy of Luther and his warrant, they receive the preachers of the Gospell: and because they could not have the liberty of the Churches, they set up a portable pulpit, and heard the preachers in many places of the town, untill the year 1523. when all the priests runne away for fear in time of the rurall tumults, and then the religion was set up in all the Churches. In Erford began to preach, John Lang, George Forchem, John Culschamer, Peter Geldner, Melchior Wedman and Justus Menius, who had been priests: the number of believers was so multiplied, that in the year 1523. eight Churches could not contain them. Briefly the like was done in Gollaria an Imperiall city of Saxony; at Halberstad, Hamburg; in Pomerland, Liveland, &c. as *Schultet in Annal.* shewes particularly: and in many of these places the preachers were killed by poison or open violence by the priests and their abettors, but to their greater wo. In Low-Germany alone in the time of this Emperour more then fifty thousand persons were beheaded, for drowned, hanged, buried alive, or other wayes put to death for the cause of religion. John œcolampade in the year preceeding was refyred into a Monastery for feare of trouble: but when he heard of the publick edict, he set forth some Sermons and a book of Confession: for which, Glapio the Emperours Chapelan did threaten him mischief: but he with consent of the Friers went away in safety. Martin Bucer had been a Dominican 15 years: at that time he left that Order, and was Chaplaine unto Frederik Prince Palatin and President of the Imperiall Councell: the next year he was called to be Preacher at Landstall. When Luther was lurking, the Augustinians of Wittembergh, put away the private Masse, because it was an execrable abuse of the Lords supper, and turned into a propitiatory sacrifice, &c. The Electour requires the judgement of the University: then Justus Jonas, Jo. Dolcius, Andr. Carolstad, Jerom Schurff, Nic. Amsdorff, and Phil. Melancthon approve the reasons of the Augustinians, the Elector ratifieth their A&, and not only dischargeth private Masses in the Cloister, but in the open Church, and then in the Church of the Castle

Castle. Then and there also images were broken down, auricular confession was forbidden; both elements were delivered unto the people; and Andr. Carolstad teaches that Civill courts should be ordered not by the law of man, but of Moses: he set forth a book of the lawfulness of Priests-marriage, and against the vowes of Monks. When Luther heard hereof, though he did not approve all that was done and written, yet he wrote unto Spalatinus August 15, Carolstad must have some liberty, for he will not be content, if any do oppose him. Erasmus was offended that any Reformation was begun without the authority of a Generall Councell: and he wrote unto Peter Barbire August. 13. saying, It can not be told, how many and what kind of men did at the first love Luther: when I had read a few pages of his books, I did foresee, the matter would turn to a broil: I do so hate discord, that even verity with sedition is unpleasant unto mee.... As I think, many things are received in the Church, which may be changed to the great good of Christian religion, So nothing pleaseth me, which is done tumultuously. And in another dated August 23 he saith, I wish it were true, that Christiern King of Denmark said unto me, while we were talking of such a purpose, *Gentle purges worke not, but efficacious potions shake the whole body.* I see no good issue, unless Christ himselve turne the temerity of men into good, &c. Albert archb. of Mentz began again to sell pardons in Hala of Saxony: then Luther wrote unto him from his Pathmos Novemb. 25. threatening him, that if he leave not that idol of pardons, greater evils will be sent on him; and if he dismisse not these which for eschuing fornication have married, he will make known openly some things both of him and other bb. which they desire to beburied in silence. The Bishop returnes answer Decemb. 21. shewing that he had read his Letter with good liking, and afterwards he shall have no cause to complain of him, and he will live as becomes a Christian Prince: for which end he requires his prayers and of other good men, seeing that is the gift of God alone: he can take admonitions in good part, and wisheth well unto Luther for Christs cause. The University of Paris sent forth their judgement against Luther's books; and Ph. Melancthon opposeth it with this inscription of his book, *Against the famous Decree of the Parisians, the apology of Melancthon for Luther.* Likewise Henry VIII. King of England wrote against Luther in defense of the seven sacraments, and the power of the Pope. When Leo heard of it, he sent unto him the title, *defender of the faith*, as Alexander VI. had given unto the King of Spain the title of *Catholick King*, and I know not what other Pope did first call the King of France, *The most Christian King.* But saith *Pe. Soave*, Luther was not dashed with authority, but laying aside the due reverence of his person, wrote against him with such bitterness of words, as he had used against the puny Doctors: and the meddling of the King in this cause did not satisfy many in this controversy, and as it hapneth in debates, most do favour the weaker party, and do much commend their weak endeavors. Immediatly after the publishing of the Edict at Worms, Hugh Bishop of Constance sendeth the Popes Bull and that Edict unto the town of Zurik, and commandeth them to obey both the one and the other, and he inveighes against Zuinglius and his followers. Wherefore Zuinglius gives account unto the Senate and to the colledge of the Chanons, of what he had taught; and he writes unto the Bishop, especially pressing that he forbear not the priests with their concubines, which wickedness, saith he, brings the clergy into contempt, and is a very lewd example unto the people

ple. And he wrote unto the Swifers generally, that they should remember a former licence, which the Magistrats had granted unto the priests to have a concubine, for saving the honesty of other mens wives: which licence though ridiculous, yet necessary for the time, should be amended by turning fornication into lawfull marriage. The Bishops command gave courage unto the black Friars to write against Zuinglius: and he ceaseth not to defend his own doctrine: he published 67. conclusions containing the summe of his doctrine, and the abuses of the Clergy. The Senate for removing such strife, do appoint a convocation of all the Clergy within their jurisdiction against January 23. promising free liberty of reasoning unto both parties: and by Letters invite the bb. of Constance, Curia and Basile either to come personally, or to send their Commissioners. There were assembled about 600. priests and (as they called them) Divines. The Bishop of Constance sent in his name John Faber, who afterward was Bishop of Vienna. The Burgermaster beginneth, saying, It is not unknown, what dissension hath arisen in the cause of religion: therefore this assembly is called, especially that if any can speak against these 67 conclusions of Zuinglius now made known unto them all, he may now speak the same freely. Faber shewes his Commission, and alledgeth it was not a pertinent place nor time to decide things of that kind, which appertain properly unto a Generall Councell, and the Pope and Princes have agreed, that one shall be called shortly. Zuinglius said (as Pe. Soave reports) that is but a trick to deceive people with vaine hope, and to keep them in grosse darkness: it were better in the mean while, to search some particulars that are sure and undoubted by the word of God and the received custom of the Church, untill a more copious clearing of doubts come by a Councell. When Faber was urged again and again to shew, what he could speak against that doctrine of Zuinglius, he said, I will not deal with him by word, but I will confute his conclusions by writting. Because neither Faber nor any other would object, the Burg-master in the name of the Senate breakes up the assembly: and they give Order, that through their jurisdiction all traditions of men be layd aside, and the gospel be taught sincerely according to the books of the old & new Testament. So (saith Pe. Soave) when neither the diligence of Doctours and bb. nor the condemning Bulls of the Pope, nor the rigid edict of the Emperour could prevaile any way against the doctrine of Luther, but it rather took deeper root; all men almost did judge a generall Councell to be the only remedy: but the severall aimes of severall sorts, as of the Princes, people, Romane Court and of the Pope cast them upon severall thoughts concerning the way of ordering, and place of the Councell. *Pe. Soave* writes of these aimes and purposes particularly. The death of Pope Leo makes a pause heerein. At that time Satan was busy sowing his tares by the first Anabaptists, whose names let them perish: against them Luther was the first that did write, from his Pathmos, as he spoke. They pretend to have revelations from the Spirit, and conferences with God. Melancton was not a little troubled with them. The epistle of Luther unto Melancton is worth the reading, wherein he saith, I commend not thy timorousness: and first seeing they bear witness of themselves, they should not be heard for that, but as John adviseth, *Try the Spirits*. Ye have the Counsell of Gamaliell, to delay: for as yet I heare of nothing either done or said by them, which Satan can not do. My advice is, that you try whether they can prove their calling: For God never hath sent any, but being either called by men, or declared by signs

The Anabaptists.

nes; no, not his own Sonne. The Prophets formerly had their power according to the Law and propheticall Order, as we now by men. I would in no way accept of them, if they assert their calling by a naked revelation, seing God would not let Samuel speak, but by the accessory authority of Heli. This is especially necessary unto the publick function of preaching. And that yee may try their private Spirit, you may enquire, whether they know anguish of mind, divine birth, death and hell. If you hear that they speak all things smooth, pleasant, devote (as they call it) and religious, albeit they say, they have been ravished into the third heaven, approve them not, because they want the signe of the Son of man, which is *Barab* the only proover of Christians, and sure searcher of Spirits. Wouldst thou know the place and way of talking with God? heare, As a lion he hath broken all my bones: and I was cast forth from his face; and, My soul was filled with sorowes, and my life drew neer unto hell. The Divine Majesty speakes not (as they say) immediately, so that a man may see him; yea, man shall not see him, and live. Nature can not endure the little starr of his speach: and therefore he speakes by men, because wee can not endure him speaking. The Virgine was troubled, when she heard the Angell: so did Daniel and Jeremy complaine, Correct me in judgement, and be not a terrour unto me. What more? Is it possible that his Majesty can speak familiarly with the old man, and not first kill and make him wither, lest his wicked smells do stinck, seing he is a consuming fire. Even the dreams and visions of the Saints are terrible, at least when they are known: Try therefore and hear not a glorious Jesus, unless thou know, that he was crucified. *Ex tom. 2. epist. Lutheri fol. 41.*

XII. In March. 1522. Luther returneth into Wittembergh, and by Letter he shewes unto the Elector the cause of his returning, saying, Your Highness knowes my cause, or now be pleased to know, that I have not the gospell from men, but from heaven by Jesus Christ our Lord, so that I truly may (as here after I will) call my self his servant and Evangelist. Whereas I did offer my selfe unto cognisance of my cause, and became subject unto the judgement of others, I did it, not that I had any doubt of my doctrine, but in modesty, that I might call others: but when I see, that too much modesty turns to the detriment of the gospell; and Satan, when I have scarcely given him a handbreadth, would take up all the field, my conscience presseth me, to take another course. I hope, I have satisfied your. H. that I have yielded for a year: for the Devil knowes well, that I did it not for fear or distrust Now I am come back to Wittembergh with a higher and stronger garde than the Elector of Saxony can give me: nor came it ever into my thought, to seek defence from your H. yea, I am confident, your H. shall have better garde and defense by me, than you can give me: and if I knew that your H. either would or could maintaine me, I had not returned at all. It is not any sword that can provide for, or helpe this cause: God only must rule and worke here without any industry or help of man: therefore in this cause, he who trusts most firmly in God, shall defend himself and others most safely. And seing I find your Ho. so weak in faith, I can no way attribute so much unto your Ho. that I can think to be defended or delivered out of danger by you: I shall preserve your Ho. soul, body and estate free from all damage and danger in this my cause, whether your Ho. believe it, or not. Let your Ho. know also, and doubt not, that it is de-

Luther
returnes
An. 1522.

creed otherwise in heaven then at Norinbergh concerning this business: for we shall see, that they who think, they have devoured and destroyed the Gospell, are not yet come to a *Benedicto*. He is another and more potent Prince, then Dude N. with whom we have to do. He knowes me, and I him pretty well. If your Illustrious Ho. did believe, you should see the wonderfulness and glory of God: and seing you believe not, you have seen none of those things: Unto God be glory and praise for ever. *Then more particularly he saith*, I was called by the letters of the Church and people of Wittembergh: now in my absence, Satan hath fallen upon my flock, [*the Anabaptists were there, and some other troubles*] and hath stirred such troubles, that require my presence necessarily; and further I fear a great sedition in Germany, which they will desire to remove, or, for a time delay by joint prayers. *And in another epistle unto Melancthon he saith*, Prepare me a lodging, for the translation of the Bible presseth me to return unto you. After his returning, he preached every day, and in his Sermons (as Abr. Sculter. expresseth his words) he spoke against, not what was done in reformation during his absence, but the manner, and the necessity of doing some things. In his absence he by letters had exhorted them, to put away the private Masse; and they went about the doing of it: but the Elector did oppose them, saying, I will leave nothing undone that may be for Gods glory: but seing that this particular is so full of difficulty, I think good, not to be too hasty: for it is little, that so few can do: but if the matter be warranted from Scripture, certainly ye shall have more to side with you, and then the change shall be more expedient: I can not tell, when the Masse came first in use, nor when the manner was left off, which the Apostles did use: but as I understand, the greatest part of your cloisters and schools were founded for saying Masses; and if they be now put down, any of you may easily think what hurlyburly will follow: wherefore my advise is, that yee consult again on this matter, that things may be carried with godly quietnes. After more deliberation the Univeristy did supplicate, that with his permission they might forsake the masse as unlawfull; and they would endeavour to do it without tumult: and if it could not be so, yet that which is godly should not be omitted: and howbeit they be few in number, that is not a new thing, seing from the beginning of the world the greatest part of men have opposed truth and piety: And these Schools were not at first appointed for Masses, but for teaching the youth, and about 400. years the merchandise of Masses began; and albeit the originall were more antient, yet so great impiety should not be tolerated nor practised: and if any business arise thereupon, it should be imputed unto the wickedness of men impugning piety against their conscience. So the Masse was abolished, after frequent deliberation after the advice of Luther, and with the Electors consent, and nevertheless Luther spoke against it. Then they had abolished images out of the Church, and left off auricular confession. Luther was not content with these things, and in four Sermons, he reckoneth images among indifferent things, and said, Images if men worship them, should be demolished; otherwise they are to be tolerated..... It is true, nor can we deny, that images are noxious, because many do abuse them: but they should not be condemned for that: for some men are so mad, to worship the sun and stars: should we therefore cast these out of heaven? Carolstad hearing these words, had a purpose to vindicate himself: and Luther did earnestly entreat him to cease, lest they be found to clash one against another. Never-

Luther
against
Carolstad.

vertheless (as Scultet hath observed *ex Carolst. libell. German.*) Carolstadi did accuse Luther, that he would have all men slaves unto his authority, so that they should neither do nor write any good, unless he were in the front: And Luther tom. 2. *epist. p. 56.* speaking of Carolstad, saith, He would be a new Master upon a suddain, and set up his ordinances among the people; *pressa autoritate mea.* There was a greater fault in Carolstad, which Osiander hath marked in *Epito. Cent. 16. Lib. 1. c. 32.* towit, at that time the Anabaptists said, they had a command from God, to kill all the wicked, and to begin a new world, wherein the godly only should have the dominion. Carolstad approoves this fancy, and when he saw that his authority was darkened by the respect of Luther, he began to speak against the schools of learning, and said, All men should worke with their hands; he would not be called (as before) Doctor Andrew, but brother Andrew: he throwes away his wonted habite, and as a rurall man, he brings wood on his back to sell in the town; and at last joines with the Anabaptists. Luther opposeth them mightily; and after Carolstad was gone, he brings into use again images for ornament, and auricular confession, but not with former strictness. This was the beginning of their variance.

XIII. At that time Luther heares, that in Bohem some had propounded in their solemne assemblies to receive the Bishop of Rome's authority, or else there would never be an end of their schisme & contention, Wherefore he wrote unto them in August *An. 1522.* saying, Their name was odious unto him, ere he knew, that the Bishop of Rome was the Antichrist: but now since God hath restored the light of the Gospell, he judgeth far otherwise, so that the Bishop and his Court are more offended with him, then with them. His adversaries had oft said, that he had fled into Bohem, as indeed he once purposed; but he staied, lest they had called his visitation a running away; And now there is hope, that the Germans and Bohemians shall professe the same Gospell and religion together. Whereas many of them were sorry for the divisions amongst them, it was not without just cause: but if they shall revolt unto Popery, the number of their sects shall waxe rather then be diminished, as appeares by the Friars, which are divided into so many Religions. There is no better mean to cure that evill, then if their teachers will set forth the doctrine of the Gospell purely: and if they can not detain the people from revolting, let them (at least) endeavour to keep still the Lords Supper wholly, and keep the memory of John Hufs and Jerom of Prague undefiled. And albeit all Bohem shall make defection, yet he will commend and set forth the true doctrine unto posterity. In the end he beseeches and exhorts them to persevere in that estate of religion, which they had hitherto defended with their blood, and not by revolting to blemish the Gospell, when it beginnes to shine upon other Nations. And albeit all things be not well established among them, yet God will not faile to stir up in due time some faithfull Minister to reforme religion, if they continue constant. *What answer they did return,* we have not found, but it is most certaine, they did not revolt, saith Sleidan in *Comment. lib. 3.*

Luther
writes un-
to Bohem.

XIV. The Gospell began to be avowed by many in that year. In the Court of Lewes King of Hungary, God raised up George Marques of Brandeburgh to join with the Vratislavians in their supplication for liberty of Religion: and so began the Reformation there. Hartmund a Cronbergh a Noble man did prevail powerfully at Cronbergh. The people of
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Strawburgh were much commended, that in the midst of many discouragements on every side, they did receive Reformation by the preaching of Matthias Zellius and Symphorian an old man, who had been many years priest of S. Martin's there; and others after them, who had also been priests or Monks. John Froschius a Carmelite preached in Ausburgh; Andrew Osiander in Nuremburgh, and Gallus Korn a Franciscan joyned with him. Hartman Iback a Monk of S. Catherin's, having the favour of Amandus holtz-hausen and other Senatours preached in Frankford on Moen. In Wessenbergh on the borders of Alsatia and the Palatinat began to preach Henry motherer a Priest; and they called Martin Bucer from Wittembergh: but in the next yeare they were both put out by the Vicar of Spira, and Bucer went to Strawsburgh. In the country of Greichga by the river Neccan many towns received preachers. Henry Sutphan an Augustinian having escaped from the hands of the Inquisitours in Antwerp, went to Breme, and preached in S. Ansgarie's Church, which the Chansons had left, because a man had been killed in it. The Clergy seeing the people following his preaching, did complain unto the Magistrates, and then unto the Bishop: but Sutphan defends his doctrine by authority of the Scriptures, and promised to surcease, if they shall convince him of error. So the Magistrates maintained him. The light of the Gospell went a long to Magdeburgh. Stetin, Sund in Pomer, to Riga, Derbat and Reval in Liveland; to Scaphusen, Berna, S. Gall in Helvetia; to Dantsick, Vienna, Ulma, Wila, Creilsheim. Cothuse, Arnstat &c. From Delph in Holland, Friderik Canirm wrote unto Caspar Hedio then in Mentz, saying, The adversaries do attempt much by their mandates, letters and messages, but God infatueth the Counsell of Achitophel, and it comes to passe, that *Monte parturiens nascitur ridiculus mus*: this I know, that if we had liberty to preach in publick, the Monks (which are bitter against the truth) would turn to nothing; for their credite is gone already by a few preachings in the Schoole. But we must patiently wait upon the will and good pleasure of the Lord, who when he seeth that we are so earnest; doth purposely delay to help, lest we sacrifice unto our nets, and take the praise unto ourselves, if every thing went on smoothly: He hath respect not only of them which are to be called, that they may be brought unto grace, but likewise of them that are called, that they may continue in grace: but when he shall see us giving over, or despairing of salvation unto Israel, and to be altogether doubtfull, then that he alone may be seen to work on the earth, he will help his Church unexpectedly, that unto him alone may be praise and glory, Amen. I am very sorry, that Erasmus becomes colder dayly, and so far as I can judge, he retreats indirectly, what he did seem to have written and spoken freely; and I perceive his childish fear, in respecting the honour of men more then of God. And there bee many such Nicodemuses with us, but certainly they would stand more stoutly, if the glory of Christ, who only doth strengthen weak consciences, were publickly preached. *Abr. Schulten*

Annal.

Opposi-
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15. In that summer Luther published the New Testament in the Dutch language; and a book against the falsely named Order of Bishops: there he accuseth them for condemning and persecuting the truth of the Gospell, howbeit when he had so oft provoked them to dispute, they could neither oppugne the doctrine of the Gospell, nor defend their Popish errors. He telleth that they will not come to speed with their tyranny: for he regardeth

not

not the Papall curse, nor the Cefarean edicts, that for them he will not forsake the profession of truth, but the rather shall it spread through the world; and he endeavours to do it the more heartily, because that they rage so cruelly: neither shall the Gospell fail, albeit he were killed: but God will punish them grievously, if they will continue in their fury. When the bb. abbots and Monks heard of this book and of the Dutch New Testament, they were the more enraged, and sought by all meanes they could, to have Luthers books burnt: and in some places they prevailed: as in Wittembergh Ferdinand the Emperours brother (the lawfull Duke being exiled) put in execution the Edict of Worms, and in November put many to death. As also Henry Duke of Brunswike, George Duke of Saxony, and Philip Bishop of Frisinga & Naumburgh were violent against all having any of Luthers books. Likewise Erasmus sent a Letter unto Jodoc President of the Senate of Mechline, dated, *Basil. prid. jd. jul. An. 1522.* saying, Here and there I have turned away partly by my words, and partly by epistles, many from Luther's faction: nor doth any thing so much discourage the Lutheran affections, as that I have declared plainly by my divulged books, that I do cleave unto the Romane Pope, and do disallow Luthers business. Scultet writes that Pope Hadrian had exhorted Erasmus to employ his pen against Luther.

XVI. We have heard before (in part) what Pope Hadrian had written unto the Diet of the Germane Princes at Norinbergh in November *An. 1522:* now hear their answer: they say unto the Legate, They had with all reverence read the Popes Brieve, and heard his commands against the Lutherans: they give God thanks, that his Blessednesse was come into that See, and unto him they wish all happiness. And (*after they had spoken of their unanimity to joyn in war against the Turk*) they say, they are ready to execute the ordinances against the Lutherans, and to root out all errors, but for weighty causes they had delayed, because many had understood by Luthers books, how Germany was oppressed many and grievous waies by the Court of Rome: and if they had attempted to execute that Edict, many would have thought, that they were confirming all these vexations; and thence had certainly a popular tumult arisen, even open rebellion and Civill warr: wherefore in such difficulties it were safer to use softer cures: and seeing the Legate had confessed in the name of the Pope, that sin was the cause of all those miseries, and he promised to Reforme the court of Rome; and if these abuses be not amended, and the grievances removed, with others, which the Princes will now propound, it is impossible to calme the present broils, or to settle peace again; Especially seeing Germany had consented unto the payment of Annates, expressly on condition, that they should have been employed in warrs against the Turks, and these have been payed for many years, and never applied unto that use; they entreat that the Romane Court would permit that money be brought in to the Emperiall Chamber for that use. And where he craves their Counsell for healing the present and imminent maladies; they think, they have not to do with Luther alone, but to root up many vices that are festered by long custom, and which some through imprudence, and others through impudence do defend; therefore they see not a more expedient and efficacious way, then if a godly and free Councell be called with the Emperours consent in some convenient part of Germany so soon as possible, and at farthest within a year; and there must, it be lawfull unto all, both laick and Ecclesiasticall persons, to advise and pronounce freely, without danger of any

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at Noren-
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oath or former tye, but so far as is expedient for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls &c. The Legate replieth, That excuse of delaying the Edict is but weak: for albeit it may seem, that scandals might have arisen, yet evil things may not be tolerated, that good may spring out of them; as neither did the followers of Luther pretend these scandals & grievances flowing from the Romane Court; and though they had done it, they should not forsake Catholick unity, but rather in the highest patience have suffered the most grievous extremities: and therefore they should even now put that Edict into execution; as the Apostolicall See is ready to relieve Germany of their uniuſt oppressions by the Romane Court, if there be any. As for the Annates, ſeing the Pope will give an answer in due time, he hath nothing to say. But concerning their petition of a Councell, he thinks it will be accepted by the Pope, if they will smoothe their words, which seem to be harsh, towit, that they require the consent of the Emperour, and that it be called into one place rather than in another: if these words be not smoothed, they seem to curb the Popes power, and so can bring no good effect &c. This reply in these and other particulars was not acceptable: for they did measure good and evil by the rule of gain unto the Roman Court; and in the mean time they would amend in nothing, but only in words of vain promises. Therefore after deliberation they resolve, that they will not depart from their former answer, but will rather expect what the Pope will do. Then the Seculare Princes begin to consider the manifold Grievances of the Nation, flowing not from the Court only, but from the whole body of the clergy. When the Legate heares of this purpose, he will stay no longer. Nevertheless they go on, and gather them, which afterwards were called, *The hundred grievances of Germany*, and sent them unto the Court of Rome, with a protestation, that they could endure them no longer. Some of the Grievances were, the vast sums of money for dispensations, absolutions and indulgences; advocations of pleas from Germany to Rome; Reservation of Benefices, corruptions of Commenda's & Annates, exemption of guilty Church-men from Ciuill Courts; uniuſt excommunications and interdictions; the bringing of severall pleas unto Church-consistories covered with many pretexts &c. and they reduce all unto three chief heads, the oppression of the people with most grievous bondage, Germany is spoiled of wealth, and they usurpe the power of the Magistrate. The Diet was dissolved March 6. *An. 1523.* and all these, the Popes Brieve, and his instructions, the answer of the Princes, the Legat's reply, and the Grievances were printed and spread. When they were brought to Rome, it did gall the Court, that by the Popes confession they were called the fountain of all these evils: and the Prelates could not endure, that they were brought into contempt, and that the people now had not only cause to revile them, but the Lutherans had matter of joy & exultation; and they were brought into inevitable necessity to loose their power and gain; else it were cleare that they were incorrigible. Who did favour the Pope made excuse, that he was ignorant of the policies, whereby Papall power and the authority of the Court had stood so long. Pope Leo was more wise: when the Germanes had blamed the Court, he said, It was their ignorance and mistaking, so that if Luther had been sent to Rome, when it was required, he had not seen abuses there. But in Germany they said, The Popes confession was but a trick of that Court, to confesse a fault, and promise amendement, and never to think of amending, and so deceive people for their own interest. And where

where the Pope sayd, All things can-not be Reformed at once, they said merrily, he will proceed so slowly, that an age may slip betwixt the first and next step. And nevertheless (saith Pe. Soave) Hadrian professed freely and ingenuously, that the Church was corrupted, and he was solicitous of remedies, as appeares by the issue: he died September 13. In that Edict or Answer of Nurembergh were also other particulars, which the Germans did expound diversly according to their affections; as, where it was said, Preachers shall not speak of such things that may raise broils among the people; The Papists said, the meaning is, These things should not be repeated that Luther had taught, and especially the pretended errors of Church-men. On the other side, who where desirous of Reformation said, The meaning of the Diet is, Priests should not maintain these abuses, which heretofore had provoked the people against Church-men. Again, where it was said, They shall preach the Gospell according to the doctrine of Doctours approved by the Church; the Papists said, The meaning is, they should preach nothing but according to the late School-men and the Postillators. But others said, By such Writers were understood the Fathers of the Primitive Church; as, Hilarius, Ambrose, Augustin, Hierome and such. And so that Edict which was supposed to quench the fire of controversies, did inflamme them more: and all good men saw a necessity of calling a Councell, and that parties should submit thereunto. *Pe. Soave in histo. Concl.* The adversaries of truth devise another trick against the Reformation, to wit, they traduce the opposite doctrine with malignant interpretations; as, when Luther said, Christ hath satisfie for our sins, and our works are not satisfactory unto Divine justice; the Monks say, The new preachers are enemies of good works, as if faith alone were necessary unto salvation, and as if it were alike whether we live holily or not. When Luther said, None is tied necessarily to confesse all his sins unto a priest; the Monks said, They make no confession unto God nor man. In a word, as *Erasmus writes in Epist. in Tseude-Evangel dated Friburg. An. 1529.* the Monks and Divines through cruelty of nature, or foolishnes, or for gain or hope or honour, or privat malice. did most cruelly accuse them, not only of frivolous things, and which might be disputed on both sides, but most perversly they did mis-interprete what was well spoken. *And this was* another spurre to provoke their followers to execute the Edict of Worms the same year. Therefore said *Erasmus (lo. cit.)* Before this time was some licence to dispute of the Popes power, of indulgences. and of purgatory: but now we dar not speak of things that are godly and true: we are compelled to believe, that man of himself worketh meritorious works; and by his works deserves eternall life *ex condigno*; that the Blessed Virgine may command her son to hear the prayers of this or that man; and many other things horrible unto godly eares. John Prince of Anhalt began to affect the truth, and did advertise Luther by Do. Hierom and a Franciscan, that he should purge him of that calumny, which Ferdinand Duke of Austria had impured unto him in Norinbergh, that he had said, Christ was not the seed of Abraham. Charles Duke of Savoy was very desirous of truth and purity: Luther understanding it by Annemund Coët a French Knight, writes unto him a Confession of faith, to confirme him in the zeal of piety; in the cluture he saith, Well, Illustrious Prince, stirr up that sparke which hath begun to kindle in thee and let fire come from the house of Savoy, as from the house of Joseph, and let all France be kindled by thee; yea, let

*The erran-
glings of
monks.*

that holy fire burn and increafe, that at last France may be truly called for the Gospel's sake, the most Christian Kingdom; as heretofore for that wicked service of Antichrist in shedding blood, it was wickedly called most Christian, *Dated Septemb. 7. An. 1523.* The particulare persecutions that were in that year, I leave unto the Martyrologies.

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XVII. In the year 1525. Erasmus was persuaded by Henry VIII. King of England, and by Card. Wolsey Bishop of York, to write against Luther, which he did under that inscription, *diatribē de libero arbitrio*. Against that book Luther sent forth another, *de servo arbitrio*. The eyes of all men were then towards these two, as if two bulls of Bashan were to encounter. But lyke two war-ships they were both sparing. For Erasmus writing unto Melanchton, saith, You maruell, why I have sent forth a book of free-will: I had three sorts of enemies; Divines and haters of learning were assaying every where to undo Erasmus, both because I had hinted them in my books, and because I had brought that most flourishing Colledge into Lovan, and that I had infected all that Country with tongues and good Letters, as they speak. These had persuaded all the Monarchs, that I was a sworn friend of Luther. Therefore my friends, seeing that I was in danger; gave some hope unto the Pope and the Princes, that I was to do some what against Luther; and I did entertain this hope for the time: and in the interim men, not awaiting my book, did provoke me with their pamphlets. So I could not eschue, but send forth what I had written, or els I had offended all the Monarchs, which would have thought, that I had deluded them; and these turbulent bodies would have cried, that I kept up for feare, and looking for some what more sharpe, would have rag'd more furiously. Lastly because an epistle of Luther is in all mens hands, where in he promisetli to hold his quill off me, if I will also be silent, men would have thought, that here is a compact twixt us. Moreover the Professors of heathnish letters at Rome, themselves being more heathnish were wonderfully raging against me, as it seemes, envying the Germans. Therefore if I had set forth nothing, I had given occasion unto these Divines and Monkes, and these clay-bakers at Rome, whose Alpha (if I be not deceived) is N. whereby to persuade the Pope and Monarchs, what they were endeavoring. Finally these furious Evangelicanes had been the more angry. For I have handled the matter very modestly; and yet what I writ, it is according to my own mind, albeit I will gladly quite it, when I shall be persuaded of what is more right: And what Luther thought of this book, wee may understand by an epistle unto Spalatin, dated, *Febr. 3. omnium Sanct.* saying. It is incredible, how I disdain that book *De libero arbitrio*: as yet I have read but two sheets of it: it is grievous to answer so learned a book of so learned a man. *This year* by authority of Frederik King of Denmark, not withstanding all the opposition of the Bishops, Copenhagen, Malmoy and other towns, especially the diocly of Vibergh forsook Popery, and made open profession of Reformation. So did George de Polentia Bishop of Sambia in Prussia, and the town of Coningsberg there. So did Henry Duke of Meklenburgh. At Brunswik the Minorites held a Synode, and set forth some propositions concerning prayer to Saints and the sacrifice of the Masse: but not only the learned did impugn them, but the people after much contention did expell the Minorites. Jodoc Cownt of Hoia made a Reformation in his Land. It began also at Anneberg and Cygnza in Misnia; at Gorthain Thuringia; at Noribergh and Noerdling: at Lichtfall, Scaphusen and some other places in

in Heluetia; though at the same time some towns there made a combination against the Reformation. *Abr. Schultet. Annal.*

X V III. The main business of that year was the work of Card. Campegius Legate of Pope Clemens, This Pope was altogether against the calling of a Councell, and thought upon wayes to put it out of the thoughts of them who were desirous of it. He considered the Grievances of Germany, and resolves to give some satisfaction, yet so that neither his authority, nor gain of the Court may be abated. He findeth, that these Grievances were not only against the Romane Court, but against the bb. and their officials, against Curats and priests of Germany. So he resolves to send an active man, who may make some Reformation in these smaller things: and he thinks, if Germany be satisfied in these particulars concerning themselves, they will not enquire further. To this end he sends Campegius unto the Diet of the Princes at Norinbergh: he had a long oration, admiring that so many wise Princes would suffer any change in that Religion, wherein they were born, and their Ancestours had died, and that they considered not, how this change tendeth not only to condem all their forefathers and the destruction of their souls, but likewise to a rebellion against Civill Powers. The Pope regards not his own interest, but in compassion toward Germany hath sent him to search out meanes of healing these maladies throughly. It is not the purpose of his Blessednes, to prescribe any thing unto them, and far less expects he, that they will prescribe any thing unto him, but rather that they will think upon expedient salves: And if this diligence of the Highpriest be now refused, they can not blame him hereafter. The Emperour was then in Spaine; and the Princes give thanks for the Popes good affection; they shew, that they are sensible of their own calamities, as they had represented unto Pope Hadrian both their maladies, and what salves they thought expedient, and as yet they had received no answer: and if he had any commission in that matter, they entreat him to deliver it. Campegius answereth, that he knowes not whether any thing in that kind was propounded unto the Pope or his Cardinalls, but he knowes their good affection, and he hath full commission to concurre with them in what they shall judge conduci- ble: and he knowes what Cesar and they had done in the Diet at Worms; and some had obeyed that Edict, but why others had not obeyed it, he knowes not; but it seemes expedient, that chiefly they would take a course to prosecute that Edict. As for that they speak of Propositions tendered unto the Pope Hadrian, he knowes not whether the Pope hath heard of them, but this much, three Coppies were brought to Rome, and the Pope had seen one of them: but he and the Cardinals did judge that these things were not done by Order of the Princes, but published by some heretick, and albeit he hath no command therein, yet he hath full power to do what is expedient. In these demands are many things derogatory unto Papall authority, and smell of heresy, nor can be handled there, but he is ready to take notice, and do what is not contrary unto the Highpriest, and is grounded on reason: or if they have any business with the Highpriest, it may be propounded in milde terms &c. The Estates thought, It could not be unknown unto the Pope, what they had treated with Pope Hadrian, and that the Legate put another face upon it: nevertheless they appoint some to treat with the Legate, if they can fall upon any expedient meanes. They could gain nothing, but that he promised to reforme the Clergy of Germany; and these who spoke against

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the Roman Court, were but hereticks; and the examination thereof did belong only unto the Popes. The Princes consider, that the Reformation whereof he speaks, was but of small things, and did tend to the prejudice of Seculare Power; and to the faster rooting of the power of the Romish Court and of great Prelats, and as gentle remedies do often bring greater evils; that might open a wider door unto greater rapine; therefore they refuse it; albeit the Legate was very instant in the contrary. So the Diet was closed Aprile 18. and another appointed to begin at Spira Novemb. 11. to advise what is to be done, if a Councell shall not be called in the *Interim*; and that the Princes, each within his own Province shall advise with godly and learned men, what is to be disputed in the Councell; and that Magistrats shall have a care, that the gospell be preached according to the doctrine of Teachers, that have been approved by the Church; that pictures be forbidden, and libels against the Court of Rome. Campegius protests that Princes should not meddle with the business of faith; and he promiseth to report what they had demanded of a Councell. After the dismissing of the Diet, Compegius dealeth with Ferdinand the Emperours brother, the Dukes of Bavier, the bb. of Salisburgh, Trent and Ratisbone, and nine Commissioners of other bb. that they would meet at Ratisbone July 6. On which day they decree, that seing it was ordered at Norembergh to put the Edict of Worms into execution with all diligence, therefore they at the instance of Card. Campegius do command that in all their dominions that edict be fully execute; and all men who have sent their sons to Wittembergh, shall recall them within three months. The next day the Card. propounds 37. Canones concerning the reformation of the Clergy, towit, of their habite and manner of life, of the sacraments and other rites, feasts, fabrick of churches, of entring into orders, of festivall days and fasts, priests that are married, confession before communion, blasphemy, witchcraft and sorcery, and charming, and such things: at last bb. are ordered to keep Synods twice a year for diligent observation of these Canons. All these that are named before, did approve, and ordain them to be observed. When this Decree was published, others which were not present, were offended against the Card. and these his associates, that in such a meeting they had determined such a decree, concerning whole Germany; especially seing it was told them in the Diet, that such a course could bring forth more evill than good; and had mentioned petty things, without any mention of soarer grievances, as if all other things were on a right posture. My authour (*Pe. Soave in hist. Conc. Trid.*) saith, Campegius and others with him did not regard what Germany thought of their Decree: it was their only care, to satisfie the Pope who said that a Councell was necessary; unless they will treat of Papall authority, but in that case nothing is more dangerous or pernicious. When the Emperour understood of their treating at Norinbergh, he was offended, that they had dealt with a stranger in such a business without his knowledge; and the rigour of their Decree did displease him, because it would displease the Pope, whom he desireth to keep in friendship upon the account of his wars in Italy: but especially it did vex him, that they had determined to have a Councell in Germany, as if that business did not appertain unto the Pope and him, but unto them; or if they had thought a Councell necessary, they should have supplicated him, that he might deal with the Pope for it, and that he might appoint time and place, as his affaires might permit his presence. As for that Diet, they had

had appointed to be at Spira, he will in no way yield unto it, and committeth to execute the Edict of Worms, and, medle no more in religion, untill a Councell be called at the Popes and his own command. The Princes for a long time had not seen so imperious commands, and were so offended, that they were like to have fallen into an open broile. Charles was so confident, because of his late victory at Ticino, and had the King of France captive, and so thought to rule all at his pleasure. But the Pope fearing his power, did make a league with other Kings and Princes for his aid, if it shall happen, that the Emperour shall fall out with him; and dealt for relief of the King of France. This was unfavoury unto Charles. *So far Pe. Soave.* In the mean time Ferdinand, and these that had been with him at Ratisbona, went on in prosecuting the Cardinal's canons, and persecuting the contraveeners within their jurisdictions, as *Ab. Schultet.* and others shew at length.

XIX. That year began the strife concerning the Ubiquity of Christs body: the originall of it was thus; After the time of Berengarius the opinion of Christs bodily presence was built upon three pillars, 1. the interpretation of the words. *This is my body* properly, or as they spoke *verum pñte*. 2. Transubstantiation by vertue of these words pronounced. 3. A twofold presence, visible and unvisible. *John Gerson Chancelar of Paris* did judge all these naughty: therefore he first conceived reall communication of natures, and said; Christ, as a creature can not be in mo places at one & the same time, yet the humane nature by vertue of its union with the Divine nature may have that prerogative communicated unto it, to be present where ever the Sacrament is administred, and there only. *Jac. Faber Stapulensis* about the year 1523. taught, that as Christs body may be where ever the sacrament is administred, so it may be every where. These two opinions began therefore in Paris; the first is held by the Papists, as a pillar of transubstantiation; and the other came flying into Germany, and was embraced as a ground of *re pñte*. At first, Luther denieth transubstantiation; but of *re pñte* and the twofold presence, it seemes, he spoke variously: for in the year 1523. some Bohemians came unto him in name of their Brethren, and did conferre in the doctrin of faith: of them he writes unto Nicol. Hausman *10.2. epist. pag. 167.* saying. *Pighardi* judge so of the sacrament, that Christ is not bodily under the bread, as some say, they have seen blood and the babe there. . . . but spirittually or sacramentally, that is, he that receives the bread visibly, verily receives naturally the blood of him which is at the right hand of the Father, but receives it invisibly. I can not blame them more for this. And that they do not worship [the bread] they say, it is for the same cause, that he is not there visibly, as we speak of seeing, but invisibly, and he is at the right hand of the Father. *Here is the Bohemians* their judgement, and Luthers approbation thereof. Then *Ab. Schultet. in Annal. ad Ann. 1524.* shewes, that when Andrew Carolstad was still at Wittembergh, he was scandalised at some words of Luther, who said, Christ is in the bread of the Supper *tantus quantus in cruce pependisset*, so bigg as he did hang up on the crosse: and that this was an occasion of alienation of their minds. We have seen other causes of their schisme. On August. 22. Luther preached at Jena against the fanaticall spirits of Anabaptists pretending revelations: and at that time he said, Of the same Spirit are the breakers of images, and Sacramentaries. Carolstad was present, and took these words as spoken against him, because he had noted, and challenged Luther upon these former

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mer words. After Sermon they meet in an Inn, and in end Luther provoketh Carolstad to writ concerning that question of the Supper: and so began that Sacramentary strife. Luther hath written of that Conference at Jena one way (Sculctetus faith, falsly) and Martin Rheinhard preacher at Jena at that time, hath writen of it another way. Within two dayes Luther went to Orlamund, (where Carolstad was preacher at that time) but he would not speak with Carolstad: yet some of his hearers disputed, with Luther, and did maintain, that what they had done in breaking down images, was warranted by the word of God, so that Luther went away, being almost ashamed. Not long after, by the means of Luther, and at command of John Frederik Duke of Saxony, Carolstad was exiled out of Thuringia, and so was Rheinhard, who had written the Conferences at Jena and Orlamund. Carolstad wrot Letters unto Orlamund; these were read in a publick meeting, and all the people did weep at the reading of them: the subscription of the two Letters was this, *Andrew bodenstein neither heard nor convicted yet exiled by Luther.* Bodenstein was his fathers surname. When Luther heares of this subscription, he writes to Amsdorfius, saying, you see, how I, which should have been a Martyr, am come so far, to make martyres: you can scarcely believe, how largely this doctrin of Carolstad concerning the Sacrament hath spread. Carolstad went to Basile, and there he converseth with the Anabaptists only, and set forth sixe little books concerning the Lords Supper. Upon which occasion *Erasmus wrote unto Henry Stromer, 4. id. Decembr.* saying, Carolstad hath been here, and scarcely did visite Oecolampade: he hath set forth sixe little books: the printers were imprisoned on the third day after, at the command of the Magistrate, especially because (as I heare) he teaches, that in the sacrament the very body of Christ is not. None can endure this: for the vulgare sort are offended, that God is taken from them; as if God were in no place, unless he be under that signe; and the learned are moved by the words of holy Scripture, and decrees of the Church. This busines will breed a huge tragedy, when we have too many tragedies. *Sofar he.* The sum of Carolstad's doctrin concerning the Supper is, The body of Christ neither is, nor can bee eaten with the mouth, but there is a celebration of the remembrance of his body broken for us, and of his blood shed for us. So he acknowledges a figurative speech in the words of institution: and the word, *This*, he expounds not of the bread, but of the body, as if the meaning must bee, *Take, eat this bread in remembrance of mee: for here is the body that was given for you.* He addeth, there must be a trope necessarily, lest we be forced to maintaine, that the bread was crucified for us; and that the Scripture commandeth us to eat his flesh, which is false; and that flesh profiteth; which is also false; and that his body is given and broken for us in the use of the Supper which is also false. In the book which he called, *Of the un-Christian abuse of the bread and cup of the Lord*, he pleadeth against their error, which bid men seek remission of sin in the sacrament: and he asserts, that the Sacrament should be often celebrat to declare the Lords death; and the annunciation of his death to flow from the remembrance of Christ; and this remembrance to flow from the discerning of his broken body and shed blood; and that the body is discerned, and not the bread or the sacrament, when we distinguish his body and blood from other bodies and bloods; and that we then discern the body and blood of Christ, when we consider that his body was broken for us, and his blood was shed

shed for us; they who consider not these things, are guilty of the body of the Lord, even as the wicked men, which killed him, because such do eat of the bread of the Lord, and drink of his cup: Therefore a man should examin himself, towit, whether he thinkes rightly upon the death of Christ, and whether he be such, as Christ would have him to bee. He denieth also that the sacrament can be called an earnest or pledge of redemption by Christ, because what is proper unto Christ and his Spirit, should not be attributed unto the bread and wine; and the Scripture saith not, that consciences are quieted by the bread and wine; but rather the Apostle commandeth, that a man should first examin himself, and then eat of that bread: which examination were superfluous, if one were made more sure of the remission of his sin by the Supper. The Senate of Zurich were offended at the newness of this doctrine, and therefore had forbidden the selling of these books. But both Zuinglius and Oecolampade had spoken of a trope in the words of institution, long before they knew, how to make it cleare: and thereupon Zuinglius in a Sermon exhorts the Magistrat, to let the books pass and be read, that so the victory of truth may be the more ingenuous, and he said, Carolstad was lyke unto a souldier which hath arms and a good mind to fight, but hath not skill of arms, and puts his helmet on his shoulder, and takes his brestplate as a buckler in his hand . . . so Carolstad is sensible of the truth, but because he knowes not thoroughly the proper nature of tropes, hee disposeth and places the words, not in a right order. Likewise Oecolampade wrote unto severall friends, that they would not judge amiss of Carolstad: for albeit he had not attained what he would, yet in the substance of the matter he hath not erred much. And albeit the Anabaptists knew what difference was between Zuinglius and Carolstad in this particulare, yet they follow Carolstade, and spread his books far and wide. After the divulging of these books, Zuinglius wrote unto Matt. Alber Pastor at Reutlinga, saying, Hitherto we have erred from the But or mark: neither Leo Juda, nor other brethren, nor I do altogether disallow the judgement of Carolstad, but many are offended at the obscurity of his words and his immoderat scoffs; especially our Tigurines, because he hath a little departed from the way, wherein he should have walked. And then he teaches, that to eat the body of Christ, is no other, but to believe that Christs body was broken and died for us; and he proves this from John VI. where it is written of Spirituall eating, whereof the signe is in the sacrament. 2. from the words of the institution, where he expounds, *Is, by, Signifieth*, as the following words do evince, *Do this in remembrance of me.* 3. from the words of Luke, *This is the new Testament in my blood*: therefore it is not the very blood &c. Likewise the Diuines at Strawsburg, towit, Wolfgang Capito in October, and Mart. Bucer (with whom all the other Ministers did subscribe) in December of the same yeare, did by their published papers exhort all men, to leave strife, and think upon the right use of the holy Supper, that is (as Bucer speaks) we should eat the bread, & drink the wine, and then come to that which is spirituall, the remembrance of Christs death: for we should so eat the bread, and drink the wine, that we remember how Christs body & blood was once offered for us, and so we eat his flesh, and drink his blood spirituallly. Luther was vexed with the successe of Carolstad's doctrine, and in wrath writes in the same December unto Amsdorf, saying, We have no other cause, but to be humbled: for Carolstad's venom spreades very wide, and unto his opinion is

joined Zuinglius of Zurik, Leo Judæus, and many others affirming constantly, that in the sacrament is only bread, as in the market &c. *The next year this contest grew hotter betwixt Luther, and Jo. Bugenhagius in Pomer on the one side, and Zuinglius and Oecolampade on the other.* In a third piece, which Zuinglius wrote in October, answering to Bugenhagius, he proves that his doctrine was not new (as the other had called it) but the very mind of Christ, of the Apostles and the Fathers; and that they have not expounded the tropes, albeit they have spoken with tropes; and he professeth, he knew, there is a trope in the words of the institution, but he knew not in what word the trope is, untill he had read an epistle of a Batavian, teaching that the words of Christ, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, speak not of a carnall understanding, because the text presseth another thing; and, who will say, that *The flesh profiteth*, he makes two wayes of salvation, &c. The same *Abr. Schultet* testified; that when Carolstade saw the books of Zuinglius and Oecolampade, he forsook his interpretation of the particle *This*. Afterwards more oile was added unto this flame, when Brentius heard of the Ubiquity, which *Faber Stapulensis* had imagined. I do not intend to handle controversies: but of this purpose for clearing the history, I add two passages; one from *Ab. Schultet. Annal. ad. An. 1525*; Oecolampad at Basile with his Collegues teaches the same with Zuinglius: when it was reported that he was a Carolstadian, his friends did entreat him to declare his mind concerning the Sacrament; and the same year he publishes a book, *Of the genuine exposition of the Lord's words, THIS IS MY BODY*. Therein he shewes, that orall eating had its beginning from Pe. Lombard, or Gratian, or if it be more antient, from Damascen the later; that Lombard in condemning them of heresy, who say that Christ useth the same phrase in these words, *This is my body*, as Paul had used in these, *The rock is Christ*, did condemne all the antient Teachers: which were of the same judgement. Then he answereth the objection, *What things are above our capacity, men should not search: therefore we should not search into the sacrament*. And he proves that the sacraments are not of the sort of incomprehensible things, seing in the Lords Supper is no miracle, nor any thing exceeding mans capacity. Thirdly he wipeth-off the calumnies of some preachers, who clamorously said, that the Gospell was denied and Christ's God head, and all Christianity was overthrowen by them who deny orall eating of Christ's flesh; and he affirms, that the Holy Ghost hath spoken in such a way, lest any take occasion of error; and he would have some passages a little darkly to the end, that some seeing shall not see, and knowledge or revelation should be acknowledged to be a gift of Gods Mercy. Then he comes to the point, and proves the words *This is my body* to be spoken with the same trope, as these of Paul, *The rock was Christ*. This is not a strange exposition, nor is the phrase seldom used in the Scripture; as nothing is more inconvenient than the exposition of the Synusists; a trope certainly is in the words, and many absurdities follow otherwise: all the Fathers were for a trope in these words: he confirms the same, and refutes the contrary by many reasons according to Scripture. The Senate of Basile ask Erasmus his judgement of that book: he answereth, He had read it, and in his judgement it is learnedly and well written, and I would say (sayd he) very Christian, if any thing can be called Christian, which is contrary unto the decrees of the Church, from whose judgement it is dangerous to decline. The other passage, that I add, is in *Osfander Cent. 16. Lib. 1. Cap. 36.* where speaking of these three, Carol-

stade, Zuinglius, and Oecolampade, he saith. The judgement of all these three Divines was the same, to wit, that Christs body is not given in the holy Supper with the bread and wine, but are present above only in the highest heaven, and no where els before the last day. In after times (saith he) Calvin did seem to reject their expositions, but indeed was of the same mind with them: for in his agreement with the Divines of Zurich he writtes, that the body of Christ is as far distant from us, as the heaven is distant from the earth: but deceitfully did Calvin teach the same impiety in other & smother words, so that he blinded the eyes of many learned and good men, and drew them into Zuinglianisme. *So far he.* I marke these two, that the Reader may see, how these do prevaricate or wrangle, which have been for consubstantiation; they will not understand any thing to be spoken against them: and as if blew, green and purple were all white, because they are not all black; so howbeit in this question Carolstade, Zuinglius and Calvin were in some part different, and all were against consubstantiation, both Luther, Osiander and these others of that sort will not observe any difference among them in their doctrine. But this difference among them gave occasion unto the Papists to insulte against them; as also the marriage of Luther with one Catharina Bora, which had been a Nonne. Indeed many both the friends and enemies of Luther were offended: his friends, not simply, as if they had condemned marriage, but in respect of the time when all Germany (almost) was red with the blood shed in the wars with the bowrs, and especially Saxony was lamenting with many others, for the death of the good Duke and Electour Frederik. And his enemies wrote bitterly, yea and impudently against him, alleadging (among other things) that within few dayes after his marriage, Catharin brought forth a son: which was not true. But afterwards Luther was much grieved, when he heard that this friends were offended, and especially that his enemies took occasion to raile against his doctrine for respect to his marriage; in so much, that (as Melancton writes to Camerarius) he had need to be comforted.

X X. The Gospel began to be openly preached in France at Gratianople in the Dolphinate by Peter Sebeuilla, in the year 1523. Zuinglius wrote (as in *epist Oecolamp. & Zuin. lib. 4.*) exhorting him to lift up his voice lyke a trumpet, and sound forth the Gospell in France, *in vitis omnibus puppis & papis.* Who shall not make him ready for the battell? (saith he) the prophet saith, Where the Lion roareth, who will not feare? When Christ thundereth by his servants, which of his enemies will not be afraid? yea certainly fear hath overtaken them in all their tents: they are so amazed and perplexed, that they know not what course to take: for if they begin to kill the flock of Christ by their deluded Princes, they fear, that in so doing a door be opened to fall that way upon themselves: But if they attempt to resist by Scripture, their consciences tell them, how they are guilty in wresting it, and therefore they are cold and faint. Why then fall we not on these cowards, when we have the only and safe enough buckler of Gods worde? He will beat down Antichrist with the breath of his mouth. Christ is on our side, who shall be against us? albeit we are but lyke the vessell of Samos, yet none can break us so long as God is with us: and He will be with us according to the certain promise of his word, where he hath promised to be with us untill the world's end; and hath commanded us to fear nothing, when we shall be brought before Kings or Princes for his sake, for he will give wisdom and utterance, which all the adver-

*Light
dawneth
in France
An. 1523.*

saries shall not be able to resist. Why then do we linger? Victory is at hand, why will we not reap it. . . . thou must wrestle not only with Antichrist, but with all the world, if thou wilt advance into heaven: these only can come thither, who are careless of earthly things: Therefore first of all thou must deny thyself, and daily: but thou canst not do so by thyself: therefore flye to the only mercy of God, and beg of him, that he would direct thy waies &c. At the same time in Melde about ten myls from Paris was Bishop *William Brissonet*: he was a lover of truth and light; he passeth by the Monks, and sought learned men to teach the people: so from Paris he calleth *Jac. Faber*; *William Farell*, *Arnold*, & *Gerard* red: they did teach the people with chearefull liveliness. But the Bishops courage was soon abated by terrible menaces of the Sorbonists. Nevertheless religion was planted in the hearts of many, and by the wondrous Counsell of God, from the persecution of that one Church many Churches through France were planted: for both the Teachers and hearers were spread abroad. On May 20. *An. 1525*. Pope Clement wrote unto the Parliament of Paris (the King was in Spaine) shewing, that he understood by Letters from *Aloisia* the Queen mother, how the seeds of wicked heresies were beginning to spread through France, and they had providently and prudently chosen some men to suppress the fighters against the old religion: and he by his authority approves them that were chosen for that effect: for now all men should be diligent to preserve the common salvation, when the malice of Satan and the rage of his souldiers have stirred such a broile; seeing this madness intendeth not only to confound religion, but all principality, nobility, lawes and order. . . . It was very acceptable unto him, what they had done, and he exhorts them to continue with the like courage, &c. The King was advertised by his Sister *Margarit*, that they had driven *Ja. Faber* out of France: he wrote unto the Parliament, giving him a large approbation for learning and godliness, as knowing that the man was admired even by the Spaniards and Italians: therefore he willeth, that they surcease from all action against him untill new advertisement.

*Insurrection of the Bow-
res.* XXI. The wars of the Bowres in Germany was a fore hinderance (for a time) unto the Gospell: for the Papists in Germany said, Those are the frutes of the new doctrine and of Luthers Gospell. And *Aloisia* in France said, In Germany is nothing but confusion, and no acknowledgement of a Prince. And this was the colour of the Popes bitterness in that his Letter. A wicked follow had taught the people (as *Sleidan* in *Commente*. shewes more fully) that the doctrine of the Pope and of Luther is alike wicked: the Pope tieth mens consciences with hard lawes and bonds; and Luther hath untied the bonds, but hath declined to the other extremity in giving loose reyns, nor teaches by the Spirit: they may well condemn the Papall Decrees, because they conduce not unto salvation: and to attain salvation we must eschue all manifest sin, as murder, adultery, blasphemy: we must chastize the body with fasting and simple cloaths: our countenance must be sad, speak little, and not have dressed haire. This is to beare the cross, and to mortify the flesh, said he. And when his hearers were thus prepared, They must forsake the crowd of men, and being separated, think often of God, who he is; whether he hath any care of us: and would have us to continue in this religion. And if he will not give us a signe, nevertheless we must continue, and be instant in prayer, yea and sharply chide with him, as not dealing with us suffi-
he

ciently: for seeing the Scripture promiseth; that he will give what we aske, he doth not rightly, in not giving a signe unto them, which would know him. He said, This expostulation and wrath is very acceptable unto God; because thereby he seeth the inclination & fervour of our mind; and without doubt, when he is entreated this way, he will declare himself by some sensible signe, and quench the thirst of our soul, and deal with us, as he did with the Fathers. He said also, God declares his will by dreames, as he had done unto himselfe, and had given him a command, to kill all wicked men, and pull down all Princes and Magistrats. He taught also, that all things should be common, and all should have alike freedom and liberty without all subjection. *Steidan. Comment. lib. 3. & 5.* In Apile. 1525. the countie people in Suevia by the river Danube (being deluded with such errors) began to refuse obedience, and they demand 1. liberty to choose their Ministers that will preach the word without mans traditions and decrees. 2. liberty from all tieths, except only corne; and these to be diuided at the discretion of good men, a part unto Ministers, part unto the poor, and part unto publik business. 3. it is not equitable, that heretofore they have been held in the condition of slaves, seeing they are made free by the blood of Christ. They professe, they do not cast off Magistrats, but they will not endure that bondage, unless it be cleared by testimony of Scripture; that it is reasonable. 4. It is not reason, that they are forbidden to take wild beasts, or fishes; especially when the beasts destroy their cornefields: from the beginning God hath given unto man power over all living creatures, 5. it is a great prejudice of the people, that woods are in the power of a few men. 6. they demand that their Princes or Masters would moderate their dayly burdens of service, according to the equity of the Gospell, and lay no more upon them than was craved of old &c. *Ibid.* Albeit the attempts of these men was alike against Popish Masters and others which were desirous of Reformation, yet I can not find that any Popish person did endeavour to convince them by information. Luther did publish books, to refute them many times: before they did publish their Demands he dissuadeth them from sedition as a most fearfull sin, not only in the externall fact, but even to be spoken or thought upon. After the publishing of the Demands, he told them, they did wickedly in cloaking their rebellion with the pretext of sincere doctrine and equity, seeing God hath commanded to obey Princes and Masters: then he sifteth their Demands severally, and shewes, that some of them are contrary unto the law of nature and equity; and if any of them have any reason in them, they should be examined by prudent men; but they should not move broiles: if their Masters will not let them have the liberty of the gospell, they may go in quietness, where they may have it, but they should not use violence against their Masters. He wrote also unto Princes and especially unto the Prelats, that their hindering the liberty of the Gospell was a provocation of Gods wrath, and their laying of intolerable burdens on their subjects, for their own pleasure and prodigality, was also offensive unto God: and he exhorts them, to use all meanes of peace rather then force, seeing the issue of warrs is uncertain, and arms are sooner taken up, then can be layd off. When they had taken arms, he wrote the third time, exhorting both, to take away their controversies by treaties of good and prudent men. Many other preachers did also publish books, shewing the craft of Satan in raising such broils at that time; and that these should not be imputed unto the preaching of the truth, as the aduersaries of truth did crie;

and it is no new thing, that the iudgements of God upon men for their sins, are imputed unto the Gospell, seeing in the days of the Apostles and of the primitive Church, the heathens said, that all their troubles came upon them for the Christian religion, whereas God was offended for their idolatry and contempt of the Gospell, as they proved by the testimonies of Tertullian in *Apolog.* and Cyprian *contra Demetr.* Augustin *de Civ. Dei*, and others. *Abr. Scult. Ann. ad An.* 1525. When neither Princes would yield unto a treaty, nor the Bowrs would lay down arms, Luther wrote a fourth book exhorting all men as for the quenching a common fire, to take arms against the rebels, and kill them which had so basely denied obedience unto their Masters, and had begun to usurpe other mens possessions, and do cloke so vile villany with the name of Christianity. Nevertheless these villains grew into a hudge multitude, and divided themselves into three Armies, one at Biberac, another at Algovia, and the third at the lake of Constance: they took some towns, as Winsbergh and Wirtzburg: they killed some Noble men, as the Court of Helfenstein, most unworthily. The Princes that went against them were John Elector of Saxony, and his uncle George, Philip of Hassia, Henry Duke of Brunswik &c. In some places when they were put to flight, they run into the river: there were killed of them in severall places 50000. some write, 100000: and the chief enticers wete taken and beheaded.

*Progresse
the Refor-
mation.*

XXII. Notwithstanding these broiles, it pleased God to spread the Reformation the same year. Luther at that time did first administer the Lords supper in the German language, and did ordain a Minister without the Popish rites. And Zuinglius did also forsake the Latine language, and the rites. Albert Marques of Branburgh was entituled Master of the Teutonick Order: but that year having warr with the King of Pole for some towns of Prussia, and seeing no aid from the Emperour was content to agree upon condition, that he should acknowledge the King as Superiour, and possesse Prussia under the tittle of a Dukedom; and then he authorized the Reformed religion through out that Province. Gustavus King of Sweden sent for all the Prelats to come unto his palace, and there without any noise gave them in their option, to continue in their places, and professe the Reformed religion, or then to leave the Country. Some gave him their oath of obedience, and others went whether they pleased. William Landsgrave of Hassia established the Reformed religion within his jurisdiction. So it was established at Gorlik & Lauba in Lusatia. In Rhetia alone were reckoned 41. preachers of the Gospell. So did Philip Count of Hanove, Cristopher and Antony Counts of Altenburgh & Delmenhorst, Conrad of Tecklenburgh & Linga, and Baltasar Lord of Esens & Witmund, all within their territories: and so did many other free towns. In the year preceeding a motion was made to assemble a Synode of all the Reformed Churches, for establishing an uniformity in rites or circumstantiall ceremonies. Luther opposeth it, asserting that it was not expedient: albeit it was propounded in a good zeale, yet it hath no precedent: for even in the Councell of the Apostls they did treat more of works and traditions than of faith, and there they had disputed for the most part concerning opinions & questions, yet he was no less suspicious of the name of a Council as of the name *free-will*: for if one Church will not follow willingly the example of another in these circumstantiall things, why is a Council needfull, to compell men by decrees, which may turne to lawes & snares of mens consciences? Therefore let one follow another freely, or use their own

*Uniformi-
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fashion, so that the Spirit be maintained in the faith and word, howbeit there be a variety in other externall things. *Schuliet. Annal. ad Ann. 1524. ex Luth. tom. 2. epist.*

XXIII. In the year 1526. Solyman the Turk entereth into Hungary; 1526. there the King Lewes could have no help from Christians: yet the bb. stirre him to a batell, and as he had sold himself to be a slave unto them in killing the professours of Reformation, he was killed. *Jo. Sleidan.* The same year the Emp. being provoked by that league made by Pope Clemens, & discharge the authority of the Pope through all Spain, leaving an example unto posterity, that Church-disciplin may be maintained without Papall authority. But as good seed being sown out of season, so good works without good motives and principles have no continuance. In Juny was a Diet at Spira: Letters were brought from the Emperour dated at Spala March 23. the sum was; For so much as he intends to go shortly unto Rome to be crowned, and to talk with the Highpriest concerning a generall Councell, and no good can be done in the matter of religion in these assemblies; therefore they should observe the Decree at Worms, and take his absence in good part, hoping there shall be a generall Councell shortly. The Princes and towns professing the Reformation said, They were desirous in all things to please the Emperour: but if he were rightly informed of the condition of Germany, and how the controversy of Religion increaseth dayly, he would not urge the Decree of Worms; As for a Generall Councell, there is no appearance of it, seeing there was friendship twixt him and the Pope when the Letter was written, as appeares by the Date; but now it is otherwise, seeing the Pope hath levied an Army against him. Wherefore they think best to send Oratours unto the Emperour to informe him more fully, and how dangerous it is, to delay the business of religion, and no less perillous to execute the Decree of Worms; and to entreat him to call a Councell in Germany, and come unto it, or at least to permit it, as it was determined at Noribergh, but was contramanded by the Emperour to the harme of Germany: Or if he will not allow a Nationall Councell of Germany, to entreat him to delay the execution of the Decree untill the Generall Councell: for otherwise the malady will waxe worse; And to represent, that so long as every man is solicitous of his own estate in time of this variance, it will be difficult to collect any money for any other use. Then another supplication was presented unto the Diet, complaining of the multitude, idleness and opposition of begging Friars, of the multitude & abuses of holy Dayes; and petitioning to leave unto every man the choise of his meats, untill the generall Councell. At this time the Duke of Saxon and the Landgrave of Hafs enter into conference with the Commissioners of Strawsburgh, that seeing they know not what the bb. and their adherents do intend, all of them shall concur unto mutuall aid, if any of them shall be in danger for Religion. But the bb. would not proceed here in matters of Religion, and crave to delay these, because of the present variance betwixt the Pope and Caesar. Great strife arise among them: Wherefore the Duke of Saxon and the Landgrave say, they will say no longer. Ferdinand and the Bishop of Trevers considering how dangerous it were, if nothing be done, and all depart with grudge and malice, do propound (for appeasing such heartburnings) that it is necessary to resolve upon a lawfull Councell either Generall or Nationall within a year at farrest, and to entreat the Emperour to repaire shortly into Germany in consideration of their present condition; As concerning

The authority of the Pope is denied in Spain.

A Diet in Spira.

cerning the Decree at Worms, they are content that all shall demean themselves in their Provinces untill a Councell, so as they will be answerable unto God and Cæsar. And it was decreed so. After this Diet certain Princes consult at Essling, to write speedily unto the Emperour, and shew that they had decreed to send Oratours unto him: but the King of France will not grant them passage, except for foure months, whereof one was past: therefore they have determined to defer their Oratours untill their next assembly, which they have appointed to be at Regensburgh the first day of Aprile next; to treat of the Turkish warr, trusting that by time they shall have better occasion to send; or they shall give him intelligence another way, and entreating him to repaire into Germany as shortly, &c. *Sleidan. Lib. 6.*

XXIV. In the beginning of the year 1527. Otto Paccius Counsellor of George Duke of Saxony informeth the Duke Elector and the Landgrave; that Ferdinand (then King of Bohem and Hungary) and the Bishop of Mentz had made a league with others also, to destroy them and Luther's religion. Wherefore these prepare themselves for defense: troubles were like to ensue: but when these which were said to have made that league, did purge themselves, the fear was appeased, Paccius was banished: but the Diet at Regensburgh was discharged. *Ibid.* Leonard Cesar a preacher was burnt at the command of the Bishop of Passaw in Bavier, for holding these articles, Faith only justifieth: there be but two sacraments, baptism & the Lords Supper: the Masse is not a sacrifice, nor is profitable unto the living nor dead: confession of all sins is not commanded: only Christ hath satisfied for sin: a vow of chastity bindeth not: the Scripture speakes not of purgatory: there is no difference of dayes: in Divine things is no free-will. He would have declared himself in these articles, when he was brought before the court, but they would not suffer him. Eccius was his accuser, and spoke always in Latine: but Leonard spoke in the common language: he would have all the company to understand him.

A publick dispute at Berna. *Osiand. centu. 16. Lib 2. c. 5.* This yeare was the first visitation of the Churches in Saxony. On the 17. day of December the Senate of Berne make publick intimation of a Dispute in the controversies of Religion, to begin January 7. they envite the bb. of Constance, Basile, Sedun and Lausan, to come and bring their Divines, or els they tell them, they will confiscate all their goods within their territory: they shew, that only the books of the old and New Testament shall be the rule of the Dispute; and they engage themselves for safety unto all who shall come. Two Ministers are named to sustain these articles; The true Church, whose head is Christ only, is begotten by the word of God, continueth in it, and heares not the voice of another: This Church makes not lawes without the word of God: therefore unto traditions of men, which have the title of the Church, we are not tied, if they agree not with God's word: Only Christ hath satisfied for the sins of the world: therefore if any say, there is another way of salvation or of expiating sin, he denieth Christ. It can not be proved by testimony of Christ, that the body and blood of Christ are received really and bodily: The rite of the Masse, where Christ is represented & offered unto the Father for the living & dead, is contrary unto the Scripture, and contumelious unto the sacrifice, that Christ hath offered for us: We may pray unto Christ only as the Mediatour and Advocate of mankind with the Father: It is not found in Scripture, that there is any place, where souls are purged after this life: therefore prayers and all these ceremonies

nies and yearly exequies that are bestowed on the dead, and the waxe^d candles and torches, and such other things, do help nothing: It is contrary unto Scripture, to set up images or statues for use of worship: therefore if any such be in a Church, they should be removed: Marriage is not forbidden unto any sort of men, but for eschuing fornication it is commanded and permitted by the holy Scriptures unto every one; and unclean and filthy single life becomes the order of priests least of any men. When these Letters were divulged, the people of Lucern, Vran, Suik, Unterwald, Tugy, Glarea, Friburgh & Soloturn, write unto Bern, exhorting them to cease from that purpose, and to remember their league: as for them, they will send none thither, nor suffer any to come. *Idem*.

XXV. Nevertheless the day is kepted at Bern. None of the bb. came nor sent: Deputies came from Basile, Schafuse, Zurick, Abbecella, Sangall, Mulhuse and Rhætia, their neighbours; as also from Strawsburgh, Ulma, Ausburgh, Lindaw, Constance and Isna. Among these were Zwinglius, Oecolampade, Bucer, Capito, Blaurer, &c. Among the Opponents the chiefe was Conrad Treger an Augustinian: he would not bring his arguments from the Scripture: and the Presidents of the Dispute would not permitt any other authority, because it was so ordered by the publication: wherefore Treger went away. On the 26 day of January, year 1528. the Dispute was ended; and then altars, images and masses were forbidden in Berne: the day and year of Reformation was Marked with golden letters in a publick place for memoriall unto posterity. The like Reformation was at Basile: *Erasmus writes of it in Epist. ad Andr. Crucif. Episc. Tloensf. dated Friburgh An. 1529. thus*, No violence was used against any mans person or goods: 'ohly they sought a Burgher-Master as a chief enemy of Reformation, and he escaped in a boat: they break down all images in the churches &c. Erasmus was present, and (as he writes) he did admire, that whereas it had been reported, how S. Francis had smote a man with madness for scorning his five wounds, and other divi or Saints had revenged some reproaching words, yet none of them all did at that time revenge the contempt of their images. *Pe. Soave* saith, They of Geneve and Constance and other neighbours followed the example of Berne; as also Strawsburgh after a publick disputation makes an ordinance to forsake the Masse, or at least to leave it, untill the maintainers of it will prove that it can stand with the worship of God; and this they did (saith he) albeit the Senate of the Empire at Spira had by their Messenger forbidden them, as not belonging unto them, nor unto the States of the Empire, to make any innovation in Religion, but only unto a General or National Council. Yea and Italy (saith he) when for the space of two years there had been no Court in Rome, and all these calamities under which they were lying, were thought to be the execution of Gods judgement for the abuses of that government, did gladly hearken unto a Reformation, and in their private houses, namely at Fuenza within the Popes territory, they did preach against the Romane Church, and the number of these (whom others did call *Lutherans*; but they called themselves) *Evangelici*. did increase daily.

*Progress
se of Re-
formation
An. 1528.*

XXVI. In March *An. 1529.* was a Diet at Spira: the bb. and their party thought to have severed the Elector of Saxony from the Cities, in contemplation of the variance in the question of the Sacrament: but on the other side they did perceive the craft of their enemies, and disappointed them.

Then Ferdinand excludes the Deputes of Strawsburgh from sitting in the Diet: they protest, that if they be displaced, (which is contrary to the law and custom) they will beare no part of the common charges. So they were restored to their place. After much debating in cause of religion, at last it was decreed thus; They who have observed the Emperours decree, let them observe it untill the Generall Council: these who have departed, and can not change again for feare of Sedition, let them continue, and change no more untill the Council: their doctrine, which teach otherwise of the Lords Supper than the Church doth, shall not be received, nor shall the Masse be abolished; nor in such places where this new doctrine is received, shall any man be hindered to go unto the Masse, if he please: Ministers shall preach according to the interpretation received by the Church, referring all disputable questions unto the Councell; Let all States keep common peace, neither any take the defense of another's subjects, all under pain of forfeiture. This Decree was opposed by John Duke of Saxony, George Marques of Brandeburgh, Ernest and Francis DD. of Luneburgh, the Landgrave, and Count of Anhalt. Aprile 19. they protest, that they are not obliged to obey this Decree, because it is contrary unto a former at Spire, where with consent of all parties every man had religion permitted freely untill a generall Councell: and as that was enacted with common consent of all, so it can not be violate without the consent of all; and whereas there hath been dissension for religion, it was declared in the Diet at Norinbergh, who have been the causers thereof, both by confession of the Bishop of Rome, and by the grievances of the Princes and States of the Empire, and no redresse is as yet made of these grievances. and therefore they will answer for this their protest both openly before all men, and unto the Emperour himself; and in the meantime till a General or National Council be called; they will do nothing, that shall deserve just reproof. Unto this Protestation some Cities did subscribe; namely, Strawsburgh, Norimbergh, Ulme, Constance, Ruteling, Winsem, Mening, Lindave, Campedon, Hailbrun, Isna, Wisseburg, Norling and Sangall. This was the originall of that title Protestants, which afterwards became so famous. The Emperour was then in Italy, and was not content with this Protestation; as neither with the meeting of the Protestants at Smalcald in January following. Where they did agree on a league of mutuall assistance, if any of them shall be in danger for Religion.

The beginning of the wood Protestants.

The Diet at Ausburgh 1530. from which the famous Confession was named.

XXVII. The Emperour summoneth a Diet to begin at Ausburgh in Aprile *An.* 1530. but he came not before Juny 12. the next day was the feast of Corp-Christi: the Emperour went unto the procession: Cardinall Campegius the Legate said, It was contumacy against the Pope, and such grief unto him, as he could not digest, that any of the Princes did not attend that solemnity: wherefore he adviseth the Emperour to charge the Duke of Saxony to carry the sword according to the custom, and be present with him at the Masse that day sevendnight, when the Diet is to begin; With certification, that if he faile, both he and his house shall be deprived of that honour. The Elector adviseth with the Ministers, what to do in this case: to obey, was against his conscience: and to refuse, was his disparagement. They told him, What was required, was but a civill ceremony, and he might obey, as Elisha gave way unto Naaman, to be present with his King in the house of idolatry. Some did judge it an ill preparative, seeing every one may pretend either necessity or expediency in the like case.

Yet

Yet many did approve the Elector in doing so, seeing he did prevent great inconveniencies which were like to ensue. At that Masse Vincentius Pimpinell archb. of Rosa and the Popes Nuntio had the Sermon: it was wholly to this purpose; he upbraided the German's, that they had suffered so great damage of the Turks without a revenge, and stirreth them up by exampls of many Romans: and the Germans are in worse condition then the Turks, because they are all at the command of one, and have but one religion, whereas the Germans are hatching new religions dayly, and despise the antient religion as out of date, and he accuseth them of foolishness, that ere they had forsaken the antient faith, they had not first thought upon another more holy, prudent and politicke. If they had thought upon Scipio, Cato and those antient Romans, they would not have forsaken the catholick religion: and therefore now away with their Novelties, and take the sword in hand. In the first Session of the States. Cardinall Campegius hath an oration, tending to shew, that the cause of all the sects among them was the want of antient love; and this change of the opinions and rites had disturbed not the Church only, but was like to pull up their Civil government by the very roots: the Popes had heretofore applied themselves to cure these maladies, in sending their Legates unto these Diets, but all in vain: and now Pope Clement had sent him, who is most willing to advise and do what lieth in him, what may serve to the restoring of religion: and he exhorts them to obey what the Emperour (*he extolleth him highly*) shall decerne in matter of Religion, and with readines to prepare against the Turk, as the Pope is willing to contribute charges, and what aid he can. At command of the Emperour, the Bishop of Mentz replieth with applause, and promiseth concurrence. When other Princes had spoken: the Elector of Saxony presenteth a Confession of faith written in Latine and Dutche Languages, which he in his own name and of other Princes and of Towns, petitioneth to be read publickly. The Emperour will not have it read at that time: and the next day, he will not have the Legate present at the reading of it, lest any thing intervene, that might be prejudicial unto the Popes honour, but calleth the Princes into a large Hall, where it was read; and another that was presented by the Cities professing the doctrine of Zuinglius, differing from the other but in the article concerning the Eucharist, *So far Pe. Soave.* That Confession (which from the place of this Diet was called, *The confession of Ausburgh*) was written first in 17. articles by Luther, and afterwards revised, altered and digested in another method by Melanthon in Ausburgh, and sent back to Luther in Coburgh; ere it was presented: So it was penned by them two. Melanthon had a speciall respect unto the Emperour, to give him as little offense as might bee: and therefore purposely omitts some articles, and made others so faire as he could: and the next year they amended it under the name of an explanation. The Emperour delivereth both the Confessions unto the Legate, who (as the forenamed author writes) thought to have written in his own name a refutation of them: but considering that then the Pope might be called their party, and the Protestants might take the more occasion to write against the Pope, he changeth his purpose, and gives them to certaine Divines, whom he had brought with him; and they wrote a refutation: and he gave it unto the Emperour with expresse caution, to cause read it, but give no copy of it, and he exhorts the Emperour to deall with the Protestants severally by promises of favours, and by menaces, to return again unto the antient

faith of their fathers. The Emperour doth so in every particulare. Nor is it to be omitted (saith he) that the Cardinal Matthew archb. of Saltzburgh said publickly and ingenuously; It is expedient to reforme the Masse; it is agreeable to nature, to give men liberty of eating any meat; and it is equity that Christians be free from the burden of humane commands; but it is intolerable that a silly monke shall reforme all. Likewise Cornelius Scoper the Emperours Secretary said, The Protestant Preachers had done well; if they had money enough, to have bought liberty from the Italians: but because their religion is not beautified with gold, it can have the lesse audience. When the Emperour had used all the means, as the Legate had advised, and the Protestants would not yield, no not to permitt the exercise of the Romish religion within their dominions (for they knew, it was the Legat's device, to bring the people back by degrees; and in the mean time to hold them in perpetuall trouble) on September 21. a decree was read, where of this is the summe; The Confession of the Saxons hath been read, and so was a confutation of it by the Holy Scriptures; and by great worke of the Emperour and the States the matter is brought to this conclusion, that the Saxons have received certain articles of the Church of Rome, and others they do refuse: wherefore the Emperour in singulare humanity grants them space of advicement untill the 15. day of Aprile, whether in the other articles they will believe the same with the Emperour and the Bishop of Rome and all Christendom; in the mean while let peace be kept, let the Saxon and his associats print nothing concerning religion, nor change any more; let them not compell nor allure any man unto their religion; they shall join with the Emperour to punish the Anabaptists & Sacramentaries; Lastly because there hath been no Councel for a long time, and many things are to be reformed both in the clergy and laity, the Emperour will deal with the high Bishop, that a Councel shalbe summoned within a half year, and begin within a year after. Unto this decree the Duke and his colleagues (after consultation) reply by his Lawier Pontan, They do not acknowledge that their Confession was refuted by testimonies of the Scriptures, as they would have demonstrated, if a copy of that which is called a refutation, had been given them; and so far as they could remember by their hearing of it read, they have written a reply, which if the Emperour will be pleased to read, he shall finde, that their religion is sure and unmovable: And where as they are commanded to print nothing nor change any more, they will do nothing, whereof they may be justly accused. As for Anabaptists and such as despise the sacrament of the altar, none such have place within their jurisdiction. And because the decree containes sundry things of weight, they crave copies of it, that at the time they may give the more advised answer. They do present the Apology: but Cæsar would not accept it, and the next day he threateneth them sharply, if they do not obey the decree. So these Princes went away, leaving their Deputies behind them, and having craved and obtained leave. When they began to treat in the Diet concerning the warrs, these Deputies do in name of their Principals promise to contribute their aid against the Turks, if peace shall be granted unto religion. About the first of October a sharper decree was read against the Cities, which had given in the other Confession. Finally a third decree concerning religion was read to this sense; Cæsar ordaineth, that they shall not be tolerated, which teach of the Lords Supper otherwise than hath been received heretofore; Let nothing be changed in private or publick Masse; Let children be confirmed with oil, and the sick be anoin-

ointed with consecrate oil; Images & statues should not be removed; and where they have been taken away, they shall be set up again; Their opinion, which deny the free-will of man, may not be received: for it is beastly, and contumelious against God; Let nothing be taught, which in any way empaire the authority of the Magistrate; That opinion of justification by faith only, shall not be received; Keep the sacraments in their place & number, as before; Keep still all the ceremonies of the Church, all the rites, the manner of buriall, and such others; Priesthoods Vacant shall be bestowed on qualified persons; the priests and Church-men that are married, shall be deprived of their Benefices, which shall be bestowed on others; and if any will put away his wife and crave absolution, at the will of the Pope the bb. may restore such, and all others shall have no refuge, but be exiled, or suffer other deserved punishment; Let the life of priests be honest, their cloaths comely, and eschue all offense. . . . Briefly in the matters of faith and worship of God, let nothing be changed, whoever doth contrarily, shall underly the danger of body, life and goods. *Jo. Sleida. Lib. 7.* These decrees were grievous unto many: namely, Melanthon gave himself to weeping, being pen- sive not so much (as he professed) for himself (for he knew what he believed) as for the posterity. When Luther understood this, he comforts him by Letters, That seeing it is not the cause of man, but of God: all the burden should be cast on him: why then dost thou (said he) afflict and torment thyself? seeing God hath given his Son for us, why do we tremble or feare? why do we sigh? is Satan stronger then God? will he, who hath given so great a benefite, forsake us in lighter matters? why should we feare the world; which Christ hath overcome? if we defend an ill cause, why do we not change? if the cause be just and pious, why do we not trust to Gods promise? certainly Satan can take no more from us but our life, but Christ reigneth for ever, under whose protection Verity consists: he will not faile to be with us untill the end; If he be not with us, I beseech, where shall he be found? if we be not of his Church, do yee think, that the Bishop of Rome & our adversaries are of it; we are sinners indeed many waies; but Christ is not a liar, whose cause we have in hand; Let Kings and Nations feare & foame as they please, he that sits in heaven, shall laugh them to scorn; God had maintained his cause hithertills without our Counsell, and so he will do unto the end. . . . As for any agreement, it is vain to look for it: for neither can we deprive the Bishop of Rome, nor can the true doctrine be in security, while Popery shall endure; If they condemn our doctrine, why seek we an uniformity? if they allow it, why maintain they their old errors? But they condemne it openly: where fore it is but dissimulation & falsehood, whatsoever they go about; In that you will have the Lords Supper communicated wholly, and give no place to them which hold it indifferent, you do well, for. . . . They cry, that we condemn all the Church: but we shew, how the Church was violently oppressed by tyranny: and therefore is to be excused, as the Synagogue was to be excused, when under the captivity of Babylon they keepest not the law of Moses, seeing they were prohibited by force. *Ibid.*

*Luther's
Consola-
tory unto
Melan-
thon.*

XXVIII. When the Protestants understood, that the Pope had written against them unto severall Kings, they in Febr. 1531. assemble at Smalcald, and send their Letters unto the same Kings, shewing that it was an old complaint of good men, that they were traduced by their enemies, as Nic. Clemangis in France, Jo. Colet in England &c: and where as now

*The pro-
testants writ
to forrein
Kings
1531.*

they are traduced by their enemies (and they declare what was done at Aufsburg) they are guilty of none of these crimes, that are layd unto their charge, as they doubt not to cleare themselves, if there were a free general Council, and especially it is grievous unto them, that they are said to condemn Magistracy and lawes. . . . and they entreat them, that, they would not believe such calumnies, and to entreat Cæsar, that for the good of the Church he would call a godly and free Council in Germany, where such controversies may be lawfully debated and defined, rather than put them to fire and sword. The King of France returns them answer, thanking them for imparting such a business, rejoicing that they did purge themselves of the objected crimes, and allowing their demand of a Council as necessary for the good not of Germany only, but of the whole Church. To the same purpose writes the King of England, and addeth, that he earnestly wishes there were a council, and that he will interceed with Cæsar for peace. At that time many Protestants were summoned to appear before the Chamber of Spira, by some pretending zeal of religion, and others alledging wrongs done unto them. Sentence was pronounced against them according to the Decrees of Ausburgh: some who lived within the jurisdiction of Popish Masters were robbed: but the Princes and Cities would not be so abused: so that the Sentences had not execution, and the Emperour saw, that his salve was worse than the wound, when his authority was contemned: Yea and the Princes and Cities made a stronger union of defense, if any of them shall be oppressed; and they sought the aid of other Princes. When Cæsar saw this danger, he was content, that some Princes would interceed for making agreement, and to this effect resolves upon a Diet to be held the next year. The Bishop of Mentz and

*Tumults
in Helve-
tia.*

the Palsgrave were Mediatours: many things were written and changed, ere both parties were satisfied. *Te. Soave*, That summer tumults break out in Helvetia: five Popish towns took arms against the Protestant towns. Zurik hath the worse the first and second day: others came with aid, and the third day they prevaile and then peace was concluded. The lot fell on Zuinglius to go preacher with the army: his friends dissuade him, and would have another to go: he said, If he would not go, his enemies would say, he that preaches for religion, will not hazard for it. So he went, and was killed: his enemies found his corps, cut it into pieces, and burn it: the next day his friends found his heart untouched by the fire, among the ashes: they ascribe it unto God, who thereby would shew the godlines of the mans heart. *Oswald in Vita Zuingli*. Within few dayes Oecolampade dieth at Basile. The Papists said, that God in mercy to Helvetia had taken away these authours of all their trouble: but (*saieth Te. Soave*) the experience of following years doth easily evince, that so copious an harvest did come from an higher hand than the travells of these two workmen, seeing these towns which were called *Evangalici*, made greater progresse in the doctrine, which they had received.

*A discourse
concerning
the
Councell
An. 1532.*

XXIX. In the year 1532. because Solymán was preparing an Army against Austria, Charles thinks it necessary to make peace in Germany; and having communicate his purpose unto the King of France, namely concerning a Council; he writs unto the Pope to this purpose; He had used all means both of promises and rigour of justice, to recover the Protestants, but all in vain; and now when the Turk is coming against his Lands, he is necessitated to take another course: he entreats the Pope to call a Council. The pope did abhorre a Council: but because Cæsar

was

was so earnest for it, he would not seem to refuse, but granteth it, so that it be in Italy; and alledgeth that it can not be in Germany, because Italy would not endure to be so vilipended; as nether will Spain nor France give way unto Germany, albeit they yield unto Italy because of the prerogative of the Papacy there: and the authority of a councill in Germany were very poore, if the Italians, Spanish and French shall not resort unto it: also remedies must be applied, not at the will of the patient, but by the wisdom of the Physician. Germany is corrupt, and can not judge of controversies, so well as the Nations free of the contagion: as for ordering the councill, there needs no talk of it, unless he will begin a new way in the Church: for it is cleare, the power of suffrages belongeth unto bb. only according to the decrees; howbeit by custom and priviledge of the Pope Abbots have been admitted; and all others must acquiesce unto their decree, after the consent of the Pope; or if he be present, the decrees should be in his name. The Emperours Oratour answereth, Italy, Spain and France are not seeking a Council: and the remedies must be applied unto Germany, that are answerable unto their maladies; and therefore a place must be, where they will not refuse to assemble: and albeit none should mistrust the Popes safe-conduct, yet both old and late experiences make the Protestants suspicious of Italy: namely, that they were lately condemned by Leo as hereticks: howbeit also that is sufficient to take away all excuse from them, that all men should submit unto the Popes word, yet the Pope in prudence knows, that mens weakness must sometimes be commported, and what is not due *summo jure* must be granted, when equity requires. As for suffrages, it hath been so, partly by custom, and partly by priviledge, but now is an open field for the Pope, to shew his bountifullness, by bringing another order as the necessity of time requires: of old, Abbots were admitted for their learning and experience in religion: but now equity commandeth, that other men equall or superiour unto them in learning, albeit not honoured with such titles, should have the like liberty: priviledge makes way for all men &c. In a word the Pope will not yield to the place nor manner. *Pe. Soave in hist. conc. Trid.* Wherefore the Emperour applieth himself (in this extremity) unto the o. The Emperour grants liberty of religion. ther course the more earnestly, and July 23. at Ratisbone a decree is published, granting unto the Protestants liberty to observe the faith of the Augustan Confession, so that they innovate not more, and none shall be troubled for religion untill a free and general Council: and if that shall not be called within a half year, and begin within a year thereafter, the controversy shall be decided in a Councill of the Empire. The Protestants were then 7. Princes and 24. Cities, and had agreed that both the Confessions were orthodoxe, nor would they make any schisme for that one particulare. So they contribute to the warr against the Turk; and God blesteth their attempt, that the enemy was chased back. Pope Clemens was not content with this liberty of religion: but because the Emperour came into Italy with a great Army, he dissembleth, and promiseth to fulfill his petition concerning the Council; and in the mean time he intendeth, both warrs against the Emperour, and the ruin of the Protestants. So soon as Charles was gone into Spain, Clemens sendeth Hugh Bishop of Rhegio Nuntio into Germany, certifying namely John Frederik Elector of Saxony (who then had succeeded unto his father) that he will call a general and free council within two years, on this condition, that all shall ty themselves by oath, to observe what shall be decreed

creed; and that the towns Placentia, Bononia or Mantua seem unto him to be most convenient; and they shall have it in their option, which of the three: and if the council shall not begin within two years, he gives them liberty to follow the Augustan confession. The Duke answereth, thanking him for his respects; shewing the necessity of a Council, if it be free, and the controversies be not judged by humane lawes and doctrine of the Scholasticks, but only by the sacred Scriptures: as for the place, it seemes not expedient to be in Italy, but in Germany, where the controversy is for the most part; Northought they it reasonable to oblige themselves by oath to observe the decrees absolutely (for that is contrary unto Christian liberty) unless they knew what were to be the forme of the Council, who were Moderatour, especially that the party defendent were not Mediator; whether the Acts were to be determined by tradition, or by the holy Scripture alone. *Ibid.* In the next year Pope Clemens died: but by the providence of God thus the liberty of religion was confirmed by the Pope as well as by the Emperour.

1533. XXX. *An. 1533.* George Duke of Saxony banished out of Lipsia all who would not go to Masse. Luther hearing of this ordinance, wrote unto the Protestants there, exhorting them to suffer death rather than do against conscience; and he called Duke George an Apostle of Satan. George accuseth Luther before the Elector, not only that he had reviled him, but had stirred his subjects unto rebellion. The Elector chargeth Luther, to make his clear purgation, or he must suffer. Luther publishes a book declaring that he had exhorted the Lipsians, not to resist their Prince, but rather to suffer: which concerneth not rebellion. *Jo. Sleidan. comment. lib. 9.* That year Erasmus publisheth a treatise *De amabili Ecclesia concordia*: but this Neutrall forme pleaseth neither Papiſts nor Protestants: and the next year Luther accuseth him, that he did but mock religion, and turn it all into doubts, sporting himself with ambiguous words, whereas religion requireth plainnes and clearenes *Osfand. Epit. cent. 16. lib. 2. c. 26.*

A craft of the Franciscanes in France. XXX. The Franciscan Friers were in danger at Orleans *An. 1534.* upon this occasion; The Prator's wife by testament willed, that she should be buried without pompe: here husband desirous to satisfy here will, hath a care to bury her beside her father and grandfather in the cloister without shew, and he gave unto the Monks sixe crowns: they expected much more: and therefore they devise a way to make up their losse: they accuse the defunct of Lutheranisme; and cause a young Monke go upon the roof of the Church in the night time, and make a noise: an exorcist adjureth the wicked spirit to declare, what he is? whether he be that lately damned soul? and for what sinne? The Monk was informed what to answer, and how. They take witnesses, The fraud was tryed; the Friers were imprisoned, and the young monk revealeth all. The King hearing this, voweth to throw down the Monastery: but fearing, that it might be matter of joy unto the Lutherans, he dismisseth them. In November of the same year in Paris and other places of France, even within the Kings palace about one time of the night, were papers set up against the Masse and other points of religion. Inquiry was made: many were apprehended; and racked and burnt in the next year. King Francis excuseth him to the Protestants assembled at Smalcald, that seeing they intended the destruction of the Commonwealth (said he) the Germanes should not blame him, more than he did blame them for suppressing the bowres or Manzerianes; and he having a purpose to revenge himself on the Emperour

King Francis writes unto the Protestants in Germany

perour, craves by the same Ambassade, that the Protestantes would make a league with him, for reformation of religion (So he pretendeth) and entreates them to send some Divines, namely Melanthon, to dispute with the Masters of Sorbon: he said, He knew certainly, that many superstitions were crept into the Church by insufficiency of priests, and the Pope assumeth too much authority; howbeit by mans law he is the highest of all bb., yet not by Gods word; the traditions of the Church may be altered, as time requires: and therefore he is desirous to hear reasoning, that things amisse may be amended. He said also, Pope Julius had excommunicated King Lewes XII. & John King of Navarre, because they held, that the Pope hath not power to call a Councel without consent of Christian Princes; and he had raised Monarchs against them, offering their Kingdoms as a prey: In end he concludes, suting a league, without the Emperour. They answer, Without the Emperour they could and would do nothing. In this assembly the former league was continued for ten years; and into it were received all who were willing to professe the Augustan Confession; So that they were 15. Princes and 30 Cities. Cownt de Nassow was also admitted. Henry VIII. sent thirther, requiring that they would not admitt a Councell, which would not abolish the abuses of former times, or would confirme the Popes power. They also required of him, that he would receive the Augustan Confession: but that he would not do. That year Vergerius the Popes Legate had gone unto all the Princes severally, shewing them, that the Pope had called the Councel to convene at Mantua. They all gave him one answer, that they would advise in their meeting at Smalcald: and there they told him, they hope, that Cæsar will not depart from his promise and decree, that the Councel should be in Germany; nor can they understand, what it meaneth, that the Pope promiseth to provide for the safety of them, which shall assemble, when they look back into former times; nor how in the Councell the way of treating can be rightly ordered, where he who hath so oft condemned them, will have the power in his hand; Nor can it be rightly called a Councel, where the Pope and his priests command all, but where men of all conditions in the Church, even Seculares also have a like power. Vergerius had also been with Luther at Wittembergh. and said, The Church of Rome made great account of him, and were sory for the want of such a man, who might do good in the service of God and the Church (which two are inseparable) and the court was ready to vouchsafe him all favour: it was displeasing unto them, that former Popes had used such bitterness against him; Nor had he (who professeth not Divinity) a purpose to dispute controversies with him, but to shew him the weight of humane reason, how expedient it were unto him, to be reconciled unto the Church: he may consider, that doctrine of his was not heard before those 18 years, and hath brought forth innumerable sects, where of each accurseth another; whence many tumults and broils have arisen: and therefore it can not bee from God; but he was singularly blown up with selfe-love, who would endanger all the world rather, than not to vent his own opinions: seeing he had continued without sting of conscience the space of 35 years in that faith wherein he was baptized, he should still maintaine it; He may remember, how Æneas Sylvius was once addicted unto his own opinions, and hardly attained unto a silly chanonry in Trent; but when he changed his opinions, he became a Bishop and then a Cardinal and lastly was Pope; and Bessarion being a wretched Clerk in Trapezus, became a gloriou Cardinal.

The policies of Vergerius in Germany.

nal and almost Pope. Luthet answered, He seeth not what more affinity is between Christ and the Pope, than there is between light and darknes; nothing in all his life had hapned unto him more happily, than the severity of Leo, by the gracious providence of God: for at that time he had only seen the abuses of indulgences, and the Pope might have easily commanded him, if his adversaries in that matter had been subject unto the lawes of equity: but being provoked by the writings of the Master of the holy palace, by the reproaches of Cajetan, and severity of Pope Leo, he took the whole matter into more diligent consideration, and had espied more intolerable errors, which he could not in conscience dissemble nor hide from others - and whereas he [*the Legate*] professeth himself not to be a Divine, and that appears by his reasons, that he accuseth his doctrine of novelty, yet he can not be ignorant, that Christ and his Apostles and the antient fathers lived not as the Pope and his cardd. and bb. do now; Nor can these arguments taken from the broiles in Germany strick against his doctrine, but in the conceit of men, which know not the Scriptures, seing where ever the word of God is preached truly, such stirres arise, that the father is against the son: but this is the power of the worde, that who believes it, he shall live, and who spurneth against it, is the more guilty. And this is a most known error of the Romane Church, that they will underprop with humane reasons the Church of Christ, as if it were a secular Estate: but such reasons are foolishness with God; and that the council may go well, and bring good unto the Church, it is not in the power of him who is but a mean man, but rather of the Pope, if he will let it be free, that Gods Spirit may only preside and rule, and laying aside all interests and usurpations and crafts of men, let controversies be judged according to the Canon of the sacred Scripture; If it were so, he for his part will promise all Christian sincerity and charity, and not to gain the favour of the Pope or of any mortal, but only for the glory of Christ, and for establishing the peace and liberty of the Church; Nor can so great good be expected, unless God be reconciled by casting away hypocrisy, and by earnest repentance for our sins . . . Nor doth he regard the examples of Sylvius & Bessarion: these darke shewes can not move him . . . yea the Legate and the Pope shall embrace his faith rather, than he will forsake it. *Histo. Concil. Tride. lib. 1.* The same Vergerius dealt with other Preachers in Wittembergh and other places where he came: he found no acceptance among them: and where any did speake submissely, he made no great account of them: they were but few, and he thought, they could do little. The same year Charles Duke of Savoy was persuaded by the exiled Bishop of Geneve to take arms against that City: they had aid from the Swisers, especially from Berne, and gave the repulse: the Swisers conquered all the land between them and the lake of Geneve. *Jo. Sleida. Ibid.*

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XX XI. In the year 1536. the Preachers of the Cities, which had presented their Confession differing from the Augustane in the question of the Sacrament considering that the Pope might make his advantage upon that difference, if the Councell shall hold at Mantua; thought good to seek agreement with Luther and others. So Capito & Bucer went from Stawf-burgh and others from Essling, Memming, Frankford, Ausburgh, Furfeld and Reutling, and made accord with the Divines of Wittembergh, On these articles following, 1. We believe according to the words of Irenæus, that the Eucharist consists of two parts, an earthly, and an heavenly; and we think and teach, that the body & blood of Christ is truly and

and substantially present with, and given & taken with the bread & wine 2. albeit we deny transubstantiation, nor think that there is any locall inclusion in the bread, or any durable conjunction without the use of the sacrament, yet we grant that the bread is the body of Christ by a sacramental union, that is, we think, when the bread is given, the body of Christ is also present, and is truly given: for without the use [*extranſum*] when it is kept in a boxe, or is shewed in processions (as among the Papiſts) we thinke, Christs body is not present. 3. We think, that the Institution of Christ is powerfull in the Church; and that it dependeth not upon the dignity of the Minister or receiver: Wherefore as Paul saith, even the unworthy do eat the Sacrament; so we think, that the body and blood of Christ is truly reached unto the unworthy, and the unworthy receive it, where the words & institution of Christ are kept: but such do receive to their judgement, as Paul saith; because they abuse the sacrament, when they use it without repentance and faith: for it is institute for this end; that he may testify that grace and the benefites of Christ are applied unto them; and that they are ingrafted into Christ, and washed in his blood; who do repent, and lift up themselves by faith in Christ. *If follows*, Because few of us are conveened at this time, and this business belongeth unto other preachers and Magistrats of both parties, we can not yet conclude the matter of concord; before it be reported unto others also: but seeing all the Divines here present do professe, that in all the Articles of the Confession and of the Apology we would think and teach wholly the same, we wish and earnestly crave, that the Concord may be made and begun and if other Divines of both parties shall approve this article concerning the Lords Supper, we hope that a firme Concord may be made among us. *The above named Divines* (eleven in number) did subscribe: so did Luther, Cas. Cruciger, Melanthon, Jo. Bogenhagius, Justus Menius and Frid. Myconius. Hence it is cleare, that then was no other difference in the articles of Confession; and who hath made the difference after that time: Osiander calleth this *Formula Concordia Wittebergenſis*: others calleth it *Concordia Smalcaldica*: But in the year 1537. was a solemn meeting of the Protestants at Smalcald: by the advice of the Princes and Divines; Luther wrote the Heads of Doctrin, to be propounded and defended in the Council, which were approved, and subscribed by the Ministers. The article concerning the sacrament of the altare (as they called it) was thus; Of the sacrament of the altare we judge, that the bread and wine in the Supper are the very body and blood of Christ; and not only given unto, and received by the godly, but also by the evill and wicked Christians; and that not one kinde only should be given: for we have not need of that *Doxosophia*, that seeming wisdom, which teaches, that as much is under one kind, as under both, as the Sophists and the Council of Constance teach: for albeit it may be true, that there is as much under one, as under both, yet the one kind is not the wholl institution made, delivered and commanded by Christ: But especially we condemn and accurse in the name of the Lord, all those who do not only omit both kinds, but also tyrannically forbid and condem them, and revile it as an hereſy, and so exalt themselves above and against Christ our Lord and God We do not regarde the sophistical subtilty of transubstantiation, by which they faine, that the bread and wine leave and lose their natural substance, and that only the form and colour of bread, and not true bread remaineth: for it agreeth well with the holy Scripture, that bread is and remains there; as Paul saith, The bread,

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which we break; and, So let him eat of that bread. It is remarkable among the subscriptions, that Melancthon subscribes thus; I Philip Melancthon approve these articles as godly and Christian, yea and I think of the Pope, if he would admit the Gospel, the superiority ouer Bishops, which he hath now, might be permitted also by us after an humane law, for the cause of peace: and tranquillity of Christians, who are now under him, and hereafter shall be under him. Osiander addeth in the margin, If he admit the Gospel, that is, If the Devil become an Apostle: for if the Pope would admit the Gospel, he were no more a Pope; nor would he exalt himself above other Bishops, but would hear Christ saying, It shall not be so among you. Concerning the power of Bishops they say, In our Confession and Apology we spake generally concerning the power of the Church: for the Gospel commandeth them who are rulers in the Churches, that they should teach the Gospel, forgive sins, and administer the sacraments: it gives them also jurisdiction and power of excommunicating the obstinate in their manifest crimes, and absolving them who repent; And it's certain by the confession of all men, yea even of our adversaries, that this power is common unto all rulers in Churches, whether they be called Pastours, or Presbyters, or Bishops: therefore Jerom said clearly, There is no difference between Bishops and Presbyters, but all Pastours are Bishops &c. Vnto this Assembly the Emperour sent his Vice-Chancellor Mathias Held, exhorting them to prepare themselves unto the Council, which he had procured with so great difficulty, and wherunto they had so often appealed; and so they can not now refuse in making separation from other Nations, all which do iudge a Council to be the only means of Re-forming the Church; As for the Pope; without doubt they shall find him such as becomes the Head of the sacred Order; Or if they have any exceptions against him, they may declare them in the Synod modestly and without bitterness; Neither should they think to prescribe unto other Nations concerning the form and manner of the Council, as if their Divines alone had the Spirit, seeing others may be found no less learned and pious; They had petitioned, that the place should be in Germany: but respect must be had unto other Nations; and Mantua is nigh unto Germany, and the Prince thereof is a Feudatary of the Empire, nor hath the Pope any commande there; Or if they suspect any danger, he will have a care of their safety, and accommodation. They returned answer, that when they had read the Popes Bull, they had seen, that they two had not the same mind and aim: then hinting, at what Hadrian, Clemens and Paul had done, they shew that those all had the same aim. Then they declaire reasons why the Pope and such as are tied unto him by oath, should not be Iudges; As for the place, it is contrary unto the Decrees of the Empire, nor can they think to be safe there: for seeing the Pope hath his potent Clients through all Italy, which do hate their doctrine, they can not but suspect some hid snares; How can they admit him to be their Iudge, who in all his Bulls condemneth their doctrine as heresy? It were but madness, to accuse the Pope and his followers, where he is the only Iudge; and to allow his Bull, were but to bring themselves unto a snare, and to confirm his Sentence against them; They have supplicated for a free and Christian Council, not so much that every one might freely declare his mind, and to debar Turks, and infidels, as that they might decline such Judges who are their sworn enemies, and that all controversies in Religion may be examined and defined by the sacred Scripture; They acknowledge also as most certain, that
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there be learned and pious men in other Nations, who if the exorbitant power of the Pope were curbed, would heartily contribute unto the Reformation of the Churches, albeit now they lurk, being oppressed by his tyranny, &c. The Pope also sent the Bishop of *Aque*, to invite the Protestants unto the Council: but the Princes would not speak with him, and they published their reasons more copiously, why they can not acknowledge that Council. *Hist. Conc. Tride. lib. 1.* Likewise Held declared, how the Emperour was well pleased, that they had prudently shunned a league with France and England: for France had conspired with the Turk, and endeavours to kindle intestine wars in Germany; He had commanded the Judges of the Chamber, to surcease from all causes of religion, but those alledge, that the Protestants call many causes religious, which are not such, and so administration of justice is hindered; and he craves that they would not be impediment to justice; And whereas they crave, that those who were not named in the Treaty of Noribergh, should enjoy the benefite thereof, He thinks it not reason, that those having approved the former Decrees, and promised constancy in the old religion, should have liberty to embrace what religion they please: this is against his conscience, and nevertheless he will do what is equitable, &c. After some dayes Held craved, that they would contribute against the Turkish warre, and unto the necessities of the Imperial Chamber; or if the Turk shall not stir, they would grant a subsidy for some months unto the Emperour against France. He craved also, that they would declare, what kinde of league they had made among themselves. They answered, They fear not, but the Emperour will keep the peace, as he hath often promised, but both the Chamber and (Held) himself in his discourse hath given such interpretations that the peace may not only be doubted of, but seems to be altogether annulled; and the Chamber dealeth contrarily unto the agreement of Noribergh; as for that, which is objected, that they have possessed themselves of Church-mens goods, they are not so foolish, as for so petty trifles to bring into so great hazard themselves and families; but they can not permit Monks and enemies of the true Religion to exercise an ungodly Religion, and enjoy their revenues which they deserve not, within their Dominions; And if the Judges will proceed against them as they have done, they will not obey; and if violence be done to any of their friends, they can not forsake them: for they can not think, but that when some are oppressed, the same will be the case of them all, As for the League, it is not for offence, but defence, and such as they are ready without shame to make it known unto the Emperour, and unto all men. when Held was gone they agree upon the entertainment of the Ministers, the opening of publick Schools; and their common defence. *Osiand. Lib. 2. Cap. 38. & 39.* They wrote also unto other Princes abroad, vindicating their innocency, and promising, whensoever a lawfull council shall be called, to appear, and approve their cause according to Gods Worde. Especially the King of France returned them his answer, that he was of the same judgement concerning a council, neither would he accept any, if it were not lawfull, and in a safe place. The Emperours Vice-Chancellor was not contented, and went to the other Princes severally, to make a League in name of Charles and Ferdinand against the Protestants: nor did he cease untill he brought it to pass. For this cause there convened at Noribergh the Bishops of Mentz and Salisburgh, the Dukes of Bavier, George Duke of Saxon, two Dukes of Brunswick, &c. This was in the year 1538.

In the mean while Joachim Elector of Brandeburgh by Letters sent unto the Elector of Saxon, entreates for aid from him and his confederats against the common enemy the Turk. Saxon and the Landgrave return answer, They can not, unless undoubted peace were established at home. The King Ferdinand representeth by Letters unto the Emperour their present danger. The Emperour writes from Toledo to this purpose; It had been lately shewd unto him, that the Protestants are desirous of peace, which is his earnest desire: therefore he deputeth the Bishop of Londa and Mathias Held, or either of them, and gives them his full power to treat and decern together with the Counsellors of his Brother Ferdinand, and the other Princes Intercessours, in that cause; and whatsoever they shal Judge, he will approve it. Before this Commission was brought, the Judges of the Chamber had publickly prescribed the City Minda, for not paying the Priests. The Elector of Saxony and the Lantgrave did complain of this iniquity, and entreat the Judges to recall that Sentence; or if any execution shall follow, they will not suffer their friends to be oppressed. In the end of December the Lantgrave findeth (by accident) the Duke of Brunswik's Secretary, who called himself a Servant of the Marques of Brandeburgh: after examination the Lantgrave finds it a ly, and carrieth him to Casells: then he finds and openeth the Letters, which Brunswik sent unto the Elector of Mentz and Held, whereby he knew of the League among them. Whereupon followed mutuall invectives between the Duke of Brunswik, and the Lantgrave. In February 1539. the Estats of the Empire convene at Frankford after long debating it was concluded, that at Noriberg a Conference shall begin August 1. to treat of the questions of religion: there shall convene Divines on both sides, and other learned and prudent men, to be deputed by Cæsar, Ferdinand and the Princes, to order the Conference, and whatever shall be concluded, shall be ratified in the next Diet. The Popish party propounded, that the Pope should be entreated to send his Legat thither: but because the Protestants were serious in the contrary, that was omitted. When these news were brought to Rome, the Pope was impatient, that any Conference in matters of religion was without him; and he sends the Bishop Montepulcian into Spain, to accuse the Bishop of Londa for yielding unto the demands of the Lutherans, to the prejudice of the Apostolical See, and disparagement of his Cæsarean Majesty. Many grievous things were layd unto the charge of that Bishop, and many fearfull things were represented unto the Emperour against that Conference, as is to be read in *Histo. Conc. Trident. lib. 1.* But the Emperour would not discover himself unto the Nuncio, whether he would confirm the Conference, or not. George Duke of Saxony in time of his sicknes sent unto his brother Henry in Aprile, shewing that if he will renounce his new religion, he shall be his heir; or els he hath made his testament disposing all unto Cæsar and Ferdinand. Henry answered the Messingers, This is such a tentation, as Satan used against Christ, Fall down and worship me, and I will give thee all those things: But think yee, that I will forsake the known truth and pure religion, for riches? truly if yee think so, yee Mistake me. Before they had returned, George was departed: and though King Ferdinand knew how the Testament was made, yet he never sought it, and Henry went immediatly to Leipsich, entrench into possession, and restoreth the Reformed religion there at the Whitsonday. The Electors Palatin and Brandeburgh being Intercessors did advertise the Emperour concerning the agreement at Frankford, and entreat him to give way unto the Conference,

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ce that was appointed at Noriberg. Before the Letters came to his hands, the Emperess was dead, and the Emperours answer was: He was taken up so by the death of his Queen, and of other affaires, that he can not resolve upon the petitioned Conference. These do communicate the Letters unto the Protestants: who considering that the Emperour had not confirmed the truce of 15. months, do meet at Arnstet in Thuringia Novemb. 19. there they advise concerning their defence, if it be needfull; of seeking friendship of King Ferdinand; of sending into England, because of some Decrees concerning religion lately made there; to sollicite the King of France, that he would not trouble any for religion; and to send new Commissioners unto the Emperour. And because many were absent, and so they could not resolve as they would, they appoint another meeting at Smalcald the first day of March following: In the beginning of the year 1540. Charles comes into Flanders: the Oratours of the Protestants meet him, and congratulate his safe arrivall; they shew how their enemies had falsely traduced them; they supplicate the ratification of the late agreement; or els all deliberation of the Turkish warres shall be hindered. After some dayes they receive faire words, but no determinate answer. Within ten dayes the Oratours return to Smalcald, where the Princes and Deputies of Cities were frequently convened. They had appointed Jonas, Pomeran, Melanthon, Cruciger and Bucer, to draw up a forme of reconciliation in doctrine with their adversaries. After the deliberation they report; they can not change from the Augustan Confession and the Apology thereof. Other preachers hearing of this Overture, did approve it by their Letters. At this time there hapned a variance betwix two of the Emperours greatest Counsellours, the abovenamed *Feld*, and Granvellan: this man accused the other, that he was too vehement in his counsells, and that he had drawn the Emperour unawarlike into unnecessary warres. Whereupon *Feld* left Court, and lived privatly. Then Granvellan sent two Earles unto Smalcald, with some demands, and in his own name he instructes them to shew, that the Emperour was almost persuaded, the Protestants do not aim at religion, but at the Church-goods, and that they encline toward his enemies. They return thanks unto the Emperour and unto Granvellan; and they shew that many abuses had crept into the Church, which the *bb.* knew well, but will not amend because of their own interest: Nor had they appropriated any of the Church-goods, but had applied them into pious uses, as the entertainment of their preachers, mantaining of Schooles. and relief of the poore; Nor had they made any league with the Emperours enemies, but had constantly continued in loyalty, albeit promises of defence had been profered unto them; and they entreat that Granvellan would interceed for them, to obtain the Conference of learned men, and that the severity of the Judges of the Chamber may be stayed; and the peace begun at Frankford, may be ratified by the Emperour. Aprile 18. the Emperour sent Letters unto the Elector of Saxony and the Lantgrave, appointing a meeting at Spira or what place they think expedient, to treat of religion, and requiring the Princes to be present.

32. The meeting at Spira was (because of the pest) held at Hagonoa. King Ferdinand came a month before; as also the Protestant Princes had solicited the Electors Palatine, Colein and Trevers, Eric of Brunswick, and the *bb.* of Ausburgh and Spira to be Counsellors of peace. Because the Protestant Princes came not, Ferdinand causeth examine the Commissioners, that they had given unto their Oratours: then he named Interce-

Conferences in Germany many about Religion.

four, the Electors Palatin and Trevers, Lewes of Bavier and William Bishop of Strawsburgh: the Protestants accept them: and their Preachers did preach oft in their lodgings, especially when they did meet for consultation. King Ferdinand discharged these preachings: but they would not omit them. The Intercessours crave from the Protestants their controverted articles. They answer, they had published them ten years before in their Confession & apology thereof, as they are also ready to give more reasons thereof, if it be needfull. The parties could not condescend upon the way of treaty. The King appoints another meeting at Worms within 18. dayes, when the Deputies of both parties should be present, the Divines in equall number, eleven on each side, to treat on the Augustan Confession; and in the meane time the clergy that have been spoiled by the Protestants, shall be repossessed, or seek to be restored by law in the Chamber; lykwise they shall seek the prorogation of the truce, and none to be comprehended, which had not received that Confession before the agreement at Noribergh, nor shall they admitt any other. The Protestants do protest against this Decree of repossessing and admitting: August 13. the Emperour confirmeth the meeting at Wormes, and promiseth a Diet of the Empire, where he shall be present, and heare the result of this next Conference. November 25. Granvellan comes to Wormes as Commissioner from the Emperour, and with him was his sonne Bishop of Artoise, and three Spanish Divines, Muscosa, Malvenda, and Carobello: he had a long speech exhorting to concord, and enlarging the incommodities of dissension as appeares (said he) that religion is decayed in Germany, charity hath departed from men, and the glory of the antient and catholick Church is gone &c. The next day two Scribes were named on each side. *Sleidan. Comm.* The Pope had hindred this Conference so far as he could (saith *Pe. Soave*): he did know, that such Colloquies were prejudicial unto his See: nevertheless he thought, it were less discredite, that he consented unto the meeting, than if they shall convene against his seeming will. And so Thomas Campegius Bishop of Feltra was sent by the Pope: and he shew the great mind [forsooth] the PP. namely Paul, had to have a Councell; and as yet is thinking on it for the peace of Germany; and in the meane while he had at the Emperours request yielded consent unto this Conference as a preamble unto the Councell; and he (said the Bishop) at the Popes command will contribute to his power: he entreats them to think upon Overtures of peace, and they may expect from him, whatsoever may be done without prejudice of piety. Thether also was Vergerius sent, who had been oft in Germany, but now under colour of Ambassadour from France, that so under the name of another he might do the Pope the more service: he had caused print (before his coming) an Oration, pleading, that a Nationall Counsel was not a convenient, meanes for establishing a peace of the Church: and then dispersed coppies of it, to interrupt the Conference. They trifle about the form of their treating; that nothing shall be divulged before the finall conclusion; concerning the number of the disputants; and some other questions (by the advices of Campegius & Vergerius) purposely to waste time. Nevertheless it was at last condescended, John Eccius and Ph. Melanthon shall dispute the head of originall sin. While they deal so slowly, the Popes Nuncio in Flanders is dayly telling the Emperour, that no good can be expected of this Conference, but rather a greater schisme, and all Germany is like to turne Lutheranes, which is not so much derogatory to the Pope, as the dam-

damage of Cæsarean authority, as it hath been oft told him, and he may see by experience. Whether by such persuasions, or by other difficulties, the Emperour recalleth Granvellan, and delayeth all further treating unto the Diet at Ratisbone in March *An. 1541. Te. Soave in hist. Conci.* He sent also unto the Pope, craving that he would send a Legate with full power, to define or finally conclude what the Estates shall accord upon, for the good of the Church. Paul sent Card. Contaren, with instructions, that if in that Diet any thing shall be done to the prejudice of Papall authority, he should oppose it, and declare it null; and then leave the Diet, but leave not the Emperour. When Contaren came to Ratisbon, he excuseth the Pope that he had not given him so large commission, as Charles had sought; because the power of not erring is the Popes personall priviledge, nor can be communicat unto any other, seeing Christ had said, *Peter, I have prayed for thee.* The Pope had given him power to make accord with the Protestants, if they will acknowledge the principles of religion, such as, the primacy of the Apostolicall See ordained by Christ, and other things determined; and he entreated the Emperour that he would not hearken unto any proposition, which he may not grant without the consent of other Nations. This Diet began Aprile 5: the Emperour declares what diligence he had used to have union in Germany for preventing the inconvenients of the Turk (*Ibid*) and because the difference is mainly in religion; he adviseth, that they would cause a few good and peaceable men on each side, to treat of the controversies amicably: and when they shall agree; the particulars may be referred unto the Estates, to be discerned by them and the Popes Legate, so that the Decree of Ausburgh *An. 1530.* may stand: *Sleidan.* The first question of chusing such persons spent some dayes: the Emperour sought and obtained from both parties the naming of the men, and promised that he would do nothing, but what might be for the good of both. For the Papists he nameth John eckius, Julius Pflugius & Jo. Gropper. On the other side he nameth Melanthon, Bucer & Jo. Pistorius: these he did admonish to lay aside private affections, and look only unto Gods glory. He named also Frederik Prince Palatin, and Granvellan, Presidents, and others as witnesses. When these did meet, Granvellan gives them a book, which (said he) was writen by good and learned men, and presented unto Cæsar, as convenient for reconciliation: he biddeth them read and weigh it: shew what articles they can accord on; what they disallow, amend it, and wherein they consent not, study a conciliation. The book contained 22. heads, of the creation of man and his estate before the fall, of free-will, of originall sin, Iustification, the Church and notes thereof, the interpretation of Scripture, the sacraments, the sacrament of orders, baptisme, confirmation, eucharist, penance, marriage, extrem unction, charity, hierarchy, articles that are determined by the Church, the use, rites and administration of the Sacraments, discipline of the Church, discipline of the people. *Lu. Oflander* saith, The writer of the book was not altogether Popish: he had written soundly of justification and some other articles. When they had examined the heads, they agree in some; and they amend some with common consent: they agree not on the heads of the Church and her power, the Eucharist, the enumeration of sinns, orders, of Saints, use of the whole Sacrament, and single life. They render the book, as they had amended it, and the Protestants adde their judgement of the articles wherein they did not agree. The Em-

perour commendeth them for their diligence, and exhorts them to continue the same way, if they shal be further employed. And he reported in the publick meeting of the Estates what was done. *Pe. Soave* saith, The bb. which are the greatest part of that Diet, reject both the book, and all that was done: and because the Electors and Catholick Princes, which loved peace, did not consent unto them, then Cæsar as the Church's advocat, dealt with the Legate to approve, what heads they had agreed-on, and would expound what was dubious; and also with the Protestants, that they would not stoppe the way of further reconciliation. The Legate answereth in write [*Use the words of Soave*] but ambiguous lyke the old oracles; He had read the booke, and the annotations, and the Protestants exceptions; and he thinks, that seeing the Protestants have departed from the consent of the Church, yet there is hope that by the help of God they may be brought unto consent; as for other things, nothing more is to be decerned, but to be referred unto the Pope and the Apostolick See: he wil call a coun-cel shortly, or take some other course convenient for the time, and will use diligence to do what is expedient unto the Christian world, and namely of Germany. And to testify, that he was desirous to have the clergy reformed, he calleth all the bb. into his lodging, and exhorts them unto their duty; to beware of all scandals, alshew or suspiciõ of Luxury, covetousnes & ambition; that they govern their families, seeing by that the people do judge of a Bishops manners; that they should dwell in the most populous places of their own Diocies, that they may attend their flock; and where they live not, they should send faithfull Ministers; that they visite their Provinces; bestow priesthoods on good & sufficient men; distribute the Church-goods to the use of the poore; appoint pious learned, temperate and not-contentious preachers to teach the people, have care to breed the youth in good arts, seeing upon this account the protestants do allure the children of the Nobility unto them. He caused this speech be written, and gave it unto Cæsar, the bb. and Princes. The Protestants declare their judgement of both these writes, and said unto the Emperour If they had kept silence, they might have been judged to have approved both. In the publick meeting the Emperour shewes the Legates answer, and seeing no more can be done for the time, he propoundeth, that they would advise, whether without prejudice of the Decree at Ausburgh, these heads wherein the Collocutours had consented, may be received as truly Christian, and no more to be controverted, untill a generall council shortly to convene (which seemes to be the Legat's mind) or if there be no council, untill the next Diet of the Estates. The Elector Princes do consent, it should be so, because there is more appearance to agree in other points, if these be ratified; and they entreat the Emperour to continue even now the further agreement, if he can; or if not, that he would deal for a General or National council in Germany. The Protestants answer to the same purpose, and adde, that as they had alwayes desired a free council in Germany, so they can never consent unto such a one, wherein the Pope and his party shal have the power of cognoscing and judging the cases of religion. But the Bb. and some Popish Princes do flatly oppose, and professe, they will not consent unto any change, but by authority of a coucel, to be called by the Pope. And they were the more adverse, because they thought, the Emperours overture was in favours of the Protestants. Then Contaren hearing that the Emperour had commended him as consenting unto the accommodation of the Collocutours, they

goeth unto Charles, and complaines, that his answer was altogether mistaken, as if he had consented unto these conciliations untill a Council: for his mind is, that no matters of religion can be concluded in such meetings, but all must be referred unto the Pope as the faithfull Pastor and Universal Bishop. July 28. the Emperour referreth all unto a council, for which he promisseth to deal with the Pope; and if it can not be obtained, he promisseth to appoint another Diet within 18. months to end the differences of religion; and in the *Interim* he forbiddeth any more alterations, and suspendeth the Decree of Ausburgh. *Soave. lo. cit.* Then the Protestants promise their aid against the Turk, and interceed for the Duke of Cleve, who had offended the Emperour by invading Gelderland. That summer King Ferdinand besieged Budain Hungary: the Queen a widow sent unto the Turk for aid: who came, repulsed Ferdinand, and took Buda to himself. Then Ferdinand held a Convention of the Estates in Prague, where the Nobility of Austria did supplicate for a Reformation of their Churches, according to the articles of Ratisbone, and that none be troubled for piety in religion; or els, he may feare, the Turk will prevaile more. This was referred unto the General Council.

34. In the beginning of the year 1542. King Ferdinand in name of the Emperour, calleth a Diet at Spira: he sheweth, what aid Boheme, Austria, and the Clergy of his Jurisdictions wil contribute to the warrs against the Turk, and demandeth what the Princes will do. The King of France by his Oratours shewes his opinion, that it is not expedient to invade the Turke; but if he invade Germany, then the Princes should lay aside all other quarels, and resist with one accord. Moron the Popes Legate adviſeth warrs presently, and offereth 5000. foot, if the Emperour will go: but if he go not, half the number: and he shewes, that a Council shall be called shortly, but the Pope in respect of his old age can not come into Germany; and therefore desireth them to make choise of Mantua, Ferrara, Bononia, Placentia, or Trent, which is in the Jurisdiction of the King Ferdinand. The King and some Popish Princes made choise of Trent. The Protestants refuse both the place, and that the Pope should be president. Here the Princes consent unto the Warrs against the Turk, and with common consent Joachim Elector of Brandeburgh is chosen Commander in chieff. This meeting endeth Aprile 11. Then Luther publisheth a book, shewing that howbeit before he had dissuaded from the warrs against the Turk, because it was undertaken under pretext of Christian religion; but now seing Princes are better informed, and the Turk professeth himself of other Princes Landes, it is all reason to resist him upon this account as a robber; yet so that Ministers should earnestly exhort all men unto repentance and pious prayers: and he exhorts all souldiers unto courage; and if any be taken captives, that they make not apostasy for fear of afflictions, or for the hypocry of the Mahumeranes: he added also a forme of prayer against the cruelty of the Turks. But the supplee was not sent, as the Princes had promised; and they which went, did no good. May 22. Pope Paul calleth a council to begin at Trent Novemb. 1. and this he professeth to be of his proper motion. He sent his Bull unto the Princes, but very unseasonably, saith *Pe. Soave*: for Francis denounceth warrs against the Emperour in July, and invaded fyve severall Provinces all at once with fyve armies. The Emperour sent word unto the Pope that he could not be content with that Bull, seing he had done; so much for a Council, and Francis had always opposed it, yet now he makes

*Jealousies
& contests
between
Cesar &
France*

1542.

kes them equal: then he shewes what injuries he had suffered of the Pope especially by his Legate at Spira, where he had promised alike favour unto both the dissenting parties in religion: he submittes it to be considered in prudence, whether the actions of that King be for healing the wounds of the Church, who upon all occasions had hindered the Council, and now compelleth him to take another course; wherefore if the council shall not assemble, it is not his fault, but rather the Popes, who if he made account of the common interest, should declare Francis to be his enemy; nor is there any other way of assembling a council, or of establishing peace. On the other side Francis considering, how his actions might be expounded, will take away all suspicion of religion, by making severe inquisition against the Lutheranes (as he spoke) in France, and gave charge to the Masters of Sorbon, to use all diligence against them and all book-sellers having any of their books. So some were burnt, and some did recant: whereupon the Sorbonists made their processions of triumph, and the King honoured them with his presence. And when he heard what Charles had written against him, he sent his apology unto the Pope, upbraiding Charles with what he had done unto Pope Clemens, and imputing unto him the cause of all the wars betwixt them, and alledging that he had never done so much for the Church, as he had done in France: and therefore the Pope should not believe the calumnies of his enemy. The Pope sent his Commissioners to Trent, but none others came but two Commissioners from the Emperour, and some few from Naples: the Pope gave them order, at the first to proceed slowly; and when none came, he ordered them to proceed quickly: but the Emperours Oratours hindered, and in December left it: So nothing was done. This summer Henry a Duke of Brunswick troubled the people of Goslaria & Brunswick confederates in the articles of Smalcald. The Protestants complain into Ferdinand in name of the Emperour: but Henry stood not in awe of Ferdinand's command. Wherefore the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave sought leave to resist him: and they caused him to flee into Baviere. Orho one of the Princes Palatine embraced the Augustane Confession; and so did the City Hildesheim.

1543. XXXV. In January 1543. was a Diet at Noribergh: there the Prince Elector Palatin and the Bishop of Ausburgh were Commissioners for the Emperour and sought aid against the Turck, and King of France, and Duke of Cleve. The Protestants complain unto King Ferdinand and the Commissioners, that they were wronged by the Judges of the Chamber, contrary unto the Decrees; and they crave that that Court may be ordered to judge justly; or else they can not contribute. After long disceptation, the Protestants were debarred, and the others made a decree for fortifying the garisons nearest the Turke, and to contribute unto the wars; and these which had refused were condemned. The Protestants declare, that they can not consent unto this Decree; seing they were debarred from the counsell; and there was great inequality in the decreed contribution. The Acts were not registred: In January Ann. 1544. was another Diet at Spira, where was the Emperour and King Ferdinand, and all the Electors, and very many Princes. The Emperour declares his good affection towards Germany, but was hindered from doing, as he would, by the Turk, and the King of France, which had a mutuall league. Then the Protestants complain against Henry Duke of Brunswick, that he had falsely accused them unto the Emperour in Italy, and that he should not sit there, nor do they acknowledge

nowledge him a Prince of the Empire. So alterations were mutually for a long space. In end, the Elector of Saxony acknowledgeth Ferdinand King of the Romanes; and the Emperour confirmeth a contract of marriage betwixt Saxony and Cleve: both which he had refused before. And a Decree was made, that the Princes shall contribute to the wars against France, and furnish 4000. horse & 24000. foot, and to fortify the frontier towns against the Turk; that no Germane shall beare armes with the French, or if any shall do it, the Magistrate is ordained to punish such. And because the difference in Religion can not be treated now, another Diet is appointed in December for that end; and in the mean time Charles shall give charge unto pious and learned men, to devise a way of reconciliation; and exhortes the Protestants to do the like, which may be observed untill there be a general Council in Germany; or untill the next Diet of the Germane Nation; And in the *Interim* all shall keep peace, and make no sturre for diversity of religion; and the Churches shall possess their revenues for maintaining teachers and Schooles &c. The Popish party loved not this Decree, but being overcome with plurality of suffrages, they would not speak against the Emperours authority. These wars continue not: but within a few months the two Monarchs do accord: among their articles this was one, that they shall joyne all their endeavours to restore the old religion and peace of the Church. *Sleidan.* Yea, *Pe. Soave.* writes, that the Emperour did the more willingly accord with Francis, because he was desirous not only to be free of that warr, but he thought by meanes of Francis to have peace with the Turk; and then he might the more securely attend his affaires in Germany, seeing in time of his other wars the Germanes were aspiring unto liberty, so that they will not leave the name of an Emperour. Upon occasion of this agreement, the Pope proclameth the Council to be held at Trent. The Emperour was displeased with the proclamation: for he would have been called the principal cause of the Council, partly for his own honour, and partly that the Germanes might the more readily condescend thereunto. Nevertheless he made serious preparation, and gives warning unto the Germanes as if the calling of the Council were his work, and the Pope were his adherent. Both he and the King of France gave order unto their own Divines at Lovan, and Paris, to collect what doctrines were to be propounded: which those did without any prooffe or confirmation, but with serious exhortations to persecute all who would not embrace these naked propositions. Luther answereth unto these of Lovan, and calleth them hereticall and bloody men, which do both teach contrary unto Scripture, and also exhort unto cruelty.

XXXVI. In Aprile *An.* 1545. was a Diet at Worms, where was no Prince, but King Ferdinand and Oratours from the Emperour and the Princes and Cities. The Emperours Ambassador presseth the wars against the Turk, and would delay the cause of Religion. The Protestant Oratours, and with them the Oratours of the Electors of Colcin and Palsgrave do answer, This meeting was called especially for Religion, wherein something had been done before, and there is good hope of effectuating more: and therefore it should not be delayd unto a council, and they do not acknowledge that which is called at Trent, to be according to the former promises; as also they had given their other reasons against it. And by what reason can they be pressed to take wars, who can not obtain peace unto their own families? In the mean time the Emperour had written un-

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to the King of Poland (as also unto others) to concurre with the council, and because he thinks that the Protestants will not submit unto it, it is necessary, that he and other Princes join with him against them as disturbers of common peace and Religion. About the 16 day of May Charles comes into the Diet: and then it was told the Protestants, that they shall be heard in the council, nor shall the Pope have absolute power there, as they alledge: or if they find any iniquity, then they may complain; but now to pretend such excuses, it is but their rash prejudice. They answer, The Pope and his retinue had now often condemned their Religion; and the matter may be taken up in Germany, by comparing the different opinions, and searching the truth in a friendly way. After much disceptation the Emperour closed the Diet August 4. so that all the Princes shall assemble personally in January at Ratisbone, and for difference in Religion there shall be a conference of four learned men on either side, and two Presidents, which shall convene in the same town, Decemb. 1. Then the former edicts were renewed, and confirmed untill the Diet. The Popish party will not acknowledge the conference. But the Emperour sent four at the time appointed, and likewise four presidents; and so did the Protestants send as many. The Emperour gave order to examine the confession of Aushburgh, and to omit the three first articles, because there is no controversy in the first two, and the third concerning originall sin was defined already. The Protestants demand for the manner of the conference, that all their conference shall be written, to the end, the Emperour and Princes may the more surely know the differences and their arguments. The presidents say, That were too prolix: it is sufficient, the summe benoted; and layd in a chist, that nothing be divulged without common consent; yet so as it shall please the Emperour. The Protestants were content, if their Princes will consent. Peter Malvenda a Spaniard began to treat of Justification by way of Lecture. Bucer said, That way is contrary to the prescribed order: for he should object against the articles of the Confession, if they can; and the point of Justification was handled and determined five years before. Then the Emperour sent his pleasure concerning the manner of treating, as is touched before, especially that nothing be divulged, untill it be reported unto the Emperour and Estates of the Empire. The Protestant Princes will not accord unto these conditions, and sent for their Preachers, to know what was done. The other party take this impatiently, and by printed books accuse the Protestants. Bucer publisheth a large reply, and declareth the doctrine of justification; shewing also their readiness to continue the Conference. But the Emperour was plotting another course, While things are so dubious, the Elector Palatine reformeth the Churches within his jurisdiction: January 10. *An.* 1546. he puts away the Masse in the high church of Heildbergh: and said, He had waited many years for a Reformation: but now seeing it is dangerous to delay, and there is no hope thereof, he can not refuse the earnest desire of the people. At that time he and the Landgrave were advertised from Aushburgh, that the Emperour was preparing an army against them. The Landgrave writes unto Granvellan one of the Emperours Councillers, shewing what he had heard, not only from Germanes, but from Italy, concerning the Pope and Emperours confederacy against the Protestants &c: Granvellan answereth, that the Emperour intendeth nothing but peace, and he admireth the vanity of men conceiving such things of the Emperour. So did another Counsellor Navius write unto the Count of Solme,

Solme, and advised him to exhort the Landgrave, to come unto the Emperour, and he shall soon be satisfied of all these jealousies. The Landgrave goeth unto Spira; the Emperour denieth that he had any such purpose; and exhorts him to keep the appointed Diet at Ratisbone. None of the Protestant Princes came thither but the Landgrave: only they sent their Oratours. The Emperour calleth this a contempt of his authority: he shewes his care for establishing peace in Germany, and presseth them absolutely unto the decrees of the council. The Oratours besought the Emperour, that he would not violat the former peace; as they refused no charges nor service with the rest of the Empire, nor had any thoughts to do otherwise in time coming: As for Religion, seeing the council was not such as he had promised, and the States had decreed, they humbly entreat, that it may be yet referred unto a council of Germany; or a Conference of learned men, which will determine thereof according to the written Word. While they make such a shew of consultation, it was publicly known, that the Pope and the Emperour and King Ferdinand were levying souldiers. Then the Landgrave and Oratours entreat the other Princes, that they would go with them unto the Emperour and sollicite him, that he would not warre against them. The Princes refuse; and the Emperour still professes peace with them as his loving subjects. The Landgrave enquireth, for what cause was the levying of souldiers every where, seeing he professeth universal peace, and he had truce with the Turk? He replied at last, He aimed at nothing but the peace of Germany; and all who will give due obedience, may look for favour from mee (sayd he) but against others which will not obey, I must deal according to my right. Briefly cruell warrs followed: the Protestants at the first prevaile, and caused the Papist towns and bb. give them money: they dispossesse Maurice Duke of Saxony, who was a Protestant in Religion, but a Commander for the Emperour, because he trusted the Emperour, that the warrs was undertaken for civil authority only. The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave were of equall authority at that time, and their different judgements made them lose many good advantages: and in the end they were both taken, as is before related. In the Diet at Ulms *Ann. 1547.* the Deputies of the States bewaile the great damages, that had befallen unto them all by these intestine wars, and they crave peace. The Emperour professeth readiness: but because of the pestilence the treaty of peace was deferred to a more solemn meeting at Ausburgh. Where the Emperour appointed some bb. and other Prelates to pen some articles of doctrine, concerning ceremonies, and reformation of the clergy. These Deputies wrote a little book, all Romish, except that they permitted marriage unto priests, and communion under both kinds. The Emperour took this course, because he could not bring about his purpose in the council: he propoundeth this book in the Diet, and caused some to dispute the articles there; and then sent it unto the Bishop of Rome. The Pope wrote back, that none but the Bishop of Rome, had authority to permitt such liberty; and immediately he sought to dissolve the council by transferring it.

XXXVI. In May 1548. The Emperour assembleth the States at Ausburgh, and ordaineth that these which had not as yet made defection, shall continue in former obedience and condition of Religion, and unto others he said, Seeing some well affectioned men and lovers of tranquillity have propounded unto mee a book of articles, which we have caused to be examined, Wee will you, as yee regard the good of the commonwealth, to accept these

*Troubles
for the In-
terim.*

these articles, and approve your teaching thereby, until a fuller remedy be provided by a general council. The Bishop of Mentz (as if all the rest had given him their voices) gave in name of all the States unto the Emperour immortall thanks for his zeal and care; and he promised to obey. The Emperour takes this answer as an universall consent, and would hear no excuse from any other. He commanded it to be printed in Dutch and Latine: it was called; *The Interim*. John Marques of Brandeburgh went unto the Emperours lodging, and said; that he had served him heeretofore upon this affiance; that he had assured him of liberty of Religion. The Emperour sayth, This is a general Decree, nor can any be against it. The Marques began to speak in the contrary: but the Emperour commandeth him to be gone, lest he give a bad example unto others, to refuse the book: and he went home the same day; but changed nothing in religion. The Electors Palatine & Brandeburgh accept the book. Wolfgang Duke of Bipont refused it with great boldness. Ulric Duke of Witembergh would not accept it for his person; but because the Spanish souldiers were quartered in his land for the time, he gave leave to use it; yet the priests were not regarded there, so that within a short space they left his land again. The Emperour sent Granvellan and the Bishop of Artois unto the captive Duke of Saxony with some hope of liberty, if he would approve the booke. He said, He coul not accept it, unles he would wound his conscience, and sinne against the Holy Ghost, seing it containes many things contrary to the holy Scriptures. After that he was kept more strait, and his preacher for fear changeth his habite and left him. The Emperour sent also unto the Dukes two sonns, and they also refuse the book: then he complaineth unto the Duke that his sonns would not obey the Decree, and they suffered the Preacher to speak and writ aguinſt the book: and therefore he should cause them satisfy him. The Duke returneth answer, Seing he himself approves not the doctrine of the book, he cannot advise his sons to receive it: The Deputies of the towns sought some space of time to communicate with their principales, ere they give answer. The last day of Iuny was granted unto them. Some for fear did accept it; and others accept it with some exceptions. Some returned answer, Seing the Emperour presseth this as an Imperial decree, they will refuse no proportionable burden of the Common wealth: but this particulare concerneth their souls, and the burden thereof lieth upon the godly people: so many as are careless of Religion, care not what be decreed: they doubt not but the Emperour loveth peace: yet if men be compelled to speak and practize against conscience, it is to be feared, that such decrees shal raise greater troubles. Nevertheless the Emperour presseth the book upon them by force; as upon Ulme, Constance, &c. The preachers chuse rather to leave the townes, as Brennius left Hala, Musculus left Ausburgh, &c. Some were perswaded to accept it, and afterward with many tears confessed their sin publickly: Albeit the Emperour had commanded, that none should write against that *Interim*, yet many books were published, condemning the doctrine in it, and admonishing men to bewar of it as a most pernicious pest, not only for the errours of doctrine, but lykewise because it is a meanes to bring in whole Popery again: Ausburgh was compelled to receive their Bishop again, and he would not come in, untill he covenanted with the Senate, that he shall have three of the best churches for the Masse; and the Bishop granted liberty unto the people to follow either the Romish or the Protestant Religion, as they will. So after the Masse had not been seen in that

that town the space of 20. years, it was begun again: at the first time was a frequent concourse of people, especially of the young folke: they wondered to see men with shorn crownes and strange habites; to sing and reade what they understood not; to set up torches at midday; to burn incense; to use such gesticulations, somtimes bowing their knees, sometime stretching forth their hands, sometime folding them; sometime crying aloud, sometime mumbling; standing now in one place, and then in another; to eat the bread alone, and drinke the wine so that not a drop was left in the chalice; to wash their hands; to kisse the altar and the images, &c. After noone a priest went to preach in the high Church: a young man made some noise: a sergeant threatneth him: all the boyes runne together to save him: the priest seeing the fray, leaveth the pulpit and flyeth: report is carryed unto the Magistrates: when they came into the Church, the multitude was gone. The next day the Senate sent unto the Chapter, to excuse the matter, that it was done only by boyes, and they would have a care, that the like shall not be done. The Chapter will not accept the excuse, but runne unto the Bishop dwelling in his house called *Taberna* without the town: he complains unto the Emperour: who ordered the Bishop to begin again, and the Burgermasters to be present for preventing any more tumult: *Osiand. Epit. Cent. 16. Lib. 2. Cap. 73 & 76.* Maurice Duke of Saxony returning after the Diet unto Leipfich, presseth his people with the *Interim*: they require a conference with the Divines of Wittembergh, and had severall meetings in sundry places; the last was at Leipfich: they were unwilling to change their Religion, and they stood in awe of Cæsar's wrath; and they consulted upon a middlecourse, that if they shall yield in some indifferent things, the Emperour will accept their obedience, and will not persecute them. While they sift the *Interim* for indifferent things, they patch up a new modell of doctrine also; and did not consider the scandals, which did arise thereupon: for many of the people hearing that such things were called *Indifferent*, did think and say, All Religion is indifferent, and they had erred before in their zeal; and all Popery maybe restored. On the other side the Papists said, All Protestants will return, if they be pressed with authority. I adde some instances of their indifferent doctrine. 1. A man is chiefly just and accepted before God, by faith for the Mediators sake: we will not strive for the particle *only* faith. 2. God worketh not in men as in a block, but so converts, that in understanding persons he will have some action of the will, which accompanieth his efficacy. 3. we will not contend for the number of Sacraments: all the Sacraments may be accepted, *cum sano intellectu*. 4. all Ministers may be subiect unto the highest Bishop and unto inferiour bps. ad ministring their office according to the commandement of God, or unto edification and not destruction; that is (sayth *Osiander*) we will take wolves to be shepherds, if they will not devour the sheep, but lead them faithfully into wholesom pasturage, &c. Magdeburgh and Breme would not accept the *Interim*: and albeit Duke Maurice, the Elector of Brandeburgh, the Duke of Brunswick, Meckelburgh and others went against them in armes, and besieged Magdeburgh, they would not accept it: when they had received a foyle, they by a published write, declare, that their losse was not so great as it was called; God had put them to a tryall, but they were confident of his helpe; and howsoever it shall please Him to dispose of them, they will rather die, then return to Antichrist, or receive the decree of Ausburgh: and they entreat all Christians, that they would not fight against them in such a cause, but rather aid them in such extremity.

They endured such strait difficulties the space of thirtien months, untill another variance hapned betwixt the Emperour and Princes. These troubles for the *Interim* continued above two years; howbeit I have joyned them together, that I might carry-on the most publick affaires of Germany: some particulars were also then remarkable, of which I give a touch.

Troubles
at Colein
for Reformation.

XXXVII. In the Diet at Regensburgh *An. 1534.* the Emperour and the Popes Legate did enioyn all the bb. to endeavour a holy reformation of their clergy within their severall jurisdictions. Herman Eleſtor of Colein sent for Bucer and Caspar Hedio preachers of Strawsburgh: he ordered them to preach in Bonna his See; and to write the articles of Christian Religion. He sent also for Ph. Melanthon, and Jo. Pistorius a Preacher of Hassia. He recommendeth the Articles unto his clergy of Colein, to consider them. These do urge the Bishop to remove these new Preachers, and crave a time to aduise upon the articles. The Bishop telleth them, He is ready to remove them, if they can convince them of false doctrine or of wicked conversation. They write a contrary book, and in the preface they say, They would rather live under the Turk, then under a Christian Magistrate attempting a Reformation, and they raile against Bucer. Bucer offereth to defend his doctrine by disputation. When the Emperour understood of this, he writes unto the Senate of Colein, and commandeth them, that they suffer no alteration in Religion: and the Pope wrote lyke-wise; commending also the clergy, that they had resisted their Bishop, and exhorting them to continuance. The Emperour comes with a train of Spanjards to Bonna, and causeth all the Preachers to be removed: for the clergy made appellation from the Bishop unto the Pope and Emperour. The Bishop declared, that their appellation was not to be regarded, seing he craues nothing, but as it becomes a godly Bishop, and he refutes all their criminations. In the year 1544. the Clergy do presse the people and the inferiour bb. and Universities throughout the province, to subscribe their appellation; and they cast out so many of their number, as would not subscribe. The appellation is sent unto the Emperour and to Rome. In the year 1545. the Emperour summoneth the Bishop to appeare within thirty daies, or to send his proſcutor, to answer unto these accusations, July 18. the Pope summoneth him to appeare at Rome within 60. daies, and citeth also some of his accusers. In the year 1546. Aprile 16. the Pope excommunicates and deprives the Bishop of his priesthood and Benefice. The bb. of Leodium, & Utrecht, and the University of Lovan joyn with his accusers at Rome. Herman appeales from the Pope unto a free Council, and declares that he can not acknowledge the Pope to be his Judge, because he is guilty of heresy and idolatry, which he will prove, when the Council shall begin. The Pope gives the bishoprick unto Adolph Count of Schavenburg, and writes unto the Estates of the Province to accept him: and so doth the Emperour. The Clergy obey readily: but the Civil Estate complain, that they are unjustly deprived of their godly Bishop. So both had their parties: but Herman chuseth to quit the Bishoprick; and did renounce it Januarie 20. 1547; and with him Frederik Bishop of Munster was deprived of the Provestry of Bonna, and the Count of Stolbergh was deprived of his Deanship, because they did cleave unto Herman. So the new Bishop restoreth the old errours at Colein. *Osiand. Libr. Cit. Cap. 48 & 50.*

A Popish
lying tale

XXXVIII. So bitter was the malice of the Papists against Luther, that in the year 1545. they put forth in print a tale of his death; A horrible
miracle

miracle (say they) and such as was never heard, that God, who for ever is to be praised, in the fowle death of Martin Luther damned in body and soule, shewed for the glory of Christ, and comfort of the godly. When Martin Luther fell sicke, (say they) he craved the body of our Lord Jesus to be communicated to him: which having received, he died soon after: and when he saw his end approach, he willed his body to be layd on the altar, and to be worshipped with divine honours. But God willing at last to make an end of horrible errors, by a strange miracle warned the people to cease from the impiety which Luther had begun: for when his body was layd in the grave, on a sudden such a tumult & terrour arose, as if the foundation of the earth had bin shaken: they which were present at the funerall grew amazed with fear, and lifting their eyes, they saw the holy host hanging in the aire: wherefore with great devotion they took it, and layd it in the holy place: when that was done, the hellish noise was heard no more. The next night a noise and tumult was heard about Luthers grave, much louder than the former, and raised all that were in the City out of their sleep, trembling and almost half dead for fear. In the morning they open the sepulcher, where Luther's detestable body was layd, and found neither body nor bones nor cloaths, but a stinck of brimstone coming out of the grave &c. This merry tale being spread over Italy, a copy was brought to Luther, and when he read it, he writes under, these words, I Martin Luther, by this my hand-writing, confesse & testify, that on March 21. I received this fiction concerning my death, as it was full of malice and madnes: and I read it with a glad mind and chearfull countenance, but deteste the blasphemy, whereby a stinking ly is fathered on the Majesty of God: As for the rest, I can not but rejoyce & laugh at the Devils malice, wherewith he and his rout, the Pope and his complices persue mee: God convert them from their devilish malice: But if this my prayer be for the sin unto death, that it can not be heard, then God grant they may fill up the measure of their sin, and with such lying libels let them delight themselves to the full. It's also remarkable, that when Luther heard some to be called Lutheranes, and some Zwinglianes, he was greatly offended, and he entreated, that his name be kept in silence, and that none be called Lutheran, but Christian. What is Luther, said he; the doctrine is not mine, nor was I crucified for any: the Apostle would not have any Christians called Paulinians, nor Petrini-anes: whence therefore shall this happen unto mee, that the children of Christ should be called by my vile name? away with it, ô friends; away with schismaticall names? *Tom. 2. edit. Witemb. fol. 4.* In Decemb. *An. 1545.* he was intreated by the Earls of Mansfield, to be arbiter of a controversy between them: for respect to their persons and the Province wherein he was born, he would not refuse. When he was sitting himselfe for this journey, he said to Melanthon, that he had gone too far in the controversy of the Sacrament. Melanthon exhorts him to explain his mind by publishing some book: he answered, Thereby I may bring a suspition upon all my doctrine, but I will commend it unto God, and I request thee to amend by thy watchfulness after my death, what I have done amisse. *John. Foxe in Act. & Monim. from the testimony of Melanthon, Alex. Alef. Daniel Buren. Herbert de Langen, &c.* January 17. he preached his last Sermon at Wittembergh; on the 23. day he took journey: he was sickly before he came to Iſleben: yet after some fomentations he recovereth a little, and attendeth the business about which he came, untill February 17. during this time he

Luthers
Death.

preached sometimes, and administred the Lords Supper twice. That day he dined and supped with his friends, and among other discourses he was talking of heaven, and said, We shall know one another there, as Adam knew Eve at the first sight: After supper his pain increaseth in his breast: he went aside to pray, and then went to bed: about midnight his pain wakened him out of sleep: then perceiving his life at an end, he said unto his friends attending him, Pray God, that he would preserve unto us the doctrine of his Gospell: for the Pope and Council at Trent have grievous things in hand. When he had said so, he was sleepey, but the pain made him complain of a stopping in his breast; and then he praied in these words, Heavenly father, even God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the God of all comfort, I give thee thanks, that thou hast revealed thy Sonne unto mee; in whom I have believed, whom I have professed, loved and preached, and whom the Bishop of Rome and the rest of the wicked do persecute and reproach: I beseech thee, my Lord Jesu Christ, receive my poor soul: and heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this life, and shall lay down this my body, yet I believe assuredly, I shall abide for ever with thee, and that none shall be able to pull me out of thy hands. After this prayer he repeated the 16. verse of Joh. 3. and the 20. verse of Ps. 68: and thrice he said, Lord, into thy hands I commend my Spirit; with tokens of much comfort, untill as a man falling a sleep, by little & little he departed this life. His body was honourably convoied to Wittembergh and by appointment of the Electour was buried in the Tower-church in the 64. year of his age. The next year the Electour was taken captive, and when the Emperour came into Witembergh the Spaniards would have taken his body to burn it: but the Emperour said, Suffer him to rest till the day of resurrection and judgement of all men.

*There-
conciliati-
on of the
captive
Princes.*

XXXVIII. When the Electour was captive, and many of the confederats were reconciled unto the Emperour, the Electour of Brandeburgh and Duke Maurice did sollicite for the Lantgrave. Charles was high in his demands: yet the Lantgrave, considering his danger, was content of any conditions, so that he and his people be not forced to change their religion. He comes to Hall in Saxony, where the Emperour was: before he had access, he must subscribe the demands: this was one clause, The Emperour is the interpreter of all the articles. He sticketh at this, alledging that it was not so in the forme which was shewed before unto him. The Bishop of Artois said, It was a mistake of the writer: and he demandeth, that the Landgrave will promise unto the Emperour, to accept the Decrees of Trent. This he refuses: the Bishop menaceth him that he can not be accepted other wise. He answereth, He will obey the decrees of a free, godly and General Council, as Maurice and the Elector had done. Then he was brought before the Emperour, and upon his knies did confesse his offenses, and promised obedience in all time coming. The Emperour saith, Albeit he had deserved most grievous punishment, yet he refuseth not to restore him according to the articles of agreement. Nevertheless the same night at command of the Emperour, the Landgrave was arrested, and a guard set upon him. Maurice and the Elector of Brandeburgh, protest unto him, that it was contrary unto their mind, and they shall never cease, untill they obtain his liberty. And they did sollicite earnestly, but could not prevaile. According to an article, 150000 ducats were delivered unto the Emperour and other things of great importance: but the Landgrave was delivered into the hands of Spainards as a Captive, and carried about
with

with the Emperour: who gave the title of Elector and Dutchy of Saxony unto Duke Maurice. This did not content him: but God made him the instrument of delivering the captives, of chasing the Emperour out of Germany, and purchasing liberty of Religion, as is hinted before.

XXXIX. Now let us view some things done in France; and first it is worth the marking, what Robert Steven (who is better known by the name, *Robertus Stephannus*) did, and what was done unto him by the University of Paris. In the year 1532 he published an edition of the Latine Bible, when he had conferred the Copies, that were in use at that time, with some old manuscripts, and according unto them he amended some errours. The University takethis ill, that he had attempted to change the Translation. He defended himself, that he had changed nothing, but had printed according to old coppies, which he had by him. His answer was tolerable in the judgement of reasonable men: nevertheless they persue him before the Court of Paris, and doe petition, that he may be burnt. But their petition was refused. Then he printeth the Bible, retaining the vitious translation, and on the margine he addeth the words of the manuscripts, with Notes shewing the Coppies, whence he had these words. These do accuse him for that edition, before the King Francis and his counsel: but were put to shame and silence. *In Respons. Ro. Steph. ad Censur. Theologor. Paris. Pag. 109.* Then he printed the ten commandements, in great letters and in such a forme, that they might be fixed upon walls of houses for common use; and so did he with a Summe of the Bible. This did provoke them yet more, especially because he had printed the second command, *Thou shall not make unto thyself any graven image, &c.* And they accuse him: but the King gave him a warrant to reprint both the Ten commandements, and the Summe of the Bible, both in Latin and French. They did summon him to compare before them, and said, that his work was worse then the teaching of Luther. Fiveten members did approve him, and added their seals unto his attestation: so the multitude of them seeing the Kings warrant and that attestation, were ashamed, and their Deputies did also assoile him. *Ibid pag. 11.* In the mean time the King had ordered Francis Vatablus Professor of the Hebrew, to expound the old Testament out of the first language: and his hearers did write his exposition and his annotations. The Kings Printer dealeth with the hearers, and receives from them a new Translation, which he printes with the old Translation and with the Annotations. When this work was perfected in the year. 1545. he shewes it unto some of the University, requiring and entreating them to shew him, if any part thereof had not been rightly observed by the hearers, to the end, if there be any thing amisse, he may amend it. They doe approve the work, and assure him, that no evill could proceed from the Lessons of Vatablus. But when the books were solde, some do observe, that the Translation and the Annotations were contrary unto the present doctrine of the University: and therefore the books should not be solde, seing they were printed without the knowledge of the Faculty. The Printer goeth unto the Court. and sheweth Peter Castellan Bishop of Mascon, that the University were offended, and intend to hinder the selling of his books: when he saw that the Bishop was doubtfull what adviceto give, he saith, If the Divines will give him their Censure, he is willing to print it with the Bible, and he will neither be ashamed, nor take in ill part, to advertise the reader of whatsoever errorr is in the book. This Overture did please the Bishop, and he relates all unto

*A contest
between a
Printer
and the
Sorbonists*

the King which willeth the Bishop to writin his name unto the Universi-
ty, that they shall revise the Translat ion and the Annotations; and note
what doeth not please them, and subioyn unto every fault a reason of their
judgement: and deliver their Censure to be printed either apart or with
the Bible. Castellán writs so unto them: and they did promise to obey. But
though they were at several times required to deliver their Censure, they
shift it; and sent unto the Divines of Lovan, entreating to reckon that
Translation among the forbidden and hereticall books: The King was
informed of their shifts and of that Letter: wherefore he ordereth the
Bishop to require them again: after severall exhortations to this purpose,
they send fifteten places, which they had marked. The Bishop conferreth
with their Deputie Gagneius upon these instances, and writes a large letter
unto them, commending the Annotations, and shewing what course
they should observe in their Censure. They were the more enraged at
that commendation, and would not go on in their Censure, but would
have the book to be condemned, which they had declared hereticall.
Then the King sent his Letters patent and sealed, charging them to conti-
nue in their Censure, and to deliver it unto his Printer. They doe still
refuse, and at that time King Francis dieth. His son Henry sendeth the
like charge unto them on August 16. 1547. They return answer, that
they shall perfect their Censure before November 1. but then in place of
the Censure they send a supplication, craving that the books may be for-
bidden, because he is a sacramentarián, and had written that mens souls
are mortal. The Printer is informed, and addresseth himself to answer
before the King and Counsel: then they return unto Paris: but he shewes
how false their calumnies were. At that time they sent unto the King
46. Articles, which they had collected. It was told unto their Deputies,
that they had spoken of some thousands of errours, and were these all tur-
ned to 46. Their answer was, The University had more, but had not
as yet put them in forme. The Printer returnes to Paris, and chides some
of the Divines, that they had accused him falsely. They produce the
place, where they alledge, he denieth the immortality of the soul. He
replieth, They understand not Latine, who will from these words forge
such an errour. And saith he; I give them this praise, that when they
can not prevail in reason, none are more impudent to bear down the
innocent with monstrous lies. Then he returns unto the Kings Court,
and petitioneth, that his adversaries should plead their cause against him,
and bring in all their articles. When they were summoned to do so,
ten of them do compear: and in their pleading they fall into variance among
themselves, and could not agree in maintaining their articles. Then they
were charged, that hereafter they shall not usurp that power of Censure
in matter of faith, which belongs unto the Bishops; unless the bb. shall
call for their advice. The Articles were delivered unto the Cardinals and
Bishops, to be examined, and it was appointed, that their Censure be
given unto the Printer, to be printed. The Deputies of the University
do lament that their power was taken from them; yet durst not speak in pu-
blick: and the selling of the books was stopped, untill the bb. had given
their censure. The Deputies returning, a publick thanksgiving was ap-
pointed, as if all the business had been well done; and they were confi-
dent, that no more should be required of them. The bb. and Cardinals
do conferre upon the 46. articles; they say, five or sixe were liable to mis-
interpretations, but all the rest were sound and Catholick. When the
Printer

Printer heard it spoken so in the Court, he presseth, that the University should be charged to bring what other articles they have to object. The King commandeth them once and again to bring all their accusations. They delay, thinking, that if the b^{ks} had given such a censure of the 46. articles, they can have little hope of any more. Therefore they do alledge that they can not attend the Court in such a cause, and they do supplicar, that it be referred unto the Inquisitors. The King not being present, it was so concluded by the Council. The Printer was then afayed, because the Inquisitors must condemn all, whom the University condemneth. Therefore he addresseth himself unto the King, who in Councel causeth seal an Act, suspending the former Act, and commandeth the University to produce what other articles they had against the book. Then they deal with Guiancourt the Kings Confessor, that he would solicit the King to condemn the Printer as an heretick, and that they be not pressed to bring more articles; and in the end of their Letter it was written, It were a shame unto the University, if a mechanick man shall prevaile against them. The Confessor prevails so, that the selling of the books was again forbidden; yet so that the University must produce their other Articles. The Printer knowes not of this, which was done by the King: and he going unto Court, gives thanks unto the Cardinal of Guise for his favour in the judgement of the articles. The Card. telleth him, The course was changed. He askes, is there no remedy? I know none, saith the Cardinal. The Printer is feared, and intendeth to leave the Countrey: he communicats the case unto the Bishop Castellan, and being betwixt fear and hope he entreats him to ask the King for what cause he had given order to persecut his Printer. The King said; It is true, I have forbidden to sell the books, because the Divines have complained of him as a most pestiferous heretick; but not that he shall be banished, untill they bring the rest of their articles. Then the Divines deal with Senalis Bishop of Orange, to persuaue the Printer unto submission; and the Bishop said unto him, It were better for him to agree with the Divines, than to leave his Countrey, nor could he have any hope to prevail against the holy University. He answereth, I expect no victory, but only let them obey the King, and produce their articles. The Bishop replieth, That can not be expected, seeing it is not the custom, that the University should prove what they do judge heresy, but only shew by word of mouth, and their word must be believed; or els we could never come to an end of an action. After a day or two the Printer saith unto the Bishop, that he is willing to desist, if the Divines will no more persue him, and afterwards he shall print nothing without their advice. The Bishop applauderth the motion, and adviseth him to communicat it unto Guiancourt. The advise pleaseth him also, if the Printer will give it in writ, and he undertakes to send it unto the University. The Printer considereth, that if they had that under his hand, he were no more safe from them, and they might produce that as a sufficient reason, why they should not bring in the rest of their articles: therefore he refuseth. So both parties come again into this Kings Court: there it was reported, that the Printer should have 1500. crowns for his damage. Then the Deputies do rage and say, Shall a wicked man have a reward for impiety? and so others shall be encouraged to do more mischief. So the King was perswaded to give no money: but he said unto his Printer, that he will be more bountifull unto him another away. The Printer gives the King humble thanks, saying, that he craved no more, but that he would protect him from the

malice of these his enemies. The King granteth him his warrant: but with difficulty could he obtain the seal: and when he had it, he keeps it quiet. In the mean time the Divines endeavour to prove other things against him by witnesses: and when it was told them, that he had the Kings warrant, they do use all means to have him imprisoned; and will not believe, that he had obtained a protection. He shewes it unto them: and then they demurre. When this storm was over, he gathereth fifetien old manuscripts of the New Testament in Greek, and printeth it with the diverse lections on the margine, and gives the first coppie unto Castellán: he calleth the Printer sawcy, that he had printed it, before he had aduised with the Divines. Robert answereth, There can be no danger in printing that book, nor could he be suspected of heresy for it; yea and some of them had advised him to change the text in 1. Cor. 15. 51. *Wee shall not all sleep. but wee all shall be changed.* The Bishop said, He should have done so: for there is a different lection. He answereth, He could not change a word contrary unto all the Greek coppies: for so he might have been condemned as a falsifier. The Bishop in great wrath sent unto the Divines, and told them, that Robert Steven had deceived his expectation, and he will no more assist him: let them therefore advise what they will do with him for that edition of the New Testament. Gallandius the messenger shewes his order unto Robert, and adviseth him to preveen another storm. Robert shewes some of the Divines what he had done, and craves the approbation of the Faculty, before he vent the books. They commande him, to bring the old coppies, that he had followed. He answered, They are in the Kings bibliothek: he can not have them when he would: but he had conferred them diligently, and saved them alabour. Two were appointed to examine the book. He waites upon these, and could have no answer. At last the Faculty conveenes. Some said, The man had been troublesome unto them, and now if they shall approve any thing that he doeth, it will be a commendation of the man, and an acknowledgement of their fault. Others did coldly commend the work: and they were commanded by the greater part, either to be silent, or go out of the house. So they dissolve without any determination. He asketh the Dean, What have yee concluded? What shall I report unto the King? He answereth, The Masters are not of the opinion, that the books be vented. Why? sayth Robert. The Dean answereth, Because of the marginall annotations. There be no annotations (said he) but only diverse readings. He craves the Sentence of the Faculty in writ, which he may shew unto the King: and when this was denied, he told the Dean, he would relate what answer was given him. The next day he presenteth a copy as the first fruit of his work, unto the King before the Cardinals and Peers, and shewes what he had done with the Faculty, and what their answer was. If we will believe his testimonie, All without exception did laugh, and said, The mens impudence, ignorance, temerity and foolishness is intolerable. So he had liberty to sell the books: but to appease the Faculty, he promiseth to print no more without their advice. Then for fear of their implacable malice he went without their reach, and dwelt in another place: where he printed His answer unto their Censure: of which I will give you a taste. Art. 11. on Deut 9. 4. the summary on the margine is, God gives not unto men any thing for their righteousness or equity of their hearts. *The censure.* This proposition is hereticall. *His answer.* Let the unpartiall reader iudge, how windy are these bellies, that so oft blow forth so many

many heresies. The question is, Whether men do purchase Gods favour, so that He rendereth any thing for their deserving? The Scripture teaches plainly, that a reward is rendred unto the good works of believers: But wee must first see, whether men doe purchase grace for their works, or if God embracing them freely, and then their works, which he hath wrought by them by vertue of his Spirit, doeth vouchsafe them the reward. But all men are by nature the children of wrath *Eph. 2. 3.* all men come short of the glory of God: none doth good. *Rom. 3. 12:* all are enemies of God *Rom. 5. 10:* of ourselves we have no good thoughts *2. Cor. 3. 5:* all the devices of mans heart are ill from his childhood, *Gen. 6. 5.* Whence it followes, that God, who is debter unto none, gives graciously unto men whatever good they have. Remember also that of Paul, *Who hath given unto him first and it shall be rendred unto him? Rom. 11. 35.* The annotation which is condemned, was on the text of Moses, where the Lord sayth, he gave not the lande unto the people for their righteousness or uprightnes of their hearts: And far less can man attain more excellent benefits for his merits: for he who deserves not a litle possession on earth, how shal he be worthy of the kingdom of heaven? Finally he, who thinks it an heresy, *God bestowes nothing on men for their righteousness,* denieth and abolishes the gracious bovnifulnes of God in Christ. *Art. V. on Tsf. 62. 10. Annotation,* Wee must run unto God: for the defences of men are meer vanity. *The censure.* This annotation is hereticall and impious. *Answer.* Where the opposition is betwixt the defences of God and of men, certainly these are called of men, which God doth not blesse. David went against Goliath with a sling and stones; yet he sayth, Thou comest against mee with a spear and weapons and a buckler, but I in name of the Lord of Hosts, *1. Sam. 15. 45.* And, There is no King saved by the multitude of an host: a mighty man is not delivered by much strength: a horse is a vain thing for safety, *Tsf. 33. 16* And There is no safety by the children of men *Tsf. 146. 3.* And yet more clearly, Vain is the help of man *Psf. 60. 13* Certainly this sentence is hereticall in their judgement, if they condem mine. For David, by the name of help, understandes all defences, wherein he findeth meer vanity. And that wee may know, that God is delighted with this form of speaking, it is repeated in another Psalme, *108. 13.* Neither meaneth he otherwise, when he sayth, It is vain to rise early, but, Without God nothing is prosperours, *Tsf. 127. 2.* In the same sense it is said, Our eies yet have failed for our vain help- *Lame. 4. 17.* *Art. VI. on 2. Sam. 7. 7.* God will have nothing to be done without his word. *The censure,* This proposition is heretical. *Ans.* When Paul teaches, Whatsoever is without faith, is sin *Rom. 14. 23,* by the name of faith, he meaneth certainty, which is not grounded but on Gods worde. Therefore to undertake any thing without Gods command, is not more acceptable unto God, than if a servant will attempt this or that rashly in his masters service. And there it is spoken of the worship of God, wherein that rule holdeth, Obedience is better the sacrifice, *1. Sa. 15. 22.* Therefore the Lord sayth by Jeremy, When I brought your fathers from the Land of Egypt, I gave no commande concerning sacrifices, but that they should obey my voice. Hither belongeth, that he forbade to offer sacrifice without salt *Levi. 2. 13,* and to lay strange fire upon his altare *Lev. 10. 1.* And what account he maketh of worship done without his word, we may learn from the Prophet, saying, Who required that at your hands? *Esa. 1. 12.* And there is no word more frequent, What I command thee, that only shall thou do. And, every one shall

not do what is good in his eyes *Deut. 12. 8. 32.* and elsewhere. And Christ speakes not otherwise, in vain they worship mee, teaching for doctrines the precepts of men. When Paul calleth superstition will-worship, by this word he despiseth whatsoever men do of themselves thrust upon God *Col. 2. 23.* Seing such sobriety is hereticall in the judgement of the Masters of Sorbon, what manner of Divine worship will they prescribe? *Art. VIII. on Matt. 22. 12. Annot.* The marriage garment is faith. *Censure.* This annotation is hereticall. *Ans.* Forrein Nations, I know, will wonder at this barbarity: and truly I am ashamed of our shame. Albeit it were the greatest glory of the Kingdom of France, if it were cleansed from such vile naughtiness, under which it fainteth for so long time. It is a heresy to call faith the marriage garment. I will not mention the antient and Classicall Doctors, which have thought so: let the matter be considered without the defense of man. *Art. IX on Jam. 2. 17, Annot.* Faith without works is not faith. *Censure.* This proposition is hereticall. *Ans.* I grant, historicall faith, by which the devils do tremble, is called faith: but I speak with James, who affirms, that faith without works is dead..... But these reverend fathers think that heaven will fall, unless they maintain. their formless faith, by which Christians may bee without Christ. *Art. X. on Ps. 31. 4. Annot.* Sela, is added, to shew, that this sentence is remarkable, where wee are taught how sin is forgiven, to wit, by believing in God, who only can forgive sin. O the singular grace and bountifulness of God toward men confessing their sins! *Censure.* This annotation is hereticall, taking away sacramental confession, and the power of the keyes, where it is said, Who only can forgive sin, seing the hierarchicall priests may forgive sin in their manner, although only God forgive authoritatively and chiefly. *Ans.* But Christ dealt more tenderly with his most fierce enemies: for when they objected unto him, God only can forgive sin, he did not call them hereticks for that; but rather confirming what they had said, he teaches that he had that power, because he is one God with the Father *Matt. 9. 6.* If it be an heresy, to give this honour unto God, that he only can forgive sin; then God is an heretick, who affirms by the Prophet, saying, I, even I blot away your iniquities for my own sake *Esa. 43. 25.* Wee know that men do forgive in their manner, when they forgive the injuries that are done unto them *Matt. 6. 14.* And because the Apostles are not only the witnesses of the forgiveness of sin, and by their teaching do seal it in the consciences of men, but lykwise they, do offer it as a thing wherewith they are entrusted, the duty of forgiving sin belongeth unto them also *Joh. 20. 23.* But this hindereth not, that the power of forgiving sin should be ascribed unto God wholly. And indeed if it be not lawfull to speak of the remission of sin, unless mention be also of confession, we must put away all the Scripture, which presseth that doctrine so oft, and never speakes one word of auricular confession. *Art. XIII. on Ps. 47. 10. Annot.* Only God can help men. *Censure.* This annotation is hereticall, taking away the help of the Saints. *Ans.* Why do they not rather complain, that the mutuall help of men is taken away? But so all men might have clearly seen, that they do carp maliciously at a pious saying: and yet I think not, they were so wary: for they look alwise unto their own gain; and what ever superstition is lucrative, they will fight for it lustily. The condition of France is wretched, and to be bewailed, that none dar speak of faith and trust in God, of praying unto him, or of any part of his worship, but these butchers will draw him

him as an heretick into the fire. If a preacher say simply, We should pray unto God, the cry goeth, He smelleth of heresy, because he nameth not praying unto Saints. If any say, Trust in God; that is intolerable, because he speaks not of confidence in Saints. But if prayer to Saints brought not lucre unto them, they would let them sleepe. If is sufficient unto mee, that the reader seeth, they condemne the first rudiment of the faith. For by whatever way we be helped, God only doth help, whether by means of men, or by another means: and who do not acknowledge that all creatures are the instruments imployed by God, is more foolish than a beast. Art. XV. on *Esa.* 63. 16. *Annot.* According to the late Translation Abraham neither doth nor can help us. *Censure.* This is heretical, taking away the help of Saints. Ans. If they do make such account of the Saints help, why do they prefer Barbara & Nicolaus unto Abraham the Father of believers? yea, why do they forget him in their prayers both publick and privat, and cry so much unto Cristopher, Antony, Catherin, and such others? There is not any Breviary or Missal, that obtrudes not such Mediators upon God, and never a worde of Abraham But let the Holy Ghost plead for himself, who hath spoken by the mouth of Isaiah: my annotation is but a paraphrase of the Prophets words. *These are a few of many.* This Robert Steven did first distinguish the verses of the Bible with arithmetical figures.

XL. John Calvin living as a Student at Basile, published his book of Christian Institutions in the year 1536. and 25. year of his age. The same year he went into Italy, to visit the Dutchess of Ferrara Daughter of Lewes 12. King of France. In his returning he was chosen to be Professor of Divinity in Geneva: where the truth of the Gospel had been preached before: but as yet many Citizens did affect Popery. The same year was penned a form of Christian doctrine and discipline, together with a short catechism containing the chief heads of Religion: those were published, and all were required to swear the observance of that doctrine and discipline. Many did refuse; yet the Senate and people did swear thereunto *An.* 1537. The adversaries were not reformed from the scandalous licence and courses, in which they had lived under Popery, and antient feuds (through occasion of the Savoyan wars) were not layd aside. Though the Ministers did fairly, and then moresharply admonish them, yet they prevailed not; so that Farel, Calvin and Carold openly professed, that they could not administer the sacrament of the Lords Supper unto people who live in so bitter enmity, and so averse to Church-discipline, For this cause the Sindics or Magistrats (which were chosen in the end of that year) not hearing the Ministers, sent a command unto these three, to depart out of the City within two dayes. These Magistrates did so missearry themselves. in their office, that within two years they were found guilty, some of murther, and some of other misdemeanures; and were condemned some to death, and others to exile. Then the Citizens ceased not from entreating the City of Strawsburgh by their Deputies, and the mediation of Zurick, untill they brought again Jo. Calvin Septemb. 13. *An.* 1541. Then he professed, that he could not comfortably exercise the Ministry among them, unless with the teaching of the gospell, discipline were also established. So a Model of presbyterian government was drawn up, and Elders were chosen again. This was settled by consent of the Senate, so that from the Sentence of the Presbytery it should not be lawfull either for Minister or people to recede. Though both Senat and the people did agree thereunto

as consonant unto Gods worde, yet some not only of the people, but even of the chief men did manifest their dislike of it: yea some Ministers (which afterwards were found guilty of some wickednesses) though they did not openly oppose it, yet under hand they wrought against it, pretending the example of other Churches, where no excommunication was used: and some cryed out, that it would introduce again a Popish tyranny. But he overcame these difficulties, by shewing that not only the true doctrine, but discipline also must be warranted by the Worde of God; and that this hath the approbation of the most learned men of that age, as, Oecolampade, Zuinglius, Bucer, Melanthon, Capiro, &c. which he proved out of their books; and telling them that other Churches were not to be condemned, which had not proceeded so far, nor those Ministers which had found that their people needed not such censure; and lastly shewing a vast difference between the Popish tyranny, and the easy yoke of the Lord. So that at last the discipline was established Novemb. 20. 1541. Nevertheless some loose men would not be tied unto that Discipline, but sought to break it: especially in the year 1546 Amedius Perrin an ambitious man could not endure Caluins thunderings against his lasciviousness, and began to discover what he and his associates had for a time been contriving. The Senate took notice of him: he held him silent a while; but the contrived wickedness brake out more openly: for one of the Senate blamed Calvin of false doctrine: The cause was heard before the Senate, and that Senatour was condemned of slander, and two Ministers which had set him on, were convicted of drunkenness, and removed out of their places. Calvin shews still, that the life of Christianity consists not so much in profession of truth as in the practise of godliness: Then Perrin and his associates do appeal from the Presbytery unto the Senate. The Presbytery pleadeth their Constitutions, agreeable unto Gods worde, and settled by authority; and therefore that their priviledges might not be infringed. The Senate granteth, that it should be so: and because Perrin would not be ruled, they depose him from his Captainship *An.* 1547. but the next year he was restored by the prevalency of his friends. In the year 1552. one Berteler was suspended from the sacrament for sundry faults: he craves that the Senate would absolve him. Calvin in name of the Presbytery opposes shewing that the Magistrate should preserve, and not destroy good discipline of the Church. But the false calumnies of the adversary (pretending that the Presbytery did encroach upon the authority of the Magistrate) prevailed so, that in the Common-Council it was decreed, that the last appeal ought to be unto the Senate, who might absolve whom they thought fit. So Berteler got Letters of absolution confirmed with the publick seal. Then Perrin and his associates hoped for one of two, either that Calvin would not obey this mandate, and so he would be oppressed by the people; or els if he did obey, it were easy to condemn the Presbytery, and they might follow their licentiousness. Calvin understood this but two dayes before the administration of the sacrament in September, and in his Sermon when he had spoken much against the profaners of the sacrament, said, *I following Chrysostome, will rather suffer myself to be slain then this my hand shall reach the holy elements to those who have been judged condemners of God.* These words did so prevail (though the men were head strong) that Perrin sent privately unto Berteler, and advised him not to obtrude himself upon the sacrament. So it was peaceably administered, through Gods mercy. In the afternoon Calvin preached on Acts 20, where Paul took his leave of the
Eph

Ephesians, and professed, that he would neither oppose, nor teach others to oppose the Decree of the Magistrates, and he exhorted the Congregation to continue in that Doctrine, which they had received: and seeing (said he) things are come to this passe, give mee leave, Brethren; to use the words of the Apostle, unto you, I commend you to God, and the words of his grace. These words daunted the wicked wonderfully, and prevailed much with them all. The next day the Common-Counsel was assembled, and the whole Presbytery entreated, that they might be heard in giving reasons for abrogating the forenamed Act concerning the Appeal. This was assented, their mindes being much changed: and it was decreed, that the Act should be suspended, and that the judgement of the four Helvetian Churches should be craved therein; and in the mean time nothing should be done prejudiciall to the Lawes formerly established. Thus the faction was diverted from Calvin: but afterwards they sought to bring the storm on Farell, who in these dayes came from Neocom into Geneva, and in a Sermon sharply reprov'd the factious, partly knowing the equity of the cause, and partly relying upon his authority, which he had formerly amongst them. When he was gone, that faction complained, that he had done them wrong; and procured, that one was sent unto the Senate of Neocom, to cause Farell appeare at a day appointed. Farell came again to Geneva, not without danger: for that faction cryed out, that he deserved to be thrown into the river. An honest young man said to Perrin, that Farell the common Father of the City should not be wronged: and he with another Citizen took upon them to stand by Farell at the day of hearing. His adversaries were astonished, and of their own accord craved pardon. So Farell was dismissed. Then came answer from the four Helvetian Cities, who unanimously confirmed the Ecclesiastical Policy, as it had been before established. Behold here, what sort of men did oppose the Presbyterian Discipline: towit, loose and ambitious men.

XLI. Francis 2. King of France did maintain James Faber, and his *persecuti-* Printer against the Sobonists, and he professed a desire of Reformation, *on in Fran* when he fought a league with the Protestants at Smalcald: nevertheless he would not have the Pope to judge so of him: and therefore he continued in persecuting them which were for Reformation. Who can tell all the barbarities, that were committed in France from the year 1538. untill the year 1589. yet for exampls sake we will touch some. In that year 1538. Aprile 13. a young gentleman of Tolouse was burnt at Paris for eating eggs in Lent. Remarkable was that horrible impiety *Ann.* 1545. against the Waldenses in Merindole & Cabriers. When those heard of the Reformation in Germany, they were glade, and sent for some preachers, by whom they received clearer information, and with more courage did avow the faith of their ancestours. They were delated for rebellion against the King; and this was a common accusation in those dayes, more odious then true, saith Sleidan in *Comment. lib.* 16. They were summoned to compeate before Bar. Cassanus President of the Counsell at Aignes November 17. *Ann.* 1540. and the Kings Proctour was ordeyned to persue them. They were informed of danger undoubtredly, if they did compear. So after three citations, for not compearance, they were condemned by a most horride sentence and cruel above measure, saith Ja. Thuan. *Hist. lib.* 16; towit, the Masters of families were adjudged to the fire; their goods unto the escheate; Merindole should be made levell with the ground; their caves shall

be stopped; their woods shalbe burnt, and their lands shalbe given to none of their name or kindred in all time coming. Some did urge the execution of this Sentence; especially, the Bishops of Aignes and Arles gave money to levy an Army against them: but Alenius a Noble man of Arles appeased the minde of the Président, by representing the cruelty of the fact (if such cruelty were execute against so many men not heard in their own defence): So the leyying of souldiers was put off, untill the Kings pleasure were required. The King referreth the tryall of their cause unto the Président of Piemount William Bellay. After tryall he reported unto the King, that the Waldenses were a people, who about 300. years since had purchased a barren peece of land in farme from their Lords, and they by industrious manuring had made it fit for pasturage; they can endure toyle and hunger, they abhorre strife; they are liberal to the indigent; they render all obedience unto their Prince and Masters; they profess the worship of God with frequent prayers & innocency of manners; they go seldom to the churches of the Saints, and when they go, they prostrate not themselves before the images of God or of the Saints, nor do they offer unto them torches or other gifts, but they go unto such places, only when they are about merchandise or such affairs; they employ not priests to do any religion for them or the souls of their fathers; they mark not their faces with the signe of the crosse; when it thundereth, they sprinkle not themselves with holy water, but lifting up their eies unto heaven they call upon God for help; they discover not their heads before images in the wayes; in their service of God they use their vulgar language; they have no respect to the Pope nor Bishops, but they choose some of their own number for prelates and Teachers. When Francis heard this report, on Febr. 8. *Ann.* 1641. he sent unto the Senate of Aignes, and granted the space of three moneths, wherein the Waldenses shall recant, and certain persons shall be chosen by them, to abjure in name of the rest, or else &c. Francis Gajus and William Armantius in name of the Waldenses then presented a supplication unto the Senate of Aignes, humbly craving to examine their cause, because it is against reason, that they are commanded to recant heresy, before they be convinced, yea or heard; and they offered their Confession in write, little differing from the doctrine of Luther *Thuan. Ibid.* Cassaneus sent it unto the King, and the King gave it unto Castellan *episc. Matisconen.* to be examined: he sent it unto Ja. Sadolet Bishop of Carpentoract. Who answered, In that Confession are some things that may be well expounded, and some things are too satyrik against the Pope and Bishops, and howbeit other things are reported of them, he knew by former Inquisitions, that they were but false, and forged maliciously: and therefore he would not advise to use hostility against them. Then Io. Durantius and the Bishop Cavalionen. were sent by the Senate unto Merindole, to instruct and convince them; and to relate the success. Those abide constant, and Cassaneus was perswaded by the wordes of Alenius, that no violence was used in his time. Jo. Minier came into his room, and he wrote unto the King, that the Waldenses were 16000. in Arms, intending to beseege Marfiles, or to attempt some greater business. The King received this Letter in January *An.* 1545. and was exasperated (the Cardinal Turnon adding oile to the fire) that he sent his mandate unto the Senate of Aignes, to execute their former Sentence. Minier kept this charge secret, to the end, the poore people might be surpris'd una worse: he chargerh all who were able to bear arms, in Aignes, Arles, Marfiles and adjacent places to be in Arms against

England at a certain day: when all were in readines April 13, he opened the Kings Letters in the Senate, and quickly went to execution. *Thuan. Ibid.* Then they burnt Pupis, Motha, Martiniac, and all the villages about Peruse and the river Druence. The Merindolians beholding all in fire round about them, fled into the woods, and so did the Sanfales. Miniers had commanded to kill all wherever they could be apprehended without respect of person. On an evening they had intelligence, that Miniers was coming into the same place, where they were: because they must flee through rough places, they do resolve to leave their wives and children with some Ministers, (what lamentation was then!) and to go into the town of Mussy. Miniers had burnt Merindole, and went to Cabrier: he found the ports shut, and promised to do no harm, if they would open unto him: but he spared neither age nor sexe: he brought the men forth into a meadow, and slew them all about the number of 800. and burnt the women together in a barn. He did the like at Costa, and was no less cruell unto 22. Villages: 25. persons were smothered by smoke in a rock: who found mercy, were sent into the galeys: many were famished. Who could escape, went into Geneve or Helvetia. The like cruelty was used at Avenion and other places of the Popes Dominion in France. *Ibid.* When this was reported in Germany, it was dolorous unto many: from a Diet at Ratisbon Letters were sent, and the Protestants of Helvetia entreated the King, to shew mercy on them who had fled. Francis answered, He had reason for what he had done, nor should they pry into his censures, more than he had done into their affairs. *Jo. Sleida. Comment. lib. 16.* Afterwards Miniers feared to be called to account for this butchery (his conscience accused him) and by intercession of Cardinal Tournon (as was spoken he sought and obtained the Kings Patent approving what he had done. But he sought not a pardon from heaven; and not long after he isshued bloud out of his lower parts, nor could voide any urine, so that his bowels rotted within him, and he died miserably. *JaThuan. loc. cit.*

XLII. In Melda a City ten myles from Paris, the Bishop was desirous of the Reformed religion, and excluded all the Friars. For this cause the Sorbonists opposed him, and procured danger unto him, that he left his purpose. Nevertheless *Ann. 1544.* sixty Citizens had a Preacher, and assembled in private houses to the hearing of the Worde, and celebration of the Lords Supper according to the first Institution. These were all apprehended, and carried in carts into Paris: where they received Sentence of death, and being sent back, 14. of them were burnt in one fire, and the rest were whipped, and banished. These went into sundry Provinces, and ceased not to glorify God by preaching the Truth, namely, *Tharonus Manginns, Petrus Bonuspanis &c.* Afterwards this Peter with other twell were burnt at Paris. *Jo. Fox in Act. & mon.* When King Francis was sick unto death, he repented of his cruelty, and many write (saith *Thuan. loc. cit.*) that he advised his son Henry, to try the injuries done by the Senate of Aignes against those of Piemont; and he sent order unto that Senate to apprehend John a Monk, and put him to an Assise: that man had devised a new kinde of torment; to wit, he caused the Waldenses put their legs into boots full of seething tallow, and in derision asked them, If they were ready to ride? When the Monk heard of this Mandate, he fled into Avenion: and within few days, he was so tormented with ulcers, that he wished death. King Henry II. loved not Cardinal Tournon and such cruel persecuters. So the Merindolians and other Waldenses

The per-
secution is
stopped for
a time.

gathered again, and by advice of the Duke of Guise Aumalus presented unto the King their complaint against the iniquity & cruelty of the Senate of Aignes, and they did humbly beseech, that their cause might be once heard and examined. It had some beginning in the great Counsel, as they call it: but the King brought it to the high Parliament of Paris: there the matter was debated publicly fifty dayes with great vehemency, by J. Auberius for the Waldenses, and Peter Robert for Aignes, and Dion. Riantius the Kings Advocate. When the complaint and many cruelties were read, all the hearers conceived hope of redress. The event was; only Guerin (*Regius Patronus*, one of the cruellest persecuters, and having no favour among the Courtiers) was beheaded, and Miniers died, as is said before. Little was done publicly for Religion in France untill the year 1553: then many suffered at Lions and Paris: among whom were *Martialis Albus* and *Petrus Scriba*, who had been sent from Bern in Helvetia, to preach the Gospell, and before they had done any thing, they were taken at Lions, and the King would not spare them for the intercession of Bern. *Thuan. lib. 12.*

Persecution is renewed.

XLIII. Charles Cardinal of Lorrain intending toward Rome, would do something to gratify the Pope: therefore he persuaded the King, to publish an Act, commanding all Presidents to prosecute without any delay all censure of the Church against Lutherans. The Senate of Paris answered unto the King, that four years before he had caused it to be acted, that according to the custom of his Ancestours, (who were all defenders of the Religion and liberty of the Church) the power of life or death for Religion should be reserved unto the King: but by this Act he loseth his privilege, and forsakes his servants and subjects, and commits their fame, goods and persons unto the pleasure of the clergy, who by their severity in these years bypast had not amended any errours, but rather have exasperated the people: and therefore it were more reasonable, to command the Bishops and priests to instruct their flocks in the worde of God more diligently, either by themselves or by qualified Vicars; and in time coming to promote only sufficient Pastours, who have no need of Vicars. *Thuan. lib. 16.* In the year 1557. Septemb. 4. a great number assembled in a private house of S. Jacques strict, to hear the Worde, and receive the Lords Supper in the night, because they had not liberty in the day. The multitude convened in the nighour houses with weapons and stones, to throw at these people in their outcoming: they who came forth first, were killed with stones; and others taking courage upon necessity drew their swords, and came forth all save to one, saith *Thuan. lib. 19.* The author of the French Commentaries *lib. 1.* writs, that the believers seeing that they were compassed on every side by the furious multitude, had small hope to escape: but some finding a way made open through a gate, (which was a singular providence for the safety of many) after they had returned to their prayers, escaped by flight without harm, even as if God himself had gone before them. Both these authors say, that the women and weaker people about the number of 120, were taken, by the Inquisitor (saith *Thuan*, and the other saith, by the Magistrate) and hurried into prisons, and then burnt: among whom were Nic. Clivius a Schoolmaster in Paris in the 60 year of his age, Taurin Gravella in *Senatu Patronus*, Nic. Cevius a Physician, and some Noble women. Diverse reports were spread of this assembling: the Monks preached, that the Lutherans meet in the night without any light, to fulfill their lusts, the mother spared not to ly with her

her sone. . . . their cloaths were found with the marks of such filthiness, they killed their infants &c. These things were reported unto the King, but uncertainly: yet none durst contradict them, lest he were challenged to be of the same sect. *Thuan. Ibid.* and the mindes of many did boile against them so, that he was called the best man, who could devise the means of their destruction. The Protestants wrote an Apology, shewing the falsehood of those calumnies, even as the like were imputed unto the antient Christians, [as is clear by undoubted testimonies and histories, to the end Kings and Princes may be moved to hate them; and now these are published by enemies of the Truth, to the end, they may enjoy other mens goods, which they have catched wickedly: and therefore they humbly pray, that the King would be pleased to try their cause, &c. *French. Comment: lib. 1.* They found means to lay this book in the Kings bedchamber, and so be brought into his hands. Antonius Demochares an Inquisitor, and Ro. Cevalis Bishop of Aurincæ wrote an answer unto this Apology, but none durst reply, because the Kings ears were so solde unto the impudent accusations of the Bishops and Cardinals; and he sent the President *Julianensis*, commanding all hereticks or Waldenses (as they called them) to submit themselves unto the Bishop of Rome in all points of Religion; or to want lands and lives. The Reformed with humble answers appeased the minds of The Commissioners. *Osland. epitom. hist. cent. 16. lib. 3. c. 26.* The Princes of Germany and the Swifers sent unto King Henry, entreating for those miserable men professing the same Religion with them. In the mean while Philip King of Spain was entred into Picardy, and had taken Sanquintin and other places, so that Henry had need of aid from these Intercessors, and did bear with the slackness of his Commissioners. *Thuan. loc. cit.* In the same year it was ordained by King Henry, that there should be no privat marriage without clear consent of both parties and of both parents; or otherwise parents may lawfully disherish their children; and the Iudges should punish the authors and procurers of such marriages, as the circumstances and equity shall require, with this exception; that the man be thretty years old, and the woman be 25. or the mother be married unto another husband, yet so that the children should crave their assent, but not depend on it necessarily. Item because some women for fear of infamy slay their new-born babes, it was ordained, that whatsoever woman shall have no witnesses of her birth, whether the babe were born dead or alive, she should be punished as for parricide. Item it was ordained, that all Bishops and parish-priests should abide at their own charge, and teach their people, at least by sufficient Vicars, under pain of losing their revenues. *Thuan.* King Henry had all the time of his reigne wars in Lombardy and Low-Germany against Charles V. and then against Philip more infortunatly, so that he could not destroy the Reformed Religion, as he would: in the year 1559. Aprile 5. a peace was concluded between these two with this secret paction, that both of them should enquire within their own Dominions, and punish all Sectaries (as they called them) with the sword, Charles Cardinal of Lorrain, and Granvellan Bishop of Artois were called the authors of this paction. By occasion of this, the Protestants had their secret confederacy: it was dissembled for a time, and at last burst out into open intestine war. *Thuan. hist. lib. 22.* Immediatly King Henry began the work, as he wanted not bad Counsellours: especially the Guisians suggested, that the Sectaries were spread through all France, and the King did not reigne; where such have place: and among all those

bloody Counsellours the most venomous was Egidius *Magister Princeps Senatus*: he said unto the King, Forrain peace is unprofitable, if warr begin at home: for this sore is so great, that if it be dissembled longer, it can not be restrained by law, and scarcely be danted by great Armies, as were the old Albigeans: heretofore the commons have been punished, whereby all men have conceived envy, but none was terrified: therefore he must begin now with them of authority and are Judges in the Lande, who by their authority and recommendations not only protect the people from punishment, but do encourage them: therefore the King will do well, to assemble the Judges unaworse, which he may do by occasion of the Mercuriall meetings [This was a sort of Judicatory devised by Charles VIII, *Ann.* 1493, and held on Thurefday afternoon once in the quarter of the year, by two Commissioners from every Judicatory of the kingdom, to answer before the Kings Advocats, for their negligence, disobedience, slackness, wrongous Sentence &c.] Many Princes did oppose his advice: but Egidius made the King believe, that these were all Sectaries. May 16. the King comes into the Mercurial meeting at Paris, and blameth the Judges for slackness in punishing the Lutherans. Some would have informed him: but when they began to speak, he cried out, that even the Court was infected with heresy; and he commanded the Earl Monmorency Captain of the Guard, to apprehend those Counsellours Annas Burgæus, Lud. Faurus, Paul Fumæus, Anto. Foix; and others fled. Then he sent Letters through all the realm, commanding all Judges, to enquire and severely punish all Lutherans, Under pain, to suffer the same punishment: *Thuan. lo. cit.* The three Princes Electors of Germany, and others hearing of this, wrote unto the King in favours of those his faithfull subiects: but he would no way relent. Then God doth, what men can not. Great preparation was a making for solemnity of marriage between Philip King of Spain and Henry's Daughter: the King himself would be one of the challengers at the tilt: he sent a lance unto Count Monmorency, provoking him once and again: it hapned that the lance was broken on the Kings cuirace, and a splinter of it strok the King through the helmet into his care and brains, and within few dayes he died. *John de Serres.*

XLI V. After the coronation of King Francis 2. Septemb. 20. he commanded to examin the cause of the Counsellours whom his father had imprisioned. The President of Santandrews and Demochares the Inquisitor were appointed Judges: these finding some of the vulgare sort, that had revolted from the Reformation, knew from them, in what places the Reformed were wont to assemble, and drew multitudes of men into prison: many thought best to leave their houses, and their goods were escheated. Thus did these Inquisitors oppresse in Paris, Poitiers, Tolouse and Aquitania, the Cardinal George Armeniac pricking them hereunto. When they came to cognosce the cause of the Counsellours, grievous altercations arose in the Senate, so that all the prisoners were absolved, except only Annas Burgæus: he was condemned to be burnt Decemb. 18, not so much for the Sentence of the Judges, as for the malice of the Queen-mother Catherin, because it was said in a pamphlet spread by the Lutherans, that the Kings eye was stricken out through the just judgement of God, because he had gloried, that he should see with these eyes Annas Burgæus burnt. The constancy of this learned and honoured man stirred up in many an earnest desire, to know that Religion, for which he had suffered
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so joyfully, and gave occasion unto many to follow it. Therefore they who sought to destroy that Religion, devised other snares to intrap the professors: through France, especially in Paris they set up in the streets the images of the blessed Virgin and other Saints, and by them burning candles in the day-time, and caused base fellows sing unto them the prayers, which are wont to be sung in the Churches, some were appointed to stand there with little coffers in their hands, and crave as almes to buy such candles; and if any man passed away without worshipping the images, or not listening reverently unto the songs, or not contributing unto the candles, he was suspected; many were thrown into prison; and they who were buffeted, or trod upon only, were said to escape well: but these injuries provoked many. *Pet. Soa. in Conc. Trid. lib. 5.* The King was young, and lately married unto Mary Queen of Scots and neece of the house of the Guise, and the realme was governed by that Duke and his brother the Cardinal: those two not only set forth new Edicts more cruell than were before, against the Reformation, but likewise they endeavoured to change the liberties of the realm, and they debarred the Peers from access unto the King; and began to vaunt that they were descended lineally of Charles the great, from whose line Hugh Capet had usurped the Crown; and they said, They hoped for a fit occasion to have the cause judged: they changed the antient Governours of Provinces and towns, and set up their creatures. For these causes the Peers had a privy meeting, and resolved to kill the Duke of Guise. He had intelligence, and accused the Lutherans of conspiracy, and as it had been for the more safety, he carrieth the King to Amboise, a little town, but a strong castle: the King was easily induced to give him all authority against the Lutherans, under Letters patent. *French Comment. lib. 1.* The Nobility were the more offended, and rose together in January *Ann. 1560*: among them the chief were Lewes Prince of Condee, Godefrid de Barri Lord of Renaude. Their Counsell was to compell the Guises to give account, how they had discharged their trust, and if they were found unworthy, to remove them, and their conditions at that time were, that nothing be attempted against the King nor his kinsmen nor the estate of the Realm, but to preserve the liberty of the Realm from the tyranny of strangers (so they called the Guises). Their interprise was disclosed and disappointed: for the Guises deceived some by means of Nemetose, and prevented others, ere they did meet at Amboise: they took them by the way, and killed many in the openfield, and condemned some for treason. In a word all who were taken with arms, were killed without mercy. Afterwards Olivare the Chancellor, who had condemned those persons of treason for this tumult of Amboise (as it was called) was grievously visited with sickness, and in his agony said, He had deserved that judgement for condemning innocent men. The Cardinal of Lorrain came to visite him; but he said, Thou, Cardinal, bringest mischief on us all &c. *Fre. Comment. Ibid.* New Edicts were set forth against the new Religion: nevertheless the Guises considering that the cruel Edicts had given the occasion of this tumult, resolve to abait of their severity, and sent abroad Letters of pardon, whereof the summe was, It is not the Kings mind to begin his reigne with slaughter of his subjects, albeit they have deserved it, but willing to shew mercy he grants a general pardon for all offences of religion, if they will live Catholickly (Popishly) hereafter. The Letters were published (as it was expressed in them) by authority of the King, and advice of the Cardinals de Burbon, de Lorrain, de Chastilion, and of the

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at Fountain-
bleau.*

Dukes Monpensier, de Guise, de Miniers, and d'Aumale. Then the Cardinal de Lorraine (a subtil and timorous man) shewed himself favourable unto the Ministers of Gods Word, and heard them, and said, He agreed with them in many articles of controversy. *Thuan. lib. 25.* The Reformed Churches began to assemble the more freely: but in Paris, Roan and other parts many of them were murdered, and for fear of troubles all men stood in awe of the Bishops. A Councell was called at Fountain-bleau in August *Ann. 1560*: where were the King and his mother, and his Queen, three Cardinals, and many of the Nobility. The king exhorted them to speak freely, and advise how his Royal authority, and the utility of the subjects may be best preserved. The Duke of Guise spoke first of his administration: you may be sure, never a word against himself. Then Caspar Castilion the Admiral presented unto the king a supplication in the name of them who called themselves, The faithfull Christians dispersed in diverse places of France. It was read: the sum was; They did humbly beseech his Royall Majesty to examine their Religion by the written Word, and untill then, to cause those bloody persecutions to cease: they protest that they have not attempted, nor do intend any thing against him their lawfull king, nor seek any licence unto any vice, as they are falsely traduced, but all their endeavour is to live worthily of the Gospell of Christ; and because their private meetings were misinterpreted by their adversaries, they humbly crave liberty for the publick ministry of the Gospell, untill the controversies be more fully considered by the Councell. Then the King commanded Janus Monluc Bishop of Valentia, to declare his mind concerning these troubles. He had a large oration to this purpose; This distinction into two religions hath not begun within these two or three years, but about forty years ago three or four hundred Preachers have taught every where of Jesus Christ the Saviour, and this sweet name of a Saviour hath easily taken place in the hearts of the people who were desirous of salvation; when they found themselves as sheep straying without a shepherd; The kings of France have endeavoured by severe Edicts and punishments to root out that new doctrine, but in vain: the Presidents and Judges have done many things wickedly in this cause, and covertly condemned men to death, whose lands or riches they would transfer unto themselves or their friends; Many Bishops reside not, to attend their flocks, or visite them seldom, unless it be when they exact their revenues, which they bestow on their lusts; yea many Bishops are but children, neither able nor willing to teach people, especially those that are sent from Rome; The Cardinals and Bishops give the offices of priests unto their servants, cooks and barbers, whence the name of a priest is in contempt among the people; The way to cure those maladies: is to fly unto God, who is angry against such Church-men, and seemeth to intend their destruction as he dealt once with the Jewes, and some godly men should be sought and called from all parts of the Realm, to consider of those and the like wickednesses; And the King for his part will do well, to see that the Name of God be not blasphemed, as it hath been, and that the Scriptures be plainly and purely expounded unto the people; and in the Kings house should be godly discourses and exhortations, that so the mouths of such may be stopped, who shamefully say, that God is not once named in presence of the King; And I beseech you, ô Queens, grant this one thing, if I dare be bold to beseech you, that in place of unseemly and profane songs, all your train would sing Psalms to the praise of God, and be yee assured, that God allowes

allowes not any company, which glorifieth not Him (And here be added more, to prove that it is impious, to forbid the singing of Psalms: for this is not to contend against men, but against God.) Another Remedy is a general Council, as the Fathers were wont in the Primitive times; and I can not see, how the Popes conscience can be at rest, who seeing souls perishing with diversity of opinions, seekes not meansto recover them: But if a general Council shall be hindered, the King shall do well, to call a Councell of this Nation after the example of his Ancestors, Charles the great, and his son Lewes, and the best learned of both parties should be called, to dispute the principal grounds of Religion, as the Emperour Theodosius did with the Arrians, albeit they had been justly condemned at Nice, and then he would have the articles that were disputed before him to be clearly published; As for this Religion, for which all those broils have arisen, it is diversly entertained by diverse men; some of them are seditious, and some are good and honest Men, zealous and loyal unto God and their King, and would in nothing offend the one nor the other, in living and dying they shew their desire to enjoy salvation, and to find the way thereunto, and when they have that way, they fear not losse of life nor goods, nor any manner of punishment: As yet we see it plainly enough, that the punishments which have been devised against them, have done no good, but rather their patience in the midst of firy flames, hath stirred up many to love their cause: whence it hath been, that many who never knew of their doctrine, were desirous to know it, for which those had suffered, and did embrace the same doctrine with no less affection and zeal; Therefore look upon the examples of the Bishops in the first general Councils, who never used any other weapons but the word of God against the Arrians and other heretiks: And the Christian and good Emperours did use no severer punishment against the authours of these sects, but bannishment: As for those privy meetings, they were alwaies forbidden, and the king hath sufficiently provided against them by Edicts; yet so that according to equity, consideration may be of the time, manner, purpose and number of them who do meet, lest the innocent be afflicted. Then Charles Marillac Bishop of Vienna was bidden to speak, and his advice was to this purpose; There be two (as it were) main pillars of a kingdom, exercise of Religion, and the good will of the people; The controversies of Religion in antient times were determined in general Councils: but now there is no hope of a general Council for two causes; first, it is not in our power, that the Pope, the Emperour and Kings will agree on the time, place and manner of a Councell, seeing there be so many questions for those circumstances; And next as when a man is grieved by some dangerous sicknes, he can not tarry for remote Physicians, because of the uncertainty of their coming, So the present malady is grievous unto every part of the kingdom, and there is small hope of foreign cure: therefore we must have a Council of our own Nation, as it was before concluded, and the King did promise: the necessity of the miserable Church requires it, as also the Kings credite; and the decrees yet extant shew that our ancestors were wont to assemble every fifth year in a general Council, and the histories of this Nation shew, that Councils were called in every kings time, some from the whole Realm, and some from the half, or a Province, one or more; and it was seldome seen, but from these, some good ensued to the Reformation of doctrine or manners; Let us not stick in this matter, nor fear to be accused: We have many sorrowfull examples to set

before us, which are forewarnings of sad desolations ensuing, as the miserable condition of the Jewes, Greeks, Egyptians and Africans, where the Church hath flourished, but now scarcely have the name of a Church: For those causes I think, that we can delay no longer to call a Councell, not withstanding these things which the Pope objecteth as lets thereof; And while this Council or Parliament of the Church is in preparation, I think, three or four remedies may be provided; 1. that Prelates abide in their Diocies [and here he inveighes against the Italians, who reap the gain or thirds of Benefices, and have no care of the office] 2. that nothing be done in the Church through Simony or bribes. 3. to confesse our own faults unto God, and make this manifest by publick fasts, which was alwayes the custom of the Church in time of publick calamities: and what greater danger can there be, then that which slayeth mens souls? 4. to stay seditious persons, that they hinder not the common tranquillity; and let it not be permitted upon any occasion whatsoever, to rise in arms without the kings leave, seeing hereby have been many enormities: on the one part we have seen the tumult of Amboise; and on the other, certain preachers have stirr'd up the people, violently to destroy and bannish the Protestants, Under pretence of godly Zeal: so grievous offences followed on both sides. . . . The other main point is to keep the people in due obedience and reverent estimation of their Sovrain: whereof I judge this to be the way, If the complaints of the people be hearkned unto, and convenient remedies be applied: There is a great difference between privat and general grievances: publick complaints should be heard in a publick assembly of the Estates, and at this time the people complain of many things, and when common complaints are not heard, the hearts of people are commoved, &c. *Thuan. hist. lib. 25.* The judgements of others were heard; namely, the Cardinals said, Nothing can be done concerning a Council without the Popes advice. The Bishop of Valence said, If the Parisians have need of water, may they not bring it from Sene more easily then from Tiber. It was concluded, Seeing the present maladies require present remedies, there should be a National Council; and on Aprile 11. it shall be called to assemble September 10: and an Oratour was sent with all possible speed, to declare unto the Pope their necessity of a Council, and to entreat that he would take in good part what they had concluded. But his travell was in vain. *Soave in Conc. Triden. lib. 5.* At that time it was decreed also, that the Estates should convene at Orleance, or where the King will please to appoint, to advise of things to be propounded in the Council; and to the same end particular meetings should be in every Province; and the Bishops should prepare themselves; and in the mean while none should be troubled for religion, unless they be found to take up arms seditiously, and the punishment of such men to be reserved unto the King. *French Commentar. lib. 2.* Afterwards the Guises suggest unto the king, that Antony king of Navar and his Brother the Prince of Condee had plotted a new conspiracy. The king sent for them both, and resolved to satisfy the Guises with their blood. These two being guilty of nothing, obey. The Prince of Condee was imprisoned, and a guard was set to attend the king of Navar. The Pope promiseth to call a general Council: therefore the National Council was left off king Francis died Decemb. 15. in the 17. year of his age *An. 1560.* and so the Guises were disappointed. In this kings time Emanuel Duke of Savoy commanded the Waldenses of Lucern, Angronia, Perossa and Sanmartius, to receive the Masse, &c. or he would punish them as rebels.

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Waldenses are persecuted in Savoy.

They sent a supplication and Confession of their faith, professing that they believe all things contained in the old and new Testament, and the faith in the Creed of the Apostles, and of Nice, and of Athanasius, and the doctrine of the antient fathers so far as they agree with the Scriptures: they humbly supplicate liberty to live according to that Rule, as they be ready to give account of their Religion, and to confess their errour, if they shall be convinced from the Word of God: they craved that it be enquired, how their fathers through so many ages had behaved themselves toward their Governours, and they protest, that their mind is to render all obedience unto their chief Lord, and if they do it not, they submit themselves unto punishment. Nevertheless the Duke goeth on with Edicts against them, and commandeth the Magistrats to execute them. Upon a new promise of liberty, he takes all weapons from them, and then commandeth them to put away all their Ministers, and to receive priests. They said, They would obey their Prince, excepting Religion only, wherein they should follow God. Then the Duke sent an Army against them in the midst of winter *An. 1560*, burning houses, spoiling all their goods with great cruelty. The people fled into mountains, and devised a sort of cross-bow, throwing stones with great force: at severall times and conflicts they killed a thousand souldiers, and had slain more, if they had not been persuaded by some Ministers: so many of their own number were not slain. Charles Truchet a Captain and most cruell enemy had had his thigh-bone broken by a stone: the souldiers carried him away, but when they were pursued with stones, they left him: then a cow-herd slew him with his own sword. The Baron Triniteus went against a village Prat del Torno, to have killed all the people unawares: but they who were in the fields put him to flight. Thus Trinitæus Captain general, despairing to prevail by force, certifieth the Duke of the difficulty; and they sent unto the Dutchess Margarit a supplication, entreating to interceed for them. They were called to a parlee, and besides other conditions it was agreed, They should use their accustomed Religion; they should not be accused for any thing done at this time; they should have liberty to buy and sell throughout the Dukes dominions; they shall render all obedience, and live without offence. *French Commentar. Ibid.*

45. In the dayes of Charles I X. brother of King Francis the condition of the French Church was diverse: in the beginning the government of the realm was divided between the King of Navar (as nearest in blood) and the Queenmother. The Prince of Condee was set at liberty, and peace was granted unto the Reformed Church. God gave this happiness after the frequent fasts and prayers of the Reformed in time of their appearing danger. But the Queen was not content, that the King of Navar had such power: some seeking their own advancement by a change, did augment her jealousy. So the Nobles were divided into factions, and present sedition was feared: but the King of Navar puts away all their feare by giving up his power unto the Queen. Peace continued for a time: but the Queen with the Guises and others of that cruel faction sought to remove the granted liberty. In the end of the above named December a Parliament of the Estates was at Orleance: where the Chancellor declared, that there was no less willingness in the King, than was in his brother, to have this Assembly for appeasing the seditions, which seem to threaten the ruin of the realm: this sedition (said he) 'is nothing but a separation of the subjects from the Commonwealth; and it springs from diverse causes, especially,

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at this time it comes from Religion, which is most wonderfull; for on the one side as God is the only Author and preserver of Religion, so he is an enemy of dissension, and preserver of peace: Christian Religion hath not need of Arms; nor doth the beginning nor conservation thereof stand upon such defence, nor is their answer sufficient, who say, They take arms not to offend any man, but to defend themselves; Seeing it is not lawfull in any way to rise against the Prince, as children should not resist their parents: by patience did the godly Christians set forth the Religion, and by ardent prayers even for heathenish Emperours. On the other side, if men were such as they should be, strife should never arise for Religion; But it is manifest, that there is no greater force then the first conceived opinion, whether it be good or evil: no peace can be expected amongst those of contrary Religions: nothing doth more violently distract the hearts of men, nor is any affection more efficacious either to beget friendship or hatred, than is Religion; Therefore to salve this variety of Religion, let us consider the matter diligently: every man may not embrace what Religion he fancieth, Thou sayst, Thy Religion is better then mine, and I defend mine; Whether is more reasonable, that I follow thy opinion, or thou should follow mine? Who shall end this controversy, but a holy Council, as it was concluded at Fountain-bleau? and we have hope, to attain one at the hands of the Pope; In the mean while let us not alter any thing rashly, thereby to bring confusion and warr into the kingdom, and let the Prelates look better unto their office. . . . If remedy can not be had by a general Council, the King and Queen will seek other remedies, &c. Then three men were chosen to speak for the States, and had three orations: the sum of which was; Angelus a Counselor in the Senate of Burdeaux spake in the name of the Commons, saying, For removing trouble, it seems necessary unto the people, first to take away the causes, which are partly the corruptions of Church-men; and amongst these corruptions three are most pernicious, to wit covetousnes, ignorance and luxury: Their ignorance is so manifest, that none doubteth of it; and ignorance is the mother and nurse of all errours, as both experience, and testimonies of antient fathers declare evidently: for remedy of this, Canons or decrees shall be provided in vain: for so great is the contempt of preaching, that Bishops think it a discredite to feed the flock of Christ; and Curates following their example, despise that office, and commit it unto hired and unlearned Vicars; Likewise their luxury, pride and pompe is scandalous to all men: for they are painted so, as if by outward shew they would represent the Majesty of God, which they should rather express by godliness and sincerity; How far have our Bishops of late degenerated from the moderate estate, purity and piety of the antient and true Bishops? . . . All those corruptions must be removed by a lawfull and godly Council to be called by the Kings authority. James Silly speaker for the Nobility, spake in commendation of their Estate, shewing how necessary it is for maintaining the honour of Royalty; And concerning Religion, it is necessary, among many other mis-orders to restrain the usurpation of Church-men: for they have usurped too much authority, and have large revenues, and have encroached upon the houses of Noble men: all which they abuse wickedly: in the end he petitioneth, that churches may be granted unto the Reformed Religion. Quintinus Heduus had a long oration in commendation of the King and Queen, and of the immunities of the Clergie, and petitioned that the new Religion should have

have no liberty; closing with an invective against the Prince of Condee. His speech was heard with scoffs, and he was derided with ballets, that he is said, through impatience to have died of melancholy. After these speeches a contest arose between the Peers and the Guises, who would have been accounted the Kings nearest kinsmen. The meeting was adjourned untill the first of May: the Prelates were commanded to prepare themselves unto the Council; and all the Judges who were imprisoned in the cause of Religion, were set at liberty. In August *An. 1561.* they meet again at Pontoise in Picardy: there at the first, contention was between the Peers and the Cardinals for the order of sitting: the Cardinals Turnon, Lorrain, and Guise went away malecontent, because they were not preferred. Then the Chancellor declared the causes of the meeting, and exhorted every man to speak freely. I touch not their Politick affairs. The speaker of the Commons complained (as before) of the corruptions of the Church-men, and petitioned that these faults might be reformed, and that the King would so attemperate the revenues of the Prelats, that they live not licenciously; And seeing it is the Royal priviledge to maintain Religion, and all these troubles arise upon occasion of Religion, the readiest remedy is to call a Council, whereunto all men may have free access; as also that they who can not with safe conscience go unto the rites of the Romish Church, may have liberty to assemble peaceably and publickly for hearing Gods Word in the vulgar language; and because adversaries do calumniate their meetings, he wisheth, that the King would depute certain persons to be present, and see what is done; as neither should those be called hereticks, who are condemned, before their cause be heard and examined by Gods word. The Speaker for the Nobility spoke much to the same purpose: and the Clergy did oppose them both. At that time the Pope sent Cardinal Ferrar, to hinder the National Council: he would have observed the accustomed power of the Roman Legats in bestowing Benefices: but he was stopped by a Decree, and many rhymes were scattered against him: he took those in ill part, and went away. *French Comm. Lib. 2.* So the Papal authority seemed to fall, and it was talked abroad, that Religion should not be swayed by authority of any man, but by Truth and reason; and who did cleave unto their former rites, were quiet for the time. The most part of the Nobility seemed to affect the Reformation; and the Queen (whether to please the King of Navar, or to serve the time I know not, saith that author) wrote unto the Pope August 4. in this manner; First she lamenteth the wretched condition of France, that many thousands cleaving (as yet) unto the Church of Rome perish in their souls, because they are not instructed; and many Nobles and most potent men have made secession, whose power and number and concord is so strong, that they can not be overmastered; Therefore She implores his aid, that the one sort may be retained, and the other may be reduced; and so the unity of the Church may be restored; Which may the more easily be effectuated; because there be no Anabaptists in all France, nor any hereticks that speak against the Christian faith, nor against the Acts of the first six general Councils; And this is the opinion of learned men, with whom she had conferred, that the holy father may receive such men into fellowship of the Church, albeit they be of different opinions, as of old the diversity of observing the Easter, and other rites and parts of Divine Service, did not dissolve the Union of the Church. Then for remedy she propoundeth the necessity of calling a general Council,

zel, or that he would provide another remedy; especially to regain them who are separated, it may be expedient, to use frequent admonitions, and to permit quiet Conferences; likewise Bishops and priests should teach Gods word, and exhort the people unto concord, laying aside all reproaches, as she hath commanded them who are separated, and they have obeyed; But many who have no mind to depart, stand in doubt of these particulars especially, first it is certainly known that the primitive Church had no images, and God hath expressly forbidden to worship them: therefore let it be considered whether it be expedient to remove them into places, where they shall not give occasion to worship them. 2. it seemes strange unto many good men, that in baptisme exorcisme is used, and many other rites, which perhaps may profite them who understand them; but seeing the most part understand them not, and they know that only water and the word are necessary, it were better to omit them; namely, many are offended; that an infected or diseased priest puts his unclean spittle into the infants mouth; in the Masse many are offended with three things, one, that it is given under one kind only, albeit Christ said, Eat yee, drink yee; and such was the custom of the Church for a thousand years and more; another, it is ministred unto one alone or some few without prayers that may be understood by the vulgar people; and the other party have shewed that they restore the manner of the primitive Church; the third, that the body of our Lord is carryed about the streets against the express institution, Take yee, eat yee; and not, Carry yee; They say also, that Christs body is in heaven only, and therefore only spiritual worship is required; fourthly the Masse is a scandal unto many, because it is sold by ignorant and dissolute priests, and none seeks to amend this; yea and many of our fellowship doubt of the Masse, both in the substance and form of it: in the substance they observe, that Church men affirm, that they do offer Christ, and they do esteem of their own sacrifice more than they do of Christs sacrifice; In the manner they note four points, it is done in an unknown tongue 2. the use of no part of the Masse is declared. 3. some words are spoken as belonging unto the people, especially concerning the communion, and yet the priests communicate alone, even when the people are standing there 4. the order of the Divine Service &c. *loc. cit.* What answer was returned unto this Letter, the reader may judge. Among the Ambassadors of forreign Princes, who went to congratulate the young King, was George Gluch from Denmark. The King of Navar envited him to his lodging; and said, He might shew his Master, that he hoped, the Gospell should be freely preached throughout France, ere one year went about. Then said Gluch, Oh I pray, take heed, that the doctrine of Calvin and the Swisers be not received, but the doctrine of Martin Luther, which the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and many Princes of large Dominions, do follow. The King replieth, Martin Luther and John Calvin professed to differ from the Church of Rome in forty Articles, and of these 40. they differed between themselves, in one only: wherefore both parties should bend their mind first against the Pope, that when he is overcome, they may seriously consider, confer, and come to agreement in that article, and so at last the Church may enjoy the primitive purity.

The Conference at
Poissy
1561.

XLVI. In the end of August *An.* 1561. according to the Decree of that great Counsel began the publick Conference in Poissy: the Prelates brought their Clergy from all parts of France to dispute the Articles in con-

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troverſy, and a ſafe conduct was granted unto theſe for the Reformation. There was the King, and his mother, and his brother the Duke of Orleance, and his ſiſter Margarit, and the King of Navar and his Queen and the Prince of Condee with other Peers; the Cardinals of Lorrain and Turnon with arch Bishops and Bishops about 50. beſids many Deputies from other Prelates, and a great number of Popiſh Doctors: from the Reformed Churches were ſent Peter Martyr then Miniſter at Zurik, Theodore Beza Miniſter at Geneve, Auguſtin Marlorat Mi. at Roan, Nic. Gelafius, Jo. Merlin and others, about twenty. The Miniſters began with a Supplication unto the King, that the diſputation might have place ſhortly, and thoſe conditions be obſerved, the Prelates ſit not as Judges, but the King and his Counſellors by his authority, ſhould rule and order the Conference; 2. that the controverſies be examined according to Gods Word only, 3. what ever ſhall be determined, it ſhould be written by the Kings Notaries in his publiſh Commentaries. After ſome dayes the Queen promiſed in the Kings name, that theſe ſhould be performed. The Prelates complain, and ſaid, Such liberty to diſpute ſhould not be granted unto ſuch, who are already condemned. Thus the diſpute was diſſerred ſome dayes. The firſt Session began September 9. The King in few words did ſhew his grief for the troubles of the realm, and exhorted them to declare what things had need of Reformation, and he promiſed to maintain their liberties with no leſs care then his Anceſtours had done. The Chancellor did more fully ſhew, that the Kings will is according to the endeavours of his Anceſtors, to remove controverſies of Religion, and albe it their aimes was ſuch, yet the ſucceſs was not as they wiſhed, but rather more troubles waxed: wherefore he wiſheth now, that all men would diligently apply themſelves to ſettle theſe troubles in time: for this end he had called them, and in his Royal perſon did accompany them: that all things both of doctrine and manners may be reformed, eſpecially by this publiſh Conference. And to look for remedy from a general Council, it is as vain, as if a ſick man having ſufficient helps at home, would travell into the Indies for it: we may provide better for ourſelves, then others of forreign Countries can do: they know not ſo well our cauſe nor condition of our people; and greater profit hath often come by National Councils then by the general; Wherefore let the Diſputants on both ſides joyntly aime at concord in the trueth: let not the greater party deſpiſe the leſſer, neither let any man uſe curioſities, but judge of every thing by the Word of God only; Albe it the wiſhed fruit do not follow, yet this good ſhall enſue, that all pretext ſhall be taken from thoſe who complain, that they are condemned unheard &c. Oſiand *Lib. cit. c. 46. ex Beuther.* The Cardinal Turnon in name of the Prelats gave thanks unto the King and Queen and Princes, that it had pleaſed them to call this Conference, and to honour it with their preſence; But at that time he was not ready to ſpeak of the matter propounded, nor would ſpeak of it, untill firſt he were adviſed with his Collegues the Cardinals, Archbishops and other Prelates; and ſeeing the Chancellor had at Royal command delivered ſuch words, he craves a copy in writ, to the end, they may conſider of them. The Cardinal of Lorrain craved the ſame. *The French Commentar. Lib. 3.* Then the Miniſters were bidden to ſpeak: Theodore Beza fell down on his knies, and prayed publiſhly: then after the preface for attention, he ſpoke generally of Religion, and nameth ſome particulars, wherein both parties agree: then the differences, 1. in the matter of ſalvation, which we (ſaid

he, in name of the Ministers) ascribe wholly unto Jesus Christ. 2. we differ not in the necessity of good works, but in the original, from whence we are able to do them; and what are good works, and to what use are they done. 3. of the authority and perfection of Gods Word. 4. of the nature and number of the sacraments: so of transubstantiation; and Ecclesiastical discipline. In the end he fell on his knees again before the King, and presented the Confession of faith, which the French Church had penned *An.* 1555, and had presented unto King Francis. In this oration, when he was speaking of the Lords Supper, he said, If we consider the distance of place; the body of Christ is so far from the bread and wine, as heaven is above the earth. At these words the Prelats were so commoved, that they began a disturbance, and were silenced, untill he had come to an end. Then Turnon with indignation said, For reverence unto the Kings command they had consented, that those new-Evangelists should speak, but not without sting of conscience: for it was no doubt, but they would vent things unworthy of the Kings most Christian ears, and scandalous unto many: Therefore the Prelats beseech the king, that he would not believe the words of that fellow, and suspend his judgement, untill the Prelats shall give a clear demonstration of the trueth, if he will appoint the time; And if it had not been for reverence unto his Majesty, they would not have heard that mans blasphemy, but have gone away; And they beseech the king to continue in the faith of his forefathers: the which he prayed the Virgin Mary and all the Saints in heaven to grant. *Lib. cit.* The Queen being desirous to appease the Prelats, said, No thing should be done without the advice of the King and his Councillors and Parliament of Paris, neither do they intend a change of Religion, but to abolish dissensions. In the next Session September 17. the Cardinal of Lorrain spake in name of the Prelats: he made choice of two articles of doctrine, of the Church, and the Masse: of the Church he said, The Church consists not of the elect only, because in the Lords barn chaff is mixt with the wheat; and nevertheless the Church can not err: but if some part do err, the body should be preferred before a corrupt member: if any evil shall creep-in, we should have recourse unto antiquity, and the Mother Churches, amongst which the Church of Rome always hath had the first place; If any thing be amiss in any particular Church, against the ignorance of a small number of men we must set the decrees of the antient and general councils, and judgement of the approved fathers; and specially we should give place to the testimonies of Scripture being expounded by the interpretation of the Church, lest hereticks brag, and say, They alone have the Worde of God; As for the other point, If those words, *This is my body*, have not so greata force, as they sound and seem to have, why are they repeated by all the three Evangelists, and by Saint Paul? why did not the later Evangelists or the Apostle expound these words, as the Sacramentaries do? this is the minde of the Testator, which should not be reiected: this was the mind of all the antient fathers, that not only the bread is given, but the very body of Christ really. He concludes with those words, I will yeeld unto your opinion of the Sacrament, except yee [pointing unto the Ministers] think, that Jesus Christ in his flesh, is not in this world from the time of his ascension, and that he hath some other body then that which is visible, and except ye think, he is otherwise in the sacrament then in the Word; if ye think it all one to put on Christ in baptisme, and to eat his body and drink his blood, and briefly that he is so in heaven, that he is not also on the earth,

and that he is otherwise in the sacrament then he is in a myre; And then abjuring all those dangerous opinions, he exhorts the King and Queen to maintain the antient faith, and protested in the name of the Prelats, that they would live and die in defence of that Doctrine, which he had declared. All the clergy came before the King, and Cardinal Turnon in their name protested again, This was the Confession of their faith, which they would seal with their blood, and which the King should embrace; and if these who are separated, will not subscribe the same, they should not be heard, but be bannished; and they crave most earnestly, that the King would so do. The Ministers were afraid, that the King would not admit them at another day, and therefore was the more earnest, that the King would be pleased to hear a reply presently: but that could not be obtained. By supplication they procured continuation of the Conference, but in a more private place: where were the King and Queen, and king of Navar, the Prelats, twelve Ministers, and a few others. Beza declared, what the Church is, and distinguished it according to the twofold calling: then he spake of the Notes of the Church, and of the succession and calling of Pastors: in ordinary calling (he said) three things are necessary, examination, election and imposition of hands; and in extraordinary calling, it is lawfull by Gods authority, albeit one or two or all these conditions be wanting: as for working of miracles, it is not alwayes conjoined with extraordinary calling, unless we will talk of things whereof we have no testimony. Then he spake of the authority of the Church, and whether it may err? and he shewed out of the Cardinals words, that the Church may err in particular members and congregations. As for the general Council, he said, Men have not the more learning, that they become Commissioners, and many times the Prelats of sound judgement have been absent, and they who should have been most sound, have been most corrupt, as Bernard complained in his time; and therefore the authority of the Scriptures is above the authority of the Church: for which cause Augustin wrote unto Maximin the Arrian, that he will not object the council of Nice, nor will have the council of Arimino objected against him, but let the Scriptures be Judge for both; And yet we despise not the judgement of councils and fathers, if they agree with the Scriptures; but as Jerom writes, the errors of the antients should not be followed, but the authority of the Scriptures may never be despised; I feare (said he) that I have been too prolix, and therefore lest I give offense, I will continue, or leave off, to speak of the sacrament, as it shall please your Royal Majesties. The Cardinal beckned unto Claud. Espensius a Sorbonist: he said, He oft had wondred, how the Ministers had entred into the Church, seeing they neither entred ordinarily by ordinary authority and imposition of hands, nor by any extraordinary way, seeing they are not confirmed by working of miracles, nor by exprest testimony of Scripture: and therefore their Ministry is not lawfull. From that he turned to speak of the sacrament, at the command of the Cardinal Lorrain, that he might bring the Ministers into controversy with the Germans, as was said. To the same purpose spake a white Monk of Sorbon Xainctius, but more despite fully against the Ministers, and to the offence of both parties. Beza complained of his impertinency; and did supplicate the Queen, that she would provide against reviling words and digressions: then he said, Our Ministers were chosen and approved by our own Churches, and so have two parts of ordinary calling, and if imposition of hands be wanting unto any, the

calling is lawfull, because these two are the substantial; and the other is less principal; And in so great confusion of all things in the Roman Church, we would not seek imposition of hands from them, whose vices, superstition and false doctrine we disallow: for they be open enemies unto the Truth, as the Prophets had not such enemies then, as the Priests, neither sought they confirmation of their offices, unto which God had called them; Neither are miracles necessary in extraordinary calling, as is manifest by examples: yea Paul in evidencing his calling, speaks not of miracles that he had wrought, but of the fruits of his preaching: the which wee also may say, of so many Nations and Provinces, which have received the Gospel by our preaching; nor can there be a greater confirmation of any Ministry, seeing the power of God is manifest in us, which neither imprisonment, nor banishment nor fire could hinder. Espenscus said, Bring mee one example in those 1500. years like to yours. All things, said Beza, are not written, that have been done; and however it hath been, it followes not, that our calling is not manifest enough, and set forth from God in his due time: He is not now bringing a new Gospel, but restoring the old, which was sufficiently confirmed before, and now by a singular way he hath caused his light to shine. He spake also of traditions, but was oft interrupted by Xainctius; and the Cardinal fearing that his incivility were checked by the Queen, would end the controversy, as if the question had been sufficiently cleared, and the Sorbonists spoke, as if the victory had been on their side. Then the Cardinal said in the name of the Prelates, that they would proceed no further, unless the question of the Sacrament were handled: and then he asks the Ministers, Whether they do embrace the Augustan Confession? Here he playd the fox: for if they denied, he thought to set them and the Germans by the ears: and if they consented, he hoped to triumph over them. Beza answered, He and his colleagues were come to defend the Confession of their own Church, and to this end should the Conference be directed. The Cardinal with vehemency did press that point. The Ministers fearing, that the Conference might be broken off, and the blame be layd on them, crave leave to consider the Confession, for which the Prelates seemed absolutely to proclaim. The Cardinal nameth one article, We confesse, that the very body and blood of Jesus Christ is truly, really and sacramentally in the Supper of the Lord, and is so given and received by them who communicate. He alledged also the testimonies of the Saxon Ministers concerning it: So the Conference was dismissed. The next day Beza was bid to speak, and he spake to this purpose, We have declared our mind concerning the articles propounded unto us, namely of the Church; we trust, none hath occasion to complain of us; and these things that have been handled, should have been approved, or disproved by the Scriptures; But we were demanded, By what authority we preach the Word of God? they think to make our cause odious, by this demand: This questioning seemes superfluous, seeing we were called hether, not to give account of our calling, but to confer of our doctrine; otherwise it may seem, we are brought into judgement; Or if it was done only for disputation, consider, that when two parties are brought into Conference, if the one demande, Why do you this? and the other mutually ask the same, this is but cavillation and dissention; But omitting the Prelates of this realm, whom we will not offend, let us suppose, a certain Bishop were here demanding us, By what authority we do preach? and we like wise would demand him, By what

authority he were a Bishop, that is, whether he was elected by the Seniors of his Church? whether the people had desired to have him? and whether his life, manners and doctrine had been examined? and he would answer, that he was so and so called; but the contrary is manifestly known: we call the consciences of those, who hear us, and know the matter, to bear witness; If he say, We are not Ministers, because we have not imposition of hands; we might answer, Thou hast but one thing; the imposition of hands; and if the want of that (as thou thinkest) make us to be no Ministers; the want of the other two (which are more principal) make thee to be no Bishop; We speak also another thing albeit beyond our purpose and against our will; but that this assembly may see, how this question is full of enuy; If one were demanding that Bishop, From whom had he received imposition of hands? and for how much he had bought his title? he would answer, I had imposition of hands from Bishops, and I bought not imposition of hands, but only for my place I gave two or three 1000 Crowns: which is as if one would say, I have not bought the bread, but I bought the wheat; I say, If this contest were judged by the Councils and decrees of the Church, it would make many Bishops and Curats ashamed; And we speak thus, not of intention to bring *Quid pro Quo*, but that yee may see, how unwillingly we touch the matter, and would have other things handled, lest the work of peace be hindered; We would have spoken of the article of the Lords Supper, because the Cardinal of Lorrain promised to satisfy us in this point of doctrine (which is a principal one) by the proper words of the Fathers: this we do eagerly desire: And to satisfy this desire, one article was culled from so many and necessary articles of the faith, and it was said unto us, Either subscribe unto this, or we will proceed no further; If they were our Judges, and sitting upon our lives, they would not say, Subscribe, but, We condemn you; Their office leads them into another manner of speech, and they should shew if there be any errors in our doctrine; We are here before you, to give an account of our doctrine unto God and unto all the world, and to obey God and the King, and you, ô Queen, so far as lyeth in us to the pacifying of those troubles about Religion; If yee had to do with us only, who now are here, ye might easily have your wills: but we represent a greater number, not only of this kingdom, but in Helvetia, Poland and other parts, who think long to hear whether this Conference will turn: but when they shall understand, that in stead of a free Conference, the tenth part of an article was exhibited unto us with these words, Either subscribe, or no more; Albeit we would subscribe, what were ye the better? Others will know whether we have subscribed by force of argument, or by constraint; Wherefore ô Queen, we most humbly beseech that so good and profitable a work be not broken off, and that you will vouchsafe to grant such men, which will not disdain to dispute soberly. Nevertheless lest they say, We have not an answer, we receive all those passages, which Espencæus brought out of Caluine: but in that bit of an article out of the Augustan Confession, many things are to be considered, 1. the whol Confession should have been propounded; and not a line only: we would know, whether the Cardinal propoundeth it in his own name or of the Prelates: and then we would give thanks; that they confess themselves overcome in the article of transsubstantiation, which is justly condemned by all the Reformed Churches. 3. if we should subscribe, they also should subscribe, that our Churches may understand what we have done.

4. and if they will come to the whole Confession of the Germans, we trust, that we are come unto a very good way of concord and unity; In the mean while we affirm, that the Lord Jesus is present in the use of the Supper, where he offereth, exhibits and truly gives unto us his body and blood by the operation of the Holy Ghost: we eat the same body that was broken for us, but we eat spiritually and by faith; that we become bone of his bones; And if this be not sufficient (it is hard to speak of so great a mystery in few words) if it seem good unto the Cardinal, let us consider and confer the Scriptures and writings of the Fathers (as he hath promised) and if it please you, ô Queen, to appoint a convenient form of collection, and to appoint Notaries, to receive our disputations; We trust, yee understand that we came not to bring disorder and trouble, but would dedicate ourselves unto God, unto your Majesties, and the whole Christian commonwealth, and specially unto the tranquillity of this Realm. The Prelates were angry, that he had spoken of their Vocation; and Lorrain said, He had dishonoured the Queen, into whose hands the right and liberty of election was given. So there was bragging of the Cardinall and Prelates, and tumultuous talking of their Vocation, and of the Supper. After that day they changed again the form of Conference: five men were chosen on either side; to dispute all the matter peaceably. On the one side were the five Ministers named before; and on the other was Janus Bishop of Valencia, Vallius Bishop of Seen, Botiller an Abbot, the Bishop of Salignac, and Espenæus the Sorbonist. They agree on the order of disputation, the time, place and Notaries. They began with the question of the Supper: a forme of agreement was drawn up; when it was shewd unto the Prelates, they would not consent: they framed another the next day, and shew it unto the Ministers, who would not admit that. On the third day all the ten consented unto this forme, We confess, that Jesus Christ in the Supper offereth, gives and truly exhibiteth unto us the substance of his body and blood by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and that we eat spiritually the same body which died for us, that we may be bone of his bone; and flesh of his flesh, to the end also, that we may be quickned by him, and may understand all things appertaining to our salvation; And because faith being grounded on the word of God, maketh things (that are promised, and understood by us) to be present, by this faith we truly and effectually receive the true and natural body of Christ Jesus by the power of the Holy Ghost: and in this respect we confess the presence of his body and blood in the Supper. The other Prelates were content with this form: but the Sorbonists would not, and they blamed their chosen men: that they had made a compact with the Ministers, neither would they consent unto any more treating. Thus was that Conference ended without any effect, and the Ministers of Germany after three moneths did returne. *Ibid.* Thus we have seen by what means God did revive the Gospell in France; to wit, by men of low condition at the first, who suffered slaunders, proscription, stripes, burning and every kind of vexation; and when it pleased Him, he joined unto the Church the Princes and Peers, and He opened a wide doore unto the preaching of the Worde, when the greatest enemies of the Truth had the supreme power of government, and yet seemed to be brought on their knies. The University of Paris in preceeding ages had stood for the truth, and resisted errors creeping in: but at that time became most gross enemies. And then Antony King of Navar not only resigned his part of the government unto the Queen, and so unto the Guises, but

but was also allured by fair promises of the Pope, that he should have all his kingdom of Navar restored unto him, and should have divorcement from his present wife, and shall have the Queen of Scotland in marriage, by whom he may be King of Scotland and England. By such persuasions he left the Reformation, and became a bitter enemy, and seemed most of any to bring ruine unto the Church. The Guises then and the Prelates lift up their heads again, and used cruel butchery against the Reformed: for in the year 1562. in the town Vassi the Reformed were assembled in a large Barn to heare the Word: the Duke of Guise came upon them unawares, and instantly killed 24. of them, 45. were wounded so that within few dayes they died, and the Minister with many others were carryed into prison. At the same time by means of the Cardinal of Lorrain and the Marshall of Santandra, many of the common people in the town of Seenes, and some of the Kings Counsellors were cruelly murdered. It was done in like manner in many other places of France. *Of ander ex Beuther.*

X L V I I. About the yeare 1540. sundry youngmen in Hungaria hea- *The Gosp- ring of Luther and Melanthon, went unto Witteberg, towit, Steven pell in Galfsetti, Matthias Devai, Andrew Batizi, Steven Kis (better known Hungary. by the name Szegedin, from his native town) Benedikt Abadi, Emerik Ozorai, and some others. These being informed in the trueth, return into their Country, and preached the Gospell with happy success, but not without persecution: for the Monks stirred up the Civil power against them: namely, Devai was imprisoned at Cassow, where a smith was also in the same prison for laiming the Kings horse in the shoeing: there Devai informeth the smith in Religion: afterwards the Kings horse amendes, and the King commandeth to dismissthe smith, and to burn Devai as an heretick. The smith answereth, I am of the same Religion with Devai, and I will live or dy with him: for I never knew what Religion or piety was, untill I have learned it now from him. When this was reported unto the King, they were both set free. The greatest enemy of those Teachers, was George the Treasurer, who had been a Monk of S Pauls at Buda: and among them all the most usefull in promoting the Truth was zegedin, a learned man, as his Works do shew: he was persecuted from City to City: where he came, he had many hearers, not only in the Schools, but pulpits also: and the more he was persecuted, the more hearers flocked unto him, and the Gospell was the more spread. Amongst all those Students who went to Witteberg, none maintained the opinion of Brentius concerning the Ubiquity, but only Peter Melius, and in the end he was convinced by Szegedin, and did subscribe unto the truth. Michael Starin a Baron became a preacher and Bishop of his own Barony near unto Tolna *Mat. Scavie. in vita Szegedini.* At Varadin, a learned Mahu- *A dispute meretan Deruis Gfielebi did provoke all the Franciscans unto disputation in between a matter of Religion. Neither their Prelate George, nor any of the Con- papist and vent durst answer him: wherefore the man like another Goliath did brag a Turk, against all Christians, untill Bar. Georgieviz (who had been a pilgrim, and knew the Turkish language) undertook the dispute. The 29 day of May (being the Pentecost) in the year 1547. was appointed, and many both Papists and Turks assembled in the Monastery. The Turk first asks, where was God before the making of heaven and earth and other things? This question seemed unto the Pilgrim, to be impertinent as to the differences of Religion, but lest the other might impute it unto his ignorance, if he had declined it; he said, Before the creation God was in his own nature. The**

Turk replieth, This answer is dark, and can not be understood. Georgieviz said, God was where He is now. Deruis; That could not be, but He was in a cloud. Georgieviz; He could not be in a cloud: for so a cloud had been before the heaven and the earth: but this is contraty unto the words of Genesis. (The Turks read the books of Moses.) After more words on both sides, Dervis bids the other propound: then Georgieviz writeth out of the Alcoran these words in the Arabick language *Bism Allah, Elrahmanne, Elruoahim, that is, In the Name of God, and of Mercy, and of the Spirit:* and he bids the Turk expound those words. Deruis said, Whence have Christians those words? we use them in the beginning of all our works, and they are prefixed before every chapter of the Alcoran. But what mean they, said Georgieviz. He answered. We understand them no otherwise, but according to the Letter. Georgieviz; They have another, even a mystical signification: they signify the three Persons of the Deity, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost: and they are borrowed from the Hebrew language, *Bes hem El Abba, u Ben ve Ruach elchutx, that is, In name of God the Father, and the Son, and the holy, Ghost.* Deruis said, How can God have a Son, seeing both we and ye hold that God hath no spouse nor children? Georgieviz; We call God the Father, because he is the first cause of all things, creating & conserving them; he was evermore in the same essence wherein he is now, and shall be for ever; he is also the first Person of the Deity: We believe also, that He hath a Son, (whom Mahomet called Rachman or Mercy) not begotten of a woman, nor according to the lust of the flesh, but begotten of the Essence or substance of the Father; and He, for taking away our sin, took upon him the humane nature of the Virgin Mary; he suffered and died for us, and was buried, and as the Prophets foretold, he rose from the dead, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father: he will come again, and judge both quick and dead, and then he will give the blessedness of immortality unto them who believe in him, and everlasting punishment unto them that believe not; and (pointing unto the image of Christ crucified) behold, whether Mahomet hath justly called the Son of God Mercy! seeing with outstretched arms he calleth upon us, to accept of mercy, saying, Come unto mee, all that are weary and laden with sin, and I will refresh you; And that thou mayst the better understand the Mystery of the Trinity, behold the Sunne: as that one Sunne hath beawty, heat and splendor; so there is one God, even the Father, who hath a Son and the Holy Ghost, whom we call Ruah: and God consists in those three Persons, who all are of the same substance equally from all eternity without any Creator. Then Derviscried, *Allah, Allah*, that is, o God, o God! neither I, nor any of us did ever believe, that yee think so well of God: we thought, that yee were lying in darknes: but by thy words I understand, that ye think very well of God, except that yee condemn Mahomet the great Prophet of God. Georgieviz said, What have we to do with the toies of Mahomet? who (except baptisme, and the mystery of the Trinity, which he had learned from us Christians) hath nothing true: for example, What a fable is that of two Angels Aroth and Maroth, who (as Mahomet saith) were sent from heaven unto the earth, to give lawes unto men, and they commanded to abstain from wine and women; neither did they shew the way to heaven, but they transgressed the commandement of God, and were deceived by a woman, and they

they shew her the way to heaven; and when God saw her in heaven, he said unto the Angels standing about him, Who is this come into heaven in such a forme? When the Angels told him, she was turned into a starr, and the two Angels were tied with chains, and cast into a ditch, to be tormented for ever. And what a fable is that of the beast, *El Barabih*, which carried Mahomet into heaven, where Mahomet (saith he) saw the Angels with many heads &c. When Dervis heard these words, he was ashamed, and would not answer. Then he went into the Church, and said, What mean those images? do ye not worship those? Georgieviz answered, Think not, that we worship stocks or stones, but we have those, not to worship them, but for representation of Christ and the holy Virgin, and of other holy men: we worship only the true God, and we honour the Saints, even as ye do your Kings; and God hath said, Blessed are they, who dy in the Lord; VVee also have these images to praise God for his gifts bestowed on them, and that we may learn and endeavour to follow their holiness, charity and devotion. In the mean while some dogs were in the Church, and the Turk said, Is it lawfull, that dogs be in your Churches? Georgieviz said, This is the sloth of them who keep the doors. Then Dervis asked, VVhat form of prayer do ye Christians use? Georgieviz turned the Lords prayer into the Turkish language, and gave it unto him. Dervis commended it, and took his leave. *Bar. Georgieviz in disputa: cum Turca printed at Wittemb. Anno 1560.*

XLVIII. Howbeit there was no publick Reformation in Italy, yet ^{Sparks of} they were not only sensible of their bondage and darknes, but the light of ^{the Gospel} the Gospel did shine upon them, and they, partly for fear, and partly in Italy. through wiffulness did shut their eies against it. I will shew some instances. About the year 1530 Peter Martyr (who was born at Vermile in Florence) Governor of a Colledge at Napels, by his study of the sacred Scriptures, and knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and through the illumination of the Holy Ghost, did observe the errours and abuses in the Church: thereupon (hearing what business was in Germany) he sought and gote Bucers Commentaries upon the Evangels, and his Annotations on the Psalms, and some books of Zuinglius: by those (as he afterwards confessed) he profited much. He dayly conferred with some others whom he knew to be desirous of Reformation, to their mutuall edification, to wit, Benediſt Cusanus, Anto. Flaminus, and John Valdesius, a noble Spaniard (made a Knight by Charles V.) who spent his life in Italy, by his life and teaching gaining many unto Christ, especially of the learned men and Nobility, as the Noble Galleacius Caracciolus, Marques of Vico, and the Lady Ilobella Manricha, who was afterward banished for Christs cause &c. So a Church being thus, by Gods providence, gathered at Naples, Peter Martyr began to expound unto them the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Not only the Fellows of the Colledge resorted unto him, but some Bishops and Noble men. When he came to the words in Ch. 3. *Every mans works shall be made manifest* he interpreted them contrary to the received opinion. This stirred up many enemies against him: for it was thought commonly, that these words imply a *Purgatory*, but he shew'd out of the Fathers, that these words can not be so understood. But many knowing, that if *Purgatory* were overthrown, their gain by Masses, indulgences &c. would estsoon cease. Therefore they accused Martyr, and prevailed so far, that his Lecture was forbidden: but he refused to obey the Sentence as unjust; and trusting to the goodnes of the cause,

he appealed to the Pope: at Rome he overcame his adversaries by the assistance of some potent friends, as Cardinals Gonzaga, Caspar Contaren, Reynold Poole, Peter Bembus, and Frederik Fregosius, who all were sensible that the Church needed some Reformation. Then Martyr was restored to his liberty of preaching, but could not enjoy it long time: for he became dangerously sick, and by the advice of Physicians, the Superiors of his order seeing that the air of that City did not agree with him, made him General Visitor of the Order. In that Office he so demeaned himself, that good men much commended his integrity, constancy and gravity, and others feared him, yet durst not discover their malice. Not long after in a publick Convention of that Order, he was made Prior of a Monastery in Luca: some consented unto this promotion out of love; others thinking, it would be his ruine, because of an enmity between Florence and Luca. But he engaged the hearts of the people there, that he was no less beloved then if he had been born among them. In that Colledge were many learned men, and hopefull youths; and he took care, that the younger sort were instructed in the three languages: for which end he had Paul Lacisius of Verona to read Latine; Celsus Martinengus to read Greek, and Immanuel Tremellius, the Hebrew; and for Divinity he himself daily expounded the Epistles of Paul; and every night before supper he expounded a part of the Psalms. Very many of the City, of the Senators and Nobility resorted unto his Lecturs, and he preached publickly every Lords day. The enemies of the trueth could not endure him, and laid snares for him, nor could conceile their malice. When he was admonished by his friends, he chused to leave them, and went to Strawsburgh. What fruit his teaching brought forth, may be known by this, that in one years space after his departure, eighteen Fellowes of that Colledge left it, and went into the Reformed places; among whom was Celsus Martinengus (afterwards Minister of the Italian Church in Geneva) Hieron. Zanchius, Im. Tremellius &c. Many Citizens also went into exile voluntarily, that they might enjoy the trueth in safety. *Ex Vita Te. Martyris.* Another instance was in Bonnonia: in the year 1554. the Popes Governours attempted to make innovations there, which the people would not receive contrary to their former Lawes. The Innovators said, They were not tied to former Lawes, but had authority from the Pope, who is King of the Countrey, and may change statutes and ordinances without consent of the people. Against this tyranny both the learned men and the people opposed themselves; and in the Monastrey of the black Friars was a generall Convention, where Thomas de Finola Rector of the University set forth this Position, All Rulers, whether Supreme or Inferiour, may and should be reformed or bridled (to speak moderatly) by them by whom they are chosen, confirmed or admitted to their Office, so oft as they break that promise made by oath unto their subjects; Because the Prince is no less bound by oath unto their subjects, then are the subjects unto their Prince: and it should be kept and reformed equally, according to Law and condition of the oath that is made by either party. Vicentius de Placentia sustained this Position. And when all reasons, that the Popes Governours could alledge, were heard, the Pope was faine to take up the matter, and did promise not only to keep the liberty of the people, but that he should neither abrogate any antient Statute, nor make any new one without their consent. *The Histor of the Reformation of Scotland* Pag 399 edit Edinburgh 1644. which was written by Jo. Knox, albeit some sentences have been added

ded by another after him. At that time John Craig (a Scottish man, who afterwards was Minister of Edinburgh, of whom mention is made hereafter) was a Monk, and considering the common doctrine of justification by works, did not approve it, and shewed unto an old Monk his arguments in the contrary. The old man said, It is true; as you say: but be silent, lest you fall into danger: for the dayes are evil. But such was the mans zeal unto truth, that he could not contain himself; and for this and other things that he taught, he was carried to Rome, and cast into prison with many hundreds more in the time of Paul: but they all escaped that night of the Popes death, when the Citizens broke up the prisons.

X L I X. John a Lasco a Noble man of Poland intending to see other Nations, went to Zurik: there he was easily perswaded by Zuinglius to betake himself to the studie of Divinity, and whereas he might have been advanced unto honour in his native Countrey, yet such was his love to Christ, and hatred to Popery, that he choosed to embrace that Religion, which hath it's foundation upon the Word of God. In the year 1542. he was called to be Pastor at Embden: the next year Anna the widow Countess of Oldenburgh invites him to reforme the Churches there: which he endeavoured with great diligence. Afterwards Edward King of England sent (by information of Cranmer) for him, to be Preacher unto a Dutch Church at London. In the first year of Queen Mary he obtained leave to return beyond sea: a great part of his Congregation went with him and Martin Micron another Preacher, to Copenhagen: but the King would not suffer them to stay within his kingdoms, unless they would embrace the doctrine of Luther concerning the local presence of Christs body, and use the ceremonies ordained by him. For the same cause they were refused by the Haue-towns and Churches of Saxony. At last that vexed congregation was received at Embden. Then he would visite his own Countrey after twenty years absence: there he found many affecting a Reformation, but few Preachers. The Popish clergy sought by all means to destroy him, or to have him banished, and they accused him unto the King for an heretick. The King said, Though they called him an heretick, yet the States had not decreed so, and he was ready to cleare himself from such imputations. In the year 1557. a Parliament was assembled at Warsaw: there was great contention for Religion. The Princes (whom they call Vaivodes) crave that the Augustan Confession should be established. The Bishops strove against it, so that the Princes could not obtain any liberty. Nevertheless after the Parliament they caused the Gospel to be preached in their own Provinces without the Kings permission. John a Lasco impugned the doctrine of the local presence, and caused the truth (which the adversaries called Calvinisme) to be received by many: and unto this day that Church is miserably rent: the King and most part are Popish; many are Anabaptists, few are Ubiquitaries, yet a great many hold constantly the sounder Truth.

L. When the Kings of Spain had subdued the Sarracens (who had continued there some hundred years) and expelled them out of the realm, many of them not willing to leave the countrey, fained themselves to be Christians, and afterwards they were convinced to despise and scorn Religion. Wherefore the Kings, namely, Ferdinand and Isobella did ordain a strict Inquisition, that the Monks should search and severely punish all Sarracens and Jewes (all whom by one common name they called Maranites) who profess Christianity, and yet do scorn it. When all those were out of the way, the blood-thirsty Friars ceased not, untill they obtained

Reformation in Poland.

The Reformation in the Netherlands.

the same power of Inquisition against the Believers of the Gospel, whom they called Lutherans. That censure proceeds in this manner; If any man be accused of heresy (as they call it) by one witness, he is apprehended: if he confess not, he is tortured, untill he confess: who confesses, and recants, he is deprived of all his goods, and must at all time wear a *Sambietta*, that is, a yellow garment with a red cross and some devils painted upon it; and some are condemned to perpetual prison; Who will not repent, are burnt; And if they be bold to profess, and speak of their faith, while they be in prison; their tongues are cutt-out, before they be brought forth. In the year 1559. King Philip II. returning from Flanders, was beaten with a fearfull storm; all his ships were lost, and he scarcely arrived on land, when he said, He was delivered from that danger, to root Lutheranism out of his Kingdom. He came to *Hispalis* September 24. and immediately to take away all hope of immunity, he causeth to burn Don John Pontius Comes Bailenius, and John Consalua a Preacher, with some Friars of the Monastery of S. Isidor. Then he went to Pincia (Pe. Soave in *Hist. conc. Trid. Lib. 5.* seemes to call it *Vaglia-dolid*): there he caused burn 28 of the chief Nobility in his own sight, and imprisoned Barthol. Caranza archb. of Toledo; and many others of lower condition were burnt, as may be seen *Loc. cit.* and in *Thuan.* yea Charles Prince of Spain was imprisoned, and (as was reported) was poisoned by the Inquisitors at his fathers command *An. 1568*, because he favoured them of the Low-Countreys, and was suspect of Lutheranism. Many Spainjards for love of the Gospel went into Germany, Geneve, and some into England, especially all the Monks of S. Isidore nigh unto Sivile. This Inquisition was not only in Spain, but in others of that Kings Dominions, as followeth.

The Re-
formation
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therlands.

L. I. Albert of Hardenberg writing the life of Wesselus, saith, The Lord Cornelius Honius, the Emperours Counsellor in the Court of Holland in Hague, and some other learned men in the kingdom of God had found a book *Of the Lords supper*, which seemes to condemn the grose and Capernaithish eating of the Lords body, and to teach a spiritual, which is also a true and real eating, though only by faith. They had found this book among the papers of *Jacob Hoeckius* a Deacon of Naeldwyk, as also some other VVritings of Jo. VVesselus, concerning purgatory and other purposes: and because that book *Of the Lords supper* was found amongst those of VVesselus, they took it to be his: which I will not affirm nor deny: for it is certain, that he had written in the same manner of the Supper. Nevertheless I have heard that that written book of Hoeckius was very old, and that it had been delivered from hand to hand for the space of two hundred years, and that they had kept it as a golden treasure, as whereby they understood, that the idolatry of worshipping the bread should be extinguisht. But these treatises of Wesselus and other books of Hock coming into the Cloister of Saint Agnes-hill, where VVesselus had often resorted (as we have heard) had given light unto many, especially unto Henry Rhodius the father of a Monastery at Utrecht, who went to Luther in Wittembergh, and shewed him the books of VVesselus, and that book *Of the Lords supper*, and entreated him in the name of others also, that he would give his judgement of it: but Luther fearing that the Lords Supper might be vilified, would not approve it; whereupon followed some difference between Luther and Carolstad. Afterward Luther did writ unto Rhodius a Letter, which is printed wick the works of VVesselus; and there

there also is another Letter directed unto Oecolampad, craving his judgement of that book *Of the Lords Supper*, and that the books of Wesselius might be printed at Basile: but Oecolampad being a modest and peaceable man, would not give his judgement of it, because he knew, that Luther had not approved it: but he sent Rhodius unto Zurik, and Zuinglius approved it: for before that time he was enclining that way, and then began to maintain that doctrine; yet having heard the judgement of sundry other learned men: and after that, Oecolampad began to speak more freely &c. William Gnapheus Rector in Hague in an epistle dedicatory before his book writes thus; The Archbishop remembreth well, with what diligence I did teach the young scholars from my youth, and how great persecution Satan by his souldiers hath raised up at the first, so that I and the honorable Cornelius Honius [above named] without hearing of our cause in the year 1523. were imprisoned, and there we lay together three months, and then were confined within the Hague upon Baile for two years, in which time the Honorable Honius departed this life. But when I after those two years confinement was upon security set at liberty, and my adversaries had seen a consolatory Letter, which I at the request of some good men had written unto a poor grieved widow woman, they caused me to be put in prison again: and when the Sophisters of Lovan with their Commissioners had examined mee long enough upon that Letter, they put mee into a cloister, to suffer pennance for three months upon bread and bier, because I had despised that Cloister-life: for I had exhorted that widow, that she should not be dejected, because her son had forsaken his Coult, seeing the kingdom of God consists not (as Paul teaches Rom. 14.) in cloaths or places (whereupon the life of cloisterers is principally grounded) but rather in constant faith in God, and unfained love to our neighbour, which faith and love, her son might have, after he hath gone away as well as when he had his gray Coult. When I was in that cloister (saith he) in the year 1525, how grievous were those times, because of the grievous persecution in the Netherlands, and the miserable blood-shedding of the boors in the Upper-land! and then I enlarged my little book out of the holy Scriptures for my own consolation, and the destruction of the Devils kingdom, who had so persecuted mee for a consolatory Letter. That this book was printed, it was without my knowledge: for I had not written it for that end: nevertheless it hath done good unto many, and brought them to the knowledge of some truth: which I understand by that, it hath been oft reprinted, and one of the Printers hath been beheaded for it: so hardly can Satan suffer the publishing of the truth, and he hath persued mee, untill I must leave my native countrey, &c. He had gone into Embden, and lived there untill the year 1557, when he sent the book with the dedication unto the States of Holland. That book was written in way of a dialogue between Theophilus and Lazarus: of which I add a passage or two. Lazarus asketh, Whereunto doth the Spirit lead the children of God? Theophilus answereth, Vnto the love of holiness, and hatred of sin: they are also said to have a delyting and resting heart upon the bountiffulness of our heavenly Father in all their necessities, sufferings and adversities: for the power of Christian faith is of such virtue, that it drives through all persecution and suffering, unto the acknowledging and feeling of the good will of God toward us, with which will of God a Christian believer is so well satisfied, that he strives no way against it, that the vile flesh of old Adam should suffer here, and the wicked will should not have

always the dominion, *Lazarus*. Whence comes that Christian faith? *Theoph.* The knowledge of faith comes by hearing Gods word: but the lively feeling and the delight, which we get by hearing, reading and thinking-upon that word, is the gift of God, which is powred and ingrafted by the Holy Ghost into the hearts of believers: Paul teaches this clearly, saying, I have planted, Apollos watered, but God hath given the increafe. *Laza.* What is that faith? *Theoph.* Christian faith is a lively fast feeling and trust into the love and mercy of God our heavenly Father, manifested unto us in his only begotten Son Jesus Christ. *Laza.* I confesse, that I should have my refuge unto the Lord God, as the Apostles did; but I can not believe, that God is so neer us, as he was with them in the ship. *Theoph.* Albeit God is not with us visibly, as he was with them, nevertheless he is with us and in us, by his Divine power, mercy and anointing of the Holy Ghost; especially God is very neer unto them that are grieved in heart: the whole Scripture declares in many places, that the Lord God holdes us in the hand of his counsell, and keeps us under the protection of his wings, as a henn keeps her chickens: yea can a mother forget her child, and not have pittie on the son of her wombe? and albeit she should forget him, yet I will not forget you. Is not this a great comfort, that God pittieih us as a mother doth her children? Saith not God unto his chosen people, He that touches you, touches the apple of mine ey *Laza.* Can we not deserve the kingdom of heaven? how comes that? *Theoph.* It is, because by nature we are altogether the children of wrath; in ourselves we are unclean, and begotten of them that were unclean, so that the Prophet said truly, All our best works and righteonsnesses is as a filthy cloath; where of we may be ashamed to come into the presence of God, and far less can we deserve any good for them. If we could satisfy the wrath of God by our good works, then Christ had died in vain, and we were Saviours of ourselves, nor had we need to give God thanks for his mercy to wards us in Christ. The kingly Prophet confesses this, when he saith, Lord enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight can none that lives be justified. And that we may do any thing acceptable unto God, we must be born again by the quickning water of the Holy Ghost, who translates us from the kingdom of deceiving Satan, into the kingdom and government of our Lord Iesus Christ. So long as we are not by the Spirit of faith purged from our in-bred infidelity, and grafted into Iesus Christ as our true Vine, to bring forth by him the fruit of life, we continue like to bad and unprofitable trees. &c, Lavater Minister of Zurik shewes (in a Narration of the Sacramentary strife) that in the year 1524 John Rhodius and George Sagan two learned men coming to Zurik, conferred with Zuinglius concerning the Sacrament, and hearing that he was of the same judgement with them in that question, did thank God, that they were delivered from the contrary error; and as yet they had not shewd the Letter of Honius, in which the word Is in the institution of the Supper is expounded, *Signifieth*: which exposition Zuinglius did think most convenient. That Letter of Honius is large, but there he saith, Our Lord Iesus had many a time promised remission of sin unto believers, and at his last Supper he willing to confirm their hearts; added a pawn unto his promise, that they might be in no more doubt; as a Bridegrom, who would assure his Bride, that she doubt no more of his love, gives her a ring, saying, Take this, there give I thee myself: She receiving this ring, believes that the Bridegrom is her's, turns away her heart from all other wooers, and thinks
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how she may please that her spouse. So is it with them, who receive the Eucharist, as a pawn from their Bridegroom, &c. At that time lived. John Pistorius or Baker of Woerden: he was a Priest, and had been instructed by Io. Rhodius in S. Jerom's School in Utrecht: because he married a wife, he was accused by the Inquisitors, imprisoned and burnt, *An. 1525*. He was a learned man, as appeares by his books printed lately. These few particulars shew how the light of the Gospel began to breake out in the Netherlands, so that even before Luther arose, God had preseryed from time to time some few believers in the midst of the grossest darkness; as also we may understand, how the truth was hated and persecuted, as I touched before in the life of Charles V. and more may be seen in the book of Martyrs in the Netherlands: about the year 1540. the persecution was hott; and then many went from Flanders and other Provinces into England. *Trighand. in his Church histo. against Vtenbog. par. 3*. King Henry accepted them, and placed them in several towns, not only for enuy against the Pope, but because many of them were wool-weavers, and by them he brought that trade into his kingdom. In the year 1550. they obtained liberty under the Kings seal, that the Dutch and French Churches should continue in their Church-Discipline and order, as they were then begun, (though not conform unto the Disciplin and ceremonies of the English Church) and to hold Synods by themselves; and that was; in every congregation to chuse their own Ministers, ruling Elders and deacons, but with this condition, that when they had chosen a Minister, they should crave and obtain the consent of the King or of his heirs or successors; as also when in their Synode they shall chuse a new Superintendent. John Lasco was Superintendent at that time; and Minister of a Congregation in London: by advice of other Ministers Gualter Delen, Martin Flandrus, Francis Riverius and others, hedrew up a book of Discipline, prescribing the form of election of Ministers, Elders and deacons; directions concerning prayers before and after Sermon, administration of baptism and the Lords Supper; the manner of catechising; the manner of censuring scandalous persons either repenting or obstinat, and prayers belonging to each one of those, as also concerning the Visitation of the sick. Those who suffered in these Provinces, were for the most part accused concerning the Masse, prayer to Saints, worship of images, purgatory, the merite of works, the supremacy of the Pope, and the lyke: all which they denied, upon grounds of the Scripture. King Philip II. went about to turne the Civil gouvernement into a Monarchy, and was advised by the Cardinal of Lorrain, to separate such parts of these Provinces, as in former times were subiect unto the Bishops of Germany and France, and erect new Bishopriks in them: then he erected three archbishopriks and twelve bishopriks (whereas before they had but one Bishoprik in Vtrecht) that by them as so many Overseers the office of Inquisition might be the more strictly executed. This was not darkly made known by the Popes Bull granted to the same effect; and Henry the Ambassadour of Spain declared the same plainly unto William Count of Nassaw. Whereupon the States began to consult how to defend themselves against the cruelty of Inquisition. *Thuan. hist. Lib. 22*. But first they wrote a Confession of their faith in the year 1561. and sent it unto the King with a Supplication, protesting that it was great cruelty and iniquity, to punish them as hereticks so horribly, because they forsook the traditions of men; which had no warrant in Gods Word. The Confession was at the first written by Guido de Bres (who afterwards sealed it with his blood, and Godefrid

Wingius (who was sent by the Church of Embden to gather the first Reformed Church in Flanders) and other Fellow-labourers in Flanders, Brabant, Holland, &c. and it was communicated unto Cornelius Coolthunius and Nicolaus Carenæus Ministers at Embden, unto Pe. Dathen, & Caspar Heidan at Frankendal, and others in other parts. It was presented unto the King in the year 1562: but he was so far from yielding unto their Supplication, that they were the more grievously oppressed. In the midst of their cruell persecution the number of true professors increased wonderfully, and by example of the French Church (which in the beginning of King Charles IX. had purchased some liberty) they avowed the Religion openly. Cardinal Granvellan on the other side went about (contrary to the mindes of the Noble men, who were appointed by the King unto the government) to afflict Antwerp, though having a particular exemption from the Inquisition. The noble men sent their complaint against him; and he was deprived of his authority by Letters from the King: but before his departure he had provided so, and the King was so affected toward the Inquisitors, that their Inquisition went on the more cruelly: among others great severity was used in Antwerp against the believers of the Gospel in the year 1564. Many Noble Men, who before were enemies of the truth, began to hate such cruelties, and embraced the Gospel; and albeit they saw themselves in danger of the Inquisition, yet they determine to make a league of mutuall defence, namely, that they would endeavour to help one another for avoiding perill, and to certify one another of the attempts and plots of their enemies. When they had made this agreement, they sought to gain the favour of others most bitter against them. At that time Margarit the Dutchess of Parma, and the Kings Sister had the government of the severient Provinces: by the advice of other Rulers foreseeing the imminent danger, she sent Count d' Egmont (a Papist, but a good Patriot) unto the King, to certify him, that great trouble was like to ensue, which could not be prevented, if the severity of those Edicts, and the boldness of some men abusing them, were not restrained. Then the King ordered the Dutchess, to mollify the edicts, as necessity required with the advice of prudent men, for preventing the dangers which she feared, yet so that the Romane Religion be kept in safety. She calleth a solemn Counsel, in which twelve men were appointed to rectify the business. They call the odious Inquisition, a Visitation; and for burning they ordain hanging, but the Inquisition was confirmed, and continued still. This petty change did not please Granvellan nor the Pop's Legate in Spain; nor did they cease, untill the King discharged that order again: so by a new edict he established the Inquisition, and commanded, that the former edicts should be every where put into execution, Dated in December *An* 1565.

A Retraction of Bucer concerning the Supper LII. Often mention hath been made of the controversy concerning the presence of Christs body in the Lords Supper: here by way of corollary, for clearing both the history and the state of that question, I add the words of Martin Bucer in his *Enarrations* on Marth. 26. in his second edition. When he comes to the Institution of that Sacrament, he saith; It seemes good to treat of this text, as of new, because in my former edition are some words, whereby, it may seem, both that I have not sufficiently declared the Matter, and that I have been too little durifull toward those, unto whom wee all who worship Christ, do owe very much. For by our in-
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gratitude toward the most large gift of God, the revelation of the Gospell, which hath been in our time, and by our sloth in all the work of Christ our Saviour, we have deserved, that God hath suffered Satan to raise a strife (certainly a very unhappy one) amongst the Ministers of the revived Gospell, concerning the sacred mytery of the Lords table. Into this contention I also was drawn, while (I know not with what Zeal) I did endeavour to defend some men, against whom others seemed to deal too harshly, and to eschue on the one hand the impanation of Christ, or the local inclosing of him in the bread, and on the other, the preposterous confidence on the outward action in the sacraments. I confesse ingenuously, that this Zeal was immoderate, and that I did not honour enough the authority of those, whom I saw to be first promoters of the Gospell unto us all, to wit, Martin Luther and some others; neither did I consider rightly the dammages, which the Church hath suffered by that difference: for else I might have taken another way both to defend the innocent, and to wave the fond opinions, neither should I have taken exception against the words that are agreeable unto Scripture, and may be used piously, which M. Luther and they who are with him do use. For because I thought, that by those phrases the people were made to believe the impanation of Christ, or certainly was a locall inclosing in the bread, and that the sacraments by themselves, after whatsoever manner they be taken, do bring salvation, I thought, that I should not only impugne those phrases, but that they should be waved, and others used; that thereupon Luther and others did judge, that I acknowledge nothing in the Supper but bread and wine, and ascribe nothing unto the sacraments, but that they be badges of Christian profession. But now I asseene before the Lord unto his Church, as my diuulged books can testify, that I was never of that mind or did think, that in the holy Supper nothing is given or distributed, but bread and wine as empty signes of the Lords body and blood, and not also the body and blood of the Lord. Likewise albeit in the sacraments, I did speak of that as a main thing, that they are the badges of our profession, yet I never denied, that the Lord gives those also for recommending his mercy, and exhibiting the gifts of life, yea and the same gift, not in one place only. The only thing that I did impugne, was that the sacraments do of themselves confirm faith, seing that is the work of the Holy Ghost. But when the dispute continued, and Luther had declared all the matter of the sacrament more fully, I saw, that he neither did unite the Lords body and blood by any naturall ty unto the bread and wine, nor did inclose them locally in the bread and wine, nor did ascribe unto the sacraments the proper virtue, whereby they of themselves can bring salvation unto the receivers, but he did asert only a sacramental union between the Lords body and the bread, and between his blood and the wine; and that he did teach, that the confirmation of faith, which is ascribed unto the sacraments, is by virtue, not which cleaveth unto the external things by themselves, but which belongs unto Christ, and is dispensed by his Spirit by means of the Word and the holy Sacraments. So soon as I did observe this, it was my serious purpose, to shew and recommend it unto others: and so I desire to testify in this place unto all men who shall read this, that Luther and others who are truly with him, and follow his teaching rightly, doth not hold any impanation in the holy supper, nor any local inclosing of Christs body in the bread, or of the blood in the wine; neither attributeth any saving power unto the external actions of the sacraments

ments of themselves; But they hold a substantiall presence and exhibition of the Lords body and blood with the bread and wine in the holy supper; and thereby they declare plainly the words of the Lord and the testimony of the Apostle, which presence and exhibition is certain by the Lords word and institution, without any natural union of the Lords body and blood with the elements: for the Lord doth not come down again from the heavenly glory into the condition of this corruptible life. They do also acknowledge and preach the saving presence and exhibition, but by virtue of the Lords, and not of the external action, and that the communicants enjoy it, when with true faith they partake of the sacraments. Certainly our Saviour did intend, as in all his actions, so especially in the sacraments, to advance our salvation, which if wee enjoy not, it must be through our own fault. For the bread, which wee break, is the communication of the Lords body, and the cup of thanks-giving is the communication of his blood; and undoubtedly unto the end, that both the communion of Christ may growe in us, and all salvation may be perfected. Therefore who knowing this mystery can doubt, that all who are religiously partakers of the Lords table, by the same partaking have their faith into Christ more confirmed, that is, more full salvation, not indeed by the benefit of the external action of itself, but through the good pleasure of our heavenly Father, and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he shewes toward us in the ministry of the holy Church. For the more gravely and with the more religious ceremony the redemption of Christ and the communion is set forth in the holy table, pious hearts that believe the promises of the Lord, are the more commoved, and do the more earnestly embrace the tendered communion of Christ, and afterwards are the more zealous in confidence and duty unto Christ. And therefore what either I in my former Enarrations, or others have written against the natural union of the bread and Christs body, or that local inclosing, think not, godly reader, that those were against Luther and them that stand rightly with him: for those neyther hold nor teach any such thing, neither do the words which they do use, carry such an opinion by themselves, as even I thought some time: for which only cause I did carpe at their words, and I doubted not that their mind was any way more sound. Huldric Zuinglius whom all that knew him, know to have been Zealous and of admirable dexterity in vindicating the Church unto Christ, from the tyranny and superstition of the Pope: when M. Luther and others contended that the bread is the body of the Lord, or that the Lords body is in the bread, did persuade himself that they thought the Lords body either to be turned into the same substance with the bread, or to be inclosed locally in the bread: and therefore he did alwayes alledge against the first, If the bread be the Lords body, the bread was crucified for us; and against the other, those passages, which testify that the Lord left the earth, and went into the heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father; out of those he began to expound, Is, in the words of the Lord, *This is my body, for, signifieth*; and by the heat of contention he was so carryed; that when he would impugne only the impanation and local inclosing or presence of Christ after the manner of this world, and said that the Lord is more absent then present in the holy supper, and that the signes are rather given here then the body and blood of the Lord; and yet it was not his judgement, that the Lord is simply or wholly absent from the supper, or that the symboles are given without or altogether empty of the Lords body and blood, as he himselfe professed afterwards, when he

was here treating about the agreement of the Churches in this particular ; and so did he write in the Apology unto the Princes of Germany : for he there did maintain the presence of the Lord , by the words of Augustine. So sometimes , when he would beware , that men sought salvation by the external work of the sacraments , he averred plainly , that the sacraments are but badges of Christian society , and conferre nothing unto salvation. But in other places , he writes plainly , that the sacraments do help faith. Whence it it cleare , that when he writes , Sacraments do confer nothing unto salvation , nor confirm faith , thereby he understood , that the sacraments , that is , the outward actions of the sacraments have of themselves no power to strengthen the conscience with encrease offaith : for when he intended to prove that his saying , The sacraments give not salvation nor confirm faith ; he alledgeth , that to confirm or encrease faith is the work of Christ by the Holy Ghost. Which argument is like unto this , God healeth by the power of nature , therefore a Physician or medicin help nothing thereunto. Certainly only Christ worketh whole salvation in us ; and that not by the power of any other thing , but by his only Spirit , and nevertheless for the same effect in us he useth his word , both visible in the sacraments , and audible in the gospel ; and by them exhibiteth and bringeth remission of sins , communion of himself , and eternal life. Zuinglius did acknowledge this : therefore when he denied , that the sacraments give grace , he understood the outward action of itself can do nothing to this purpose , but all thing belonging to salvation is from the inward action of Christ , and the sacraments are his instruments in some manner , And it was Luther , who first of all men did impugne this tenent of the School-men , that the sacraments of themselves conferr grace without any good motion of ourselves , and without faith. And so in this question Zuinglius did impugne what Luther taught not. The same happened unto Oecolampade , whom none doubteth to have been an excellent Divine , if they read his works , as he did read the Scriptures with singular modesty and reverence , and was well acquainted with the fathers , and did much esteem of them , so he wrote very reverently and religiously of the sacraments , howbeit he thought , that Luther's wordes did import an impanation or local inclosing of Christs body . and upon this account did impugne them : for he writes so in his last dialogue , when he would declare the difference. The difference , saith he , is rather in the manner of the presence and absence , then in the very presence and absence : for none is so blunt , to affirm that Christs body is every way absent or present. Some hold that the Lords bread is the very body of Christ , so that whosoever , whether godly or ungodly , do eat it , they eat not only the bread and the sacrament , but also the body of Christ bodily , and let it down into the stomack. But we speak against this , and affirm that the element is not so honoured , as that the most excellent of all creatures would unite himself into the same and natural substance of it , or that he is so naturally contained in it , that by it , as a midle pipe , grace is conveyed , (which the Holy Ghost gives unto believers) and by the touch and tast of it , even the ungodly do touch and eat the very body of Christ , and are partakers of grace. From those his words who may not see that Oecolampad impugneth three things only , that the body of Christ is united with the bread into one and the same natural substance , contained naturally in it , and that by the touch or tast of bread , all , both godly and ungodly are partakers of grace. But Luther did never affirm any of these , albeit not a few did judge that those things were in the words , which he

did use in this purpose, especially when he did deny any trope in the words, *This is my body*. I will also adioyn a whole epistle of Oecolampad, where in he plainly avouches his faith concerning this point. It is thus; John Oecolampade unto N. a brother in Christ. Grace and peace from God the Father. I have need to be informed by thee, my brother, and thou comest unto mee, and violently pressest mee unwilling to answer. Is this thy tyranny tolerable? and yet in Christ it is to be comported, for it is friendly and brotherly, and yet upon this condition, that I may have the same power over thee, and thou shalt impart unto mee thy judgement mutually, when thou shalt receive mine. Receive then plainly, what I believe. The sacramentall signes, whereby the sacramentall promise concerning the remission of my sins, that it may be more believed by my infirm conscience, are not unto mee bread and wine: for I who seek higher things, make no reckoning, what sort of bread and wine be given, but I desire more admirable things and powerful to streng then my weak soul: and those are no other, but the very body and the very blood; not the figure of the body and blood but the body that was given and suffered for my sins, and which the Angels of heaven do enioy deliciously, which Christ promised to give, and did give to be meat, not carnal, but spiritual; and the blood which flowed out of his body, and was shed for my sins: for that doth powerfully seal the promise of purging mee from all mine iniquity: and for this I believe simply the words of Christ, saying, *This is my body*, which shall be given for you, and, *This is my blood of the new testament*, which is shed for you. Whereby he testifieth, that that body is a seal, that sins are forgien unto him who believes and eates spiritually, seeing he suffered for this cause. The word of Christ went first, which the effect hath sealed by the holy seal. I hunger and thirst for this bread and drink, not that it, as bodily meat, may be converted into mee, but that I may be turned into it, and may become spiritual by spiritual meat; that when I shall be in Christ, Christ also abiding in mee (towit, being received in the sacrament) may by his grace work his own works; that so I may be ready to obey all the members of Christ, albeit it were to die for them, as he died for mee, and so I may be a true member in that his mysticall body; not in the body of Antichrist, because I desire not a portion with him; but I desire to be a member of Christ, though the lowest. I can not speak more plainly: take this in good part: do with courage, and trust in the Lord. Basile. Aprile 19. By the providence of God (*saieth Bucer.*) this epistle is amongst the epistles of Zeinglius and Oecolampad, which other ways were not happily published: for in that book some epistles, that were published in the first heat of the disputation, came abroad again, which annoy not so much the concorde of the Churches, which the Lord gives at this time, as the sincere and solid knowledge of those mysteries, amongst not a few. Moreover when I heard that those epistles were a printing, and intended in a preface, (which might have been prefixed unto the work in name of some man in Basile) to supply some things (that were written in these epistles slenderly concerning the sacraments, and therefore might offend many) that the readers might understand, how even that Church approves the right faith of the sacraments, even as they had embraced it long ago, and doth profess it foundly; Some man (the Lord forgive him) caused the preface be published in my name. And so, when it is said in the beginning of the epistle, *When wee set forth those epistles*, many did judge, that I had caused these epistles to be divulged; and thence did infer, that I do

not intend the agreement of the Churches in the doctrine of the sacrament. And because at this time I can not do it by another writing, I protest unto thee, Christian reader, my very great grief; that those epistles are not blotted out of that work, as also in that too large preface, which also without my knowledge is prefixed unto that work. I allow not whatsoever things may seem to maintain strife, or unjust explication or commendation of the sacrament, or may seem to advance any man with the disparagement or imputation of others: but of this at another time: only I would now purge myself from that edition. But whereas I have alleged the writings of M. Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampad and mine own, concerning the presence of the Lord in the holy Supper, godly reader, doubt not but I have done so, to advance the true doctrine of the sacraments, and the agreement of the Churches, and not for the pleasuring or contemning of any man, or of a mind to offend any, or to commend any without cause or desert: I know by the Lords grace, that Luther thinks well of this mystery, as of all things, whereof true knowledge is necessary unto Religion. Therefore seeing in the former editions of my Enarrations, I have spoken against the natural either union of the body of Christ with the bread, or its circumscriptive inclusion in the bread, as also of the comforting of consciences by the only outward receiving of the sacrament, and against such other fictions, as if they had followed upon the words of Luther, which he had used, when he was speaking of the sacraments; it is my part both for Luthers cause who hath deserved well of the Church, and for the Church or God, and for Christ himself, to testify unto the world, that I acknowledge him to be free from such devices, not only in his judgement, but in his words; lest any one upon occasion of my writing, which may seem to fight with Luthers writings, shall think, that either Luther maintains any presence of the Lord in the Supper, unworthy of the Lord, or that I maintain no presence. The judgement of Zuinglius and Oecolampad (so far as I could understand it) therefore have I mentioned; that those who reverence these mens works, now knowing that these did not maintain naked seals in the Supper without Christ, may the more willingly receive the truth of the sacrament, if they have missed it; and cleave faster unto it, if they continued in it; and such who make no account of those mens writings, should no way reject the gifts of God, which were bestowed on those in no small measure, specially on Oecolampad, as his laboured works shew abundantly. . . . God remove all contention from his people, and all proposterous affectation and contempt of men, and give us grace to embrace his truth truly, and to promote it happily. Amen.

So far Bucer. This was written in the year 1536: what may be gathered out of it, I leave unto the judicious reader, as also how it agreeth with the practise and doctrine of Luther and them who have followed him after that year.

C A P. IV.

Of BRITANNE.

William tindall is reckoned among the Englishes, to have been next *vv. Tindal* unto John wickliff for knowledge of the faith, and innocency of *dal an En-* life: he instructed the people in true faith toward Christ, as his books (*yet glissh mar* extant) do shew clearly, and none did reveale Antichrist more plainly. *tyre.*

Popish
doctrin
what it is.

The Bible
was un-
known to
Cathars.

John Fisher Bishop of Rochester did provoke King Henry VIII. against him, and called him a rebell and contemner of the Kings lawes. Therefore he wrote a book with this title. *The obedience of a Christian man, and how Christian rulers ought to governe, wherein also (if thou marke diligently) thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty conveyance of all jugglers.* In his epistle to the reader, he saith, The word of God is ever hated of the world, neither was ever without persecution (as thou mayst see in all the histories of the Bible both of the New and Old Testament) neither can be; no more than the sun can be without his light: And forsomuch as contrarily thou art sure, that the Popes doctrin is not of God, which (as thou seest) is so agreeable unto the world, and is so received of the world, or rather which receives the world and the pleasures of the world, and seekes nothing but the possessions of the world, and authority in the world, and persecutes the word of God, and with all wilies drives the people of God from it, and with false & sophistical reasons makes them afraid of it, yea curseth them, & excommunicates them, and brings them in belief, that they be damned, if they look on it, and that it is but doctrin to deceive men; and move the blind powers of the world, to slay with fire, water and sword all that cleave unto it. *Fol. 6.* God promised to David a kingdom, and immediatly stirred up King Saul against him, to persecute and hunt him, as men do hares with greyhounds, and to feret him out of every hole, and that for the space of many years, to tame and meeken him, to kill his lusts, and make him feel other mens diseases, to make him mercifull, and to make him understand that he was made King to minister and serve his brethren, and that he should not think, that his subjects were made to serve unto his lusts, & that it were lawfull for him to take away from them life & goods at his pleasure. O that our Kings were so nurtured now a dayes, which our holy bb. teach in a far other manner; saying, your grace shall take his pleasure: take what pleasure yee lust: spare nothing: wee shall dispence with you: wee have power, wee are Gods vicars: and let us alone with the realme; wee shall take pains for you: your Grace shall but defend the faith only. *Fol. 13. he saith unto the Curates,* Wherefore were the holy dayes appointed, but that the people should come and learne? are yee not abominable Schoolmasters, in that ye take so great wages, if ye will not teach? if yee would teach, how can ye do it so well and with so great profit, as when the lay people have the Scripture before them in their mother tongue? for then they should see by order of the text, whether thou jugglest or not... but alas! the Curates themselves (for the most part) wote no more, what the new or old testament meaneth, than the Turks do: neither know they any more than that they read at masse, matens & even song, which yet they understand not: nor care they but even to mumble up so much every day, as the pye & poppingay speak they wote not what, to fill their bellies. If they will not let the lay man have the word of God in his mothers tongue, yet let the priests have it, which for the most part of them understand no Latine at all... A thousand things forbid ye, which Christ made free, and dispence with them again for money: neither is there any exception at all, but lacke of money. Yee have a secret counsell by yourselves: All other mens counsels & secrets know ye, and no man yours: ye seek but honours, riches, promotion, authority, and reigne over all, and will obey no man... when a parish hyreth a schole master to teach our children, what reason is it, that wee should be compelled to pay this schoolmaster his wages, if he take licence to go where he will, and to dwell in another country, and

leave our children untaught? Doeth not the Pope so; have we not given up our tyths of courtely unto one to teach us Gods word, and comes not the Pope and compelleth us to pay it violently to them that never teach? makes he not a Parson, which comes never at us? yea one shall have 5. or 6. or as many as he can get, and woteth oftymes where never one of them stands. Another is made Vicar, to whom he gives a dispensation, to go where he will, and to set in a parish-priest, which can but minister a sort of dumb ceremonies: and because he hath most labour, and least profit; he polleth on his part, and fetcheth here a masse-penny, there a trentall, yonder dirige-money, and for his bead-rolle with a confession peny, and such lyke. Fol. 31. he saith. Why did not David slay Saul, feing he was so wicked, not in persecuting David only, but in disobeying Gods commandements, and in that he had slayn 85. of Gods priests wrongfully? verily because it was not lawfull: for if he had done it, he must have sinned against God: for God hath made the King in every realm judge over all, and over him is no judge: he that judgeth the King, judgeth God: and he that layth hands on the King, layth hands on God; and he that resistes the King, resists God, and damneth Gods law & ordinance. If the subjects sin, they must be brought to the Kings judgement. If the King sinne, he must be reserved unto the judgement, wrath and vengeance of God. And as it is, to resist the King, so it is to resist his officer, which is sent or set to execute the Kings commandment.... they asked

None may
judge a
King.

Christ Mat. 22, *whether it were lawfull to give tribute unto Caesar?* for they thought, it was not sin to resist an heathen Prince; as few of us would think (if we were under the Turk) that it were sin to rise against him, and to rid ourselves from under his dominion: so sore have our bishops robbed us of the true doctrine of Christ. But Christ condemned their deeds and also the secret thoughts of all other, that consented thereunto; saying, Except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish, as if he had said, I know that ye are within your hearts such as they were in their deeds, and ye are under the same damnation: except therefore ye repent betimes, ye shall break out at the last into the like deeds, and likewise perish, as it came afterward to passe.... Another conclusion is, No person nor any degree may be exempt from this ordinance of God. Neither can the profession of monks or friers, or any thing that the Pope or bb. can say for themselves except them from the sword of the Emperour or kings, if they break the law: for it is written, *Let every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers.* The higher powers are the temporal kings & Princes, unto whom God hath given the sword to punish whosoever sinneth. God hath not given the sword to punish one, and to let another go free, and to sin unpunished. Moreover with what face durst the spirituality which ought to have been the light & example of good living unto all others, desire to sin unpunished? Fol. 41, They have robbed all realmes not of Gods word only, but of all wealth and prosperity. and have driven peace out of all landes, and withdrawn themselves from all obedience to princes, and have separated themselves from lay men, counting them viler than dogs, and have set up that great idole the whore of Babylon, Antichrist of Rome, whom they call Pope, and have conspired against all commonwealths, and have made them a severall kingdom, wherein it is lawfull and unpunished to work all abomination: in every parish they have spies, and in every great mans house, and in every tavern and ailhouse: and by confessions they know all secrets, so that no man may open his mouth

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to rebuke whatsoever they do, but he shall be shortly made an heretick. In all Counsels is one of them: yea the most part and chief rulers of the Counsels are of them: but of their Counsell is no man. Fol. 55, Let Kings rule their realmes themselves with the help of lay men that are sage, wise, learned & expert. Is it not a shame above all shames, and a monstrous thing, that no man should be found to governe a worldly kingdom, but Bishops and prelates, that have forsaken the world, and are taken out of the world, and appointed to preach the kingdom of God? To preach Gods word is too much for half a man: and to minister a temporall kingdom is too much for half a man also: each of them requires a whole man: therefore one can not well do both. He that avengeth himself on every trifle is not meet to preach the patience of Christ, that a man should forgive and suffer wrongs. He that is overwhelmed with all manner of riches, and doth but seek more daily, is not meet to preach poverty. He that will obey no man, it not meet to preach how wee should obey all men Paul saith, *God sent mee but to preach;* A terrible saying verily for Popes, Cardinals & Bishops. If he had said, *Wo unto mee, if I fight not, and move not Princes unto warre, or, if I increase not S. Peters patrimony* (as they call it) it had been a more easie saying for them. Christ forbidds his disciples to climbe above Lords, Kings and Emperours in worldly government, but also to exalt themselves one above another in the kingdom of God. But in vain: for the Pope would not hear it, though he had commanded it ten thousand times. Gods word should rule only, and not Bishops decrees, or the Popes pleasure *He hath many such passages against the government of the Pope and prelates. And also of the doctrine of faith he speaks well; as Fol. 43. he saith.* Thou wilt say, If lovefull fill the law, then it justifieth. I say, That, wherewith a man fulfilleth the law, declares him justified: but that, which gives him, wherewith to fulfill the law, justifieth him. By justifying understand the forgiveness of sin, and the favour of God. Now (saith the text Rom. 10.) the end of the law or the cause wherefore the law was made, is Christ to justifie all that believe, that is, the law is given to utter sin, to kill the consciences, to damn our deeds, to bring unto repentance, and so to drive unto Christ, in whom God hath promised his favour and forgiveness of sin unto all that repent and consent to the law, that it is good. If thou believe the promises, then doth Gods truth justify thee, that is, forgives thee, and receives thee to favour for Christs sake. In assurance where of, and to certify thy heart, he sealeth thee with the Spirit Eph. 1. & Fol. 54. Peter in Act. 2. pradiseth his keyes, and by preaching the law brought the people to the knowledge of themselves, and bindeth their consciences, so that they were pricked in their hearts, and said *What shall wee do?* Then brought he forth the keye of the sweet promises, saying, *Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sinnes.* As Christ compares the understanding of the Scripture unto keyes, so compares he it to a nett and unto leaven and many other things for certain properties. I marvell therefore, that they boast not of their nett & leaven, as well as of their keyes: But as Christ biddeth us beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, so beware of their counterfited keyes. Fol. 56. The Bishop of Rochester would prove by Moses & Aaron, that Satan and Antichrist our most holy father the Pope is Christs Vicar, and head of Christs Church: Moses (saith he) signifieth Christ, and Aaron the Pope. And yet the epistle unto the Hebr. proves, that the highpriest of the old law signifieth Christ, and his offering and his going once in the year into the inner temple, signify the

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offring wherewith Christ offered himself, and Christs going-in to the Father to be an everlasting Mediatour or intercessour for us. If the Pope be signified by Aaron, and Christ by Moses, why is not the Pope as well content with Christs law & doctrin, as Aaron was with Moses? why do our bb. preach the Pope and not Christ, seing the Apostles preached not Peter but Christ? Paul speaking of himself and of his fellow apostles saith; *Wee preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord. and, Wee preach ourselves your servants for Christs sake, &c.* For such doctrin Tindall was persecuted: and when he escaped out of their hands into Germany, they burnt the New Testament, that he had translated into English, and they caused the Masters of Lovan to burne his body. *An. 1535.*

II. It is not necessary to speak more of the grosse ignorance and wickedness of the clergy & people at that time (unless it fall in by the by): but be-
hold how God brought the light of the Gospell into this Island (I may say) *Pa. Hamilton a*
wonderfully. First Patrik Hamilton a young gentleman was made Abbot *Scottish*
of Ferne; and then he would go and see other countries: and in his travels *Martyre*
he visites Witemberg, and there he heard Luther, Melanthon & others: he
had little or no understanding before, and hearkned unto them, and took
it to heart. He returns home in the 23. year of his age in the end of the
year 1526. In what companie he came, he spared not to speak against the
corruptions of the Church, and to declare the truth as he had learned it.
The clergy could not endure this, and under colour of conference they
entice him unto Santandrews. They had perswaded the young King James
to go in pilgrimage to S. Dutches in Rosse, lest he should hinder their
proceeding. In the night time Patrik Hamilton was taken out of the cham-
ber (where he was lodged) and carried into the castle: the next day he was
resented before the arch Bishop James becon, and accused upon these ar-
cles; The corruption of nature remains in children after baptism. 2. No *the arti-*
man by the power of free will can do any good. 3. No man is without sin *cles layd*
so long as he liveth. 4. Every true Christian may know himself to be in the *to his*
state of grace. 5. A man is not justified by works, but by faith only. 6. Good *charge*
works make not a good man, but a good man doth good works, and an ill
man doth ill works; yet the same ill, if truly repented, make not an ill
man. 7. Faith, hope & charity are so linked together, that he who hath
one of them, hath all; and who lacketh one of them, lacketh all. 8. God
the cause of sin, in this sense, that he withdrawes his grace from man, and
since being withdrawn he can not but sin. 9. It is a devilish doctrine, to teach
that by any actuall penance remission of sin is purchased. 10. Auricular
confession is not necessary to salvation. 11. There is no purgatory. 12. The
only Patriarchs were in heaven before Christ passion. 13. The Pope is
antichrist, and every priest hath as much power as the Pope. He is de-
manded, What he thinks of these articles? He answereth, I hold the first
even to be undoubted'y true, and the other are disputable points, nor can
I condemne them, unless I see better reasons than as yet I have heard. After
some conference with him, these articles were delivered unto the Rectour
of the University, who with other twelve (as they were called, Divines
& Lawyers having conferred and condemned them as hereticall, redelivereth
them within two dayes in a solemne meeting (March 2. year 1527.) of the
xx. archbb. three bb. sixe Abbots and Priours, and eight Divines. These
laid their hands unto the sentence; and the same day Pa. Hamilton was
condemned by the Secular Judge, and burnt in the afternoon. When
his execution was reported, many in all parts of the kingdom do enquire,

*The blood
of a Mar-
tyr is the
seed of the
Church.*

why was such a man burnt? and when they heard of the articles, they talk of the truth of them, and many do apprehend otherwise then was judged. In the Univerſity theſe articles took a deep impreſſion; yea and many Friers began in their Sermons to condemn the errors and abuſes of the Clergy. Thus God made the martyrdom of one man to be the means of ſpreading the truth unto many. In time of that Lent Alex. Seton (a Dominican) preached oft in Santandrewes: the ſubſtance of his Sermons was; The law of God is the only rule of righteouſneſs: If Gods law be not violated, no ſin is committed: It is not in mans power to ſatiffie for ſin: The forgiveness of ſin is no way purchaſed, but by unfained repentance, and true faith apprehending the mercy of God in Chriſt. He ſpoke not of purgatory, pilgrimage, prayer to Saints, merits nor miracles, as the Friers were wont: therefore he was ſuſpected of hereſy. Before the Lent was finiſhed, he went to Dundy, and there he was advertiſed, that another Dominican had publickly contradicted his former doctrine: without delay he returns, and in a Sermon confirms what he had taught before, and moreover he ſpeaks of the virtues, that are required of a faithfull Biſhop: and made this Uſe of them; Within Scotland are no true Biſhops, if they be examined by thoſe notes, which the Scripture requires. This was by and by reported to the Biſhop, in words varying a little, that a Biſhop muſt be a preacher, or els he is a dumbe dog. He is ſent for, and ſaid, The reporters are manifeſt liars. The reporters are called, and they affirm that he had ſaid ſo; and they profer to bring more witneſſes. He ſtill ſaith, They are liars. More witneſſes are brought, and many come to heare. Then ſaid Seton, My Lord, you may conſider, what eares theſe aſſes have: they can not diſcern betwixt Paul, Eſaie, Zacharie and Malachie, and Frier Alex. Seton: I ſaid indeed, Paul ſaith, A Biſhop ſhould be a teacher; Eſaie ſaith, ſhepherds not feeding their flocks are dumbe eggs; Zacharie ſaith, they are idle paſtours; and I declared what thoſe have ſaid: and, my Lord, if you be not offended at them, you can not be offended at mee: therefore I ſay again, theſe men are manifeſt liars, which have reported, that I called you or any other Biſhop, no Biſhops but belly gods. The Biſhop was offended: but durſt not at that time proceed againſt him, becauſe he was learned, bold, and in favour with the King, and his Confeſſour: But he and his complices did judge it not expedient, ſuch a man to bee with the King: and ſo they endeavour to make him odious unto the King, and call him an heretick. The King did remember, how in private confeſſion the Frier had admoniſhed him for his luſts of the fleſh, and loved not ſuch advice, and ſaid, He knew more of that man, than any of them; and then ſubſcribes their accuſation, and promiſeth to follow their advice in puniſhing him and all of that ſect. Seton is informed of theſe things, and fleeth to Berwick, whence he wrote unto the King in this manner, Moſt Gracious Soverain Lord, under the Lord and King of all, of whom only thy Highneſs and Majeſty hath power and authority to exerciſe juſtice with-

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in thy realme, under God, who is King & Lord of all realms, and thy Ma. and all mortall Kings are but ſervants unto that only immortall Prince, Chr. Jeſus. . . . It's not unknown to thy gracious Highneſs, how thy Ma. ſometime ſervant & Oratour (and ever ſhall be to my lifes end) is departed out of thy realme. . . . but I believe, the cauſe of my departing is unknown, which only is, Becauſe the bb. and churchmen of thy realme have hertofore had ſuch authority over thy ſubjects, that apparently they were rather King, and thou, the Subject: which unjuſt regiment is of it ſelf falſe and

and contrary to holy Scripture: Thou art the King & Master, and they are thy subjects, which is true, and testified by the word of God. And also because they will give no man of whatsoever degree (whom they once call hereticks) audience, time nor place to speak, and use defence; which is against all lawe. . . . So that if I might have had audience, and shewd my just defence. . . . I should never have fled. . . . albeit it had cost mee my life: But because I believed, that I could have no audience (they are so great with thy Ma.) I have departed, nor doubting, but moved of God, untill a better time, that God illuminate thy Ma., even to give every man audience (as thou shouldst & mayst, and art bound by the law of God) who are accused to death. And to certify thy Highness, that these are not vain words, here I offer me to come into thy realm again, if thy Ma. will give mee audience, and hear what I have for mee according to the word of God; and cause any Bishop, abbot, frier or Secular; which is most cunning (some of them can not read their Matins, who are made Judges of heresy) to impugne mee by the law of God; and if my part be found wrong, thy Ma. being present and judge, I refuse no pain. . . . and if I convince them by the law of God; and that they have nothing to lay to my charge, but the law of man, and their own inuentions to uphold their own glory and pridefull life, and dayly scourging thy poor subjects; I refer myself unto thy Ma. as judge, Whether he hath the victory, that holds him at the law of God, which can not fail nor be false, or they that hold themselves at the law of man, which is very oft plain contrary; and therefore of necessity false: for all thing contrary to verity (which is Christ and his law) is of necessity a ly. And to witness that this comes of all my heart, I shall remain at Berwick, whil I shall have thy Mas. answer, and shall without fail return, having thy handwritting, that I shall have audience and place to speak, I desire no more, whereof if I had been sure, I should never have departed. . . . Pardon mee to say that, which lieth to thy Mas. charge. Thou art bound by the law of God (albeit they ly, and say, It appertaines not to thy Ma. to intermedle with such matters) to cause every man, who in any case is accused of his life, to have their just defense, and their accusers produced, according to their own law. They do blinde thy Ma. eies, that knowest nothing of thy law: but if I prove not this out of their own law, I offer mee to the death. Thy Ma. therefore may learn by dayly experience (seing they neither feare the King of heaven, as their lives esteem; neither Thee their natural Prince, as their vsurped power in their Actions shewes) why thy Highness should be no longer blinded. Thou mayst consider that they intend nothing else, but only the upholding of heir barded mules, augmenting their insatiable avarice, and continually overthrowing & swallowing up thy poore subiects; never preaching nor teaching out of the law of God (as they should) the ignorant people; but contend, who may be most high, most rich, and nearest thy Ma; to put thy temporall Lords and Lieges out of thy Counsell & favour, who should see and are most tender servants to thy Ma. in all time of need, to the defense of Thee and thy Crown. . . . Let thy Ma. take boldness and authority, which thou hast of God, and suffer not their cruell persecution to proceed, without audience given to him, who is accused. . . . and then no doubt, thou shalt have thy subiects hearts and all that they can do in time of need, tranquillity, justice and policy, and finally the kingdom of heaven. May I please you, to give a copy of this to the Clergy, and keep the originall, and thy Ma. shall have experience, if I go against one word, that I have

spoken, &c. This Letter was delivered unto the King and it was read by many: but no answer was returned; and the man went into England, and preached (some years) the gospel to the comfort of his hearers. *The hist. of Reformat.* Others spoke also against the licentiousness of the Clergy, that a new resolution was taken to burne moe. A frier John Forrest was brought to Santandrews for saying, Pa. Hamilton died a Martyr: because they had not clear proof against him, another frier Walter Laign was sent to confesse him: he askes him in way of confession, What is his judgement concerning Pa. Hamilton? Forrest answereth, I think, he was a good man, and the articles might be well defended, for which he was condemned. This is sufficient evidence to condemn him unto the fire. When they lead him out to be degraded, he cried among the people, Fie on falshood, fie on false friers, revealers of confession: let never a man trust them after mee: they are despisers of God, and deceivers of men. While they consulted upon the manner and place of his execution, John Lindsay a gentle man (waiting upon the Bishop) said, If yee will burn any more, do it in a hollow cellar: for the smoke of Mr Pa. Hamilton hath infected all these on whom it blew. Nevertheless he was burnt at the north side of the abbey, that the hereticks of Anguise might see the fire. The persecution goeth on: James Hamilton of Livingston brother of the Martyr, and his sister Catherin were summoned to compear at Halirudhouse before the Bishop of Ross. The King adviseth the gentle man not to appear: he was condemned for not obeying. Catherin was asked, whither she believes to be justified by works? She answered, I believe, no person can be justified by their own works. John spence a Lawyer had a long discourse of the diversity of works of *congruitie and of condignity, &c.* The young woman saith, Worke here, work there: what kinde of work is all this? I know perfectly, that, no work can save mee, but the works of Christ my Saviour. The King laugheth at the answer, and taking her aside, persuades her to recant her opinion: and by her example sundry others at the same time were moved to abiure their profession; as Wi. kirk a priest, Adam daes, &c. So soon as these were dismissed, Normand gourley and David straton were brought to tryall. Norman was charged for denying purgatory, and that the Pope had any jurisdiction in Scotland. David had been turbulent, and was by conference with John Erskin of Dun become another man, and God had kindled in his heart such love to the knowledge of trueth, that he oft prayd for spirituall courage, if he shall be brought to suffer for Christ. He was charged for maintaining, that tyths were not due to Church-men. He denied that he had said so: but said he, I send a fish-boat to the sea, and they are so rigorous in craving the tenth fish, that they can not be contented, and I said, If they will not believe, how many fishes are taken, go and see where they are taken; yea and I gave order to my servants to cast the tenth fish into the sea. And he was further accused of the same point with Norman. He was condemned with him, and was offered to be spared, if he would burne his bill, which was then used as the signe of recanting: but he would not. So they were burnt together August XXVII. year 1534: At the same time were summoned Alex. Aleffe, Jo. Fife, John macbee, and one Macdowall: they fled into England, and thereafter into Germany: the first two were Professours of Divinity in Lipsia: the third was called Maccabeus, and was Chaplain to Christian King of Denmark. As the history of the Reformation shewes, there were civil broils in the country, and the persecution was interrupted untill the year 1538, and in the mean while the knowledge of the truth increaseth, partly by

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by conference of men about what had been done, and partly by reading the New testament in English, and partly by report of merchants and seamen; telling what was a doing in other countries in the cause of religion. The bb. and their officialls accurse many for trifles and pecuniall causes: the people contemn their excommunications: therefore the bb. would strengthen their sentences by civill authority, and procure an act of Parliament against such, who lay 40 daies under excommunication James 5. Parl. 4. Act. 8.

III. The heat of persecution in England seemed but to begin in year 1527. *The beginning of Reformation in England*
those who before were called Lollards, werethen called Lutherans: great numbers were burnt: whereby the King thought to promerite the Popes favour. Behold how God brings light out of darknes! When King Henry had been 20 years married, he falls into the scruple, whither his marriage was lawfull? but who can tell, whither he was so touched indeed, or but a pretext, in respect he had not a son, or that he loved another woman? *King Henry intends to divorce*
Yet so it was, he abstaines from her company, and speakes of divorcement: The Queen sendeth unto the Pope and complains: the King also sanderth, and craves, that the Pope would justify by the sacred word the former dispensation to marry, or dissolve the marriage. How this was carried in the Popes court, none can declare better than an Italian: and so Pe. Soave in *Histor. Conc. Trident.* hath it thus; Pope Clemens in time of his distrefs had good hope, if the Kings of France & England shall continue in his grace, and make disturbance unto Cesar in the Kingdom of Naples: therefore he dispatches Card. Campegius into England, and commits the cause unto him and the Card. of York. The King was certified by letters from Rome, that the cause shall be discerned speedily in his favours: this was in the year 1528. But when Clemens considereth, that the Emperours favour was more usefull unto him in recovering the City Florence; in the year 1529. he sent Francis Campana unto Campegius, ordering him to burne his former Bull, and proceed warily in that cause. Campegius devieth pretexts of delay, and pretends difficulties. The King observes his ugling, and asks the advice of the Universities in Italy, Germany & France. Some were against his mind, and some for him, especially the Padisians, and many thought, that they were moved by his gifts more than by weight of reason. But the Pope whether willing to gratifie Cesar, or fearing, that by means of the Card. of York some what might happen contrary to his mind, drawes back the cause unto himself. The King being impatient, and smelling the fraud, forsakes Catharin, and marieth Anna Bolen in the year 1533. *He marryeth without the Popes indulgence.*
Nevertheless the plea is continued, but slowly; that, if the Pope can, he may both satisfie the Emperour, and decline the offense of the King. And then he touches not the point, but some accessory articles: especially he decerneth against the King, that it was not lawfull for him by his own authority and without the Sentence of the Church, to forsake the company of his wife. When the king understood this, in the beginning of the year 1534. he denieth obedience unto the Pope, and chargeth all his subjects, that they send no mony unto Rome, nor pay Peter pence unto any of the Collectors. This vexeth the Romane Court, and all their thoughts were upon remedies. Many would proceed with censures against the king and interdict all Nations to have commerce with England: but they took a more moderate course to serve the time, and by intercession of France to compose the business. And Francis undertooke it, and sent the Bishop of Parise unto Rome with tolerable propositions;
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and in the mean while they went on slowly at Rome, that they would discern nothing, unless Cesar would either first, or at the same time revenge by the sword his cousin's wrong. The plea was branched into 23 articles, as 1. whether Prince Arthur had carnall copulation with Catherin? The half of Lent was spent on this question: then March 19 Newes were brought to Rome, that a famous libell was published in England against the Pope and all his Court; and that before the king was a comœdy to the great reproach of the Pope and the Cardinals. Then all were in a rage; and March 24 they pronounce sentence, that the marriage betwixt Henry & Catharin was lawfull, and unless he hold her for his wife, he shall be reputed as excommunicated. This præcipation pleaseth not the Pope: for within fixe dayes Letters come from France, shewing that Henry is content to submit unto their judgement, and obey the Pope, if such Cardinals were secluded of whom he was jealous; and such as were free of suspicion, were sent to Camerac, and there determine the plea: and Francis sent Oratours for this effect. Then Clemens adviseth on pretences, to suspend the Sentence, and recover a lost cause. But Henry said, Their Sentence was nothing unto him: he is the only Lord of his own kingdom, as the Pope is the only Bishop of Rome; and he will do as the Easterne Church did of old, to wit, he will keep the Christian faith, and cast-off the Popes authority; nor will he suffer that the Lutheran or any other heresy have place in his realm. And so he did: for he publisheth an Edict, whereby he declares himself *The head of the Church of England*, and chargeth upon pain of death, that no man ascribe any power unto the Pope within England, and commandeth all the Collectors of Peter-pence to be gone. All those were confirmed by ordinance of the Estates, which they call the Parliament. And it was also Acted, that the archb. of Canterbury shall invest all the bb. of England. and that the Churchmen shall pay yearly unto the King 150000 pounds, for defence of the kingdom against whatever enemy. Various were the judgements of men concerning this action of the King: some said, it was done prudently, that he had cast of the Romane See without any alteration of religion, without any sedition among his subjects, and without appeal of his cause unto a Council: for if he had permitted it unto the judgement of a Council, he saw, that he could not carry it without difficulty, and the issue might have been dangerous: for a Council consisting of Church-men would without doubt have maintained the Papal power, seeing, albeit they be in some respect obnoxious unto Emper. and Princes, yet they do prefer the eminency of the Pope, nor among the Churchmen is any but the Pope that carrieth sway, having no Superior in degree of honour. But the Roman Court argueth, it could not be affirmed, that he had made no change in religion, when the chief and first article of their faith, concerning the Primacy of the Pope, was changed: for which alone they should have kindled the fire of sedition, as if all had been changed: and the event did confirm this, seeing the King was driven by necessity of maintaining this edict, to punish severely his formerly dearest minions. Nor can it be easily told, how great offense and sadness not only at Rome, but every where, this departure of so great a Prince from the obedience of the Pope, wrought in the hearts of Churchmen. Certainly it was a cleare document of humane frailty: whereby it often happeneth, that what things were most advantagious, turn at last to the greatest loss and harm. For the Romish PP. by dispensations of marriages, and sentences of divorces either granted or denied, were wont to make great ad-

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vantages, under the name of Christs Vicar as under a shadow covering those Princes, which thought it expedient, (either by some incestuous marriage, or by violating one, and contracting another) to make new purchase of other Landes, or to cut away the rights and titles of diverse competitor; and that made sure friendship among them [*The Pope and the Princes*] when his authority did serve to maintain their power, without which the actions of Princes, being unlawfull, had been clearly condemned & hindered; nor only unto these Princes, but unto all their children, which might have been called, to prove the lawfulness of their birth. *So far Te. Seave in hist. Conc. Trid. Lib. 1.* Others shew what was done in England: Card. Wolsey archb. of York had advised the King unto that divorcement: but when he understood of his affection toward Anna Bolen, he changeth his mind, because she was infected (so he spoke) with Lutheranism; and he wrote unto the Pope that for this cause he would not consent unto the divorce. Thus we see, that in all these variations both at Rome and in England, the Pope and his Cardinals look not to any Rule, either of Gods word or of reason, but are moved by the Spring of their own interest. When the King understood of these Letters by his Agent lying at Rome, he was highly displeased, and displaceth Wolsey of his office of Chancellor in France, and of two bishopricks (for he had three, York, Duresme & Winchester) and at last he sent the Captain of his Guard to bring him to London: but he died by the way, of a fluxe. When the king was married with Queen Anna, he entangleth all the Clergy by the law *Premunire*, or assisting the Popes Legate. They submit themselves: namely, the Prelates profer for discharge of that law, to give unto the king 100000 pounds out of Canterbury, and 18840 pounds out of York; and in their submission they call the King the head of the Church. In the Parliament *An. 24.* of his reigne, in January following, he annulleth some former Acts, that were made against hereticks, and ordaineth, that none shall be in danger for speaking against the Popes pretended authority or his Decrees or lawes, which are not grounded on the holy Scriptures. Item *An. 25* he appointed 32 judges out of the higher & lower houses (whereof 16 should be of the clergy, and 16 of the temporality, and all at his own nomination) to examine the Synodal Canons, and to determine of them, either to stand in strength, or to abrogate them at their discretions. Item the Clergy should promise on the word of a priest, never to assemble without the Kings licence, nor enact constitutions without his consent. Item that all cases, that were (before) reserved from the power of the Pope, unto the King, were declared to appertain unto the King and his commissioners; so to dispense with Canons, to divide or unite bishopricks. Item all annuities or first year's fruits, and tyths of Benefices were forbidden to be carried out of the Country; and *An. 26. c. 3.* they were ordained to be payd into the King as before unto the Pope. Item no appellation should be made to Rome. Item Peter-pence, pensions & all such exactions shall cease; With expresse provision, that the King nor his subjects shall not intend to vary from the articles of the Catholick faith of Christendom. Item the degrees of consanguinity & affinity that are prohibited by the law of God, were explained & published. The Kings marriage with Catherin was declared unlawfull, and his marriage with Anna daughter to the Earle of Wiltshire was approved. The excommunication of the King was affixed on the church-doors of Dunkirk, because the Nuntio durst not come into England. But the King proceeds in parliament *An. 26. c. 1.* renouncing and

causing the subjects to renounce the Pope, and establishing the Papal authority in his own person. The oath of the clergy unto the Pope is made void, and they are ordained to give their oath unto the king. The bishops and Doctors of Divinity and of both lawes do both by word & write, and in their Convocations confirme all that the king had done in Parliament. Jo Fisher Bishop of Rochester and Thomas Moore refuse to subscribe therefore they were committed. Pope Paul hearing of Fisher's constancy (as they called it there) creates him a Cardinal: for he said, The King will not put hands in a Cardinal: but ere the Bull came, the king had intelligence of it, and caused to execute the Bishop and Thomas Moore *An. 1535*. It was the just judgement of God on them: for they had incensed the king against many Martyrs; namely, Fisher caused his Dean Do. Parker to take up and burn the body of William Tracy, an Esquire in Rochester-shire, after it had lyen in the grave three years, because he said in his latter Will, he would have no pompe at his buriall, and he trusted in Christ only, hoping to be saved by Him, and by no Saint. *Tho. cooper at An. 1532*. Likewise lest the Pope did provoke other Princes against king Henry, he sent Ambassadors with Letters and informations unto the Emperour, the k. of France.... entreating them to keep amity. The summe of his Letter unto James V. king of Scotland was; Forasmuch as the Pope without the knowledge of the Emperour or French king or Germane Princes hath excommunicated mee, and now the Popes Nuntio the Cardinal of Scotland is arrived with commission (as I hear it brooded, but have no intelligence) to praise some annoyance by his pretended censures against mee thy uncle; Therefore I premonish and require thy Grace, and most heartily pray thee, to consider 1. the Supremacy of Princes granted by the holy Scriptures unto mee and other Princes in their Churches 2. to weigh what Gods word calleth a Church 3. what superstitions, idolatries and blind abuses have crept into all realmes to the high displeasure of God. 4. what is to be understood by the censure & excommunication of the Church, and how no such censure can be in the power of the Bishop of Rome or of any other man against mee or any other Prince, having so just ground to avoide from the root, and to abolish so execrable authority which the Bishop of Rome hath vsurped and vsurpes upon all Princes to their great damage; My request therefore to my nephew is to consider, of what moment it should bee unto yourself (having your subjects evill instructed in the premisses) if you agree unto such censures, and by such example give upper-hand over yourself and other Princes unto that vsurper of Rome, as is like to happen in other places of Christendom, (where the true declaration of the word of God shall have free course) to scourge them unless they will adore and kisse the foot of that corrupt holiness, which desireth nothing but pride and the vniversal thrall of Christendom under Rome's yoke; I also premonish your Grace, that you would not receive the Popes Cardinal into your Countrey: for he will not be content to be next unto you, but assuredly he will bee equall, yea and usurp over you, and be a heauey burden unto your countrey, as experience teaches in England, &c. After this, Henry enjoyeth peace, notwithstanding all that the Pope wrought against him. *fo. Fox Aet. & moni*. But upon this occasion the King of France was perswaded by the Pope not to pay (as he was wont) yearly 9,000 Crowns, and other 10,000. crowns, as a Treatie of peace betwixt the kingdoms said specific. In the year 1536. Q. Cath. died; Q. Anna and her brother were beheaded, with Henry Norreys and Francis Weston and

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other two gentle men of the bedchamber; for what cause, it is not known, saith Jo. Foze: but within three Dayes the king married Lady Jane Seimer. First by a Convocation, and then by Parliament *An. 32.* Henry VIII. his marriage with Lady Anna was declared unlawfull (no reason is alledged in the Act) and he excludes his daughters Mary and Elisabet from succession, and declareth the Crown to appertain unto the heirs to be begotten. In the next year prince Edward was borne, and within 12. dayes his mother died. Then by determination of Synods and Sentence of both Universities it was acknowledged, that unto the king did belong the title *The Supream head of the Church*, that is, (as they expounded it) under Christ the Supream member of the Church within his own dominions, to commande for trueth, and not against trueth. *Fran. Mason lib. 3. c. 3.* According to this title he began to consider the estate of the Church: by advice and prudence of the godly Lord Cromwell and others of his Counsell he understood, that the corrupt estate of the Church had need of Reformation in many things; yet because so many superstitious persons were to be turned from their olde customs; he procures an Act of Parliament (*An. 32. of his reigne*) that whatsoever article of faith and declaration of other expedient points, the Archbbs. Bishops and a great number of the learned Doctors with consent of the King, shall think needfull & expedient, together with their determination of other points and ceremonies in Divine Service, shall have the strength of an Act of parliament. Then he would not Reforme all at once, but purposing to lead them softly, he intendeth to proceed by degrees. First he publisheth a little book, bearing the inscription, *Articles devised by his Highness to establie Christian quietnes & unity.* In this were 1. the articles of the Creed necessary to be believed by all men. 2. the doctrine of baptisme, penance and sacrament of the altar, little or nothing differing from the Church of Rome. 3. he declareth, that the cause of our justification is the only mercy of the Father promised freely unto us for his son Christs sake, and for the merit of his passion; yet good works are necessary with inward contrition, charity and other spirituall graces and good morions, that is, when wee have received remission of our sins, or are justified, we must give obedience unto God, in observing his Law. 4. he commandeth pastors to teach their people, that images should not be worshipped, and are but representers of vertue and good example, and therefore no incense, kneeling, nor offering should be done unto them. 5. Saints are to be praised, or Christ is to be praised in them, for their graces and good example, that they have left unto us, but wee obtain all grace by the only Mediation of Jesus Christ, and of none other. 6. concerning ceremonies, as holy vestures, holy water, bearing candles on Candlemes-day, and some such others, he admits them to be good, so far as they put men in remembrance of spirituall things, but so that they contain in them no power to remit or take away sin, &c. There he addeth other iniunctions: specially he causeth to translate the Bible, and commandeth all priests to have a Latine and English Bible lying open in their parish-churches, that whosoever leaseth, may read them. Then diverse images were demolished *An. 1538*, specially the most notable stocks of idolatry at Walsingham, Worcheester... which had devices to role their eyes, and to stirre other parts of their body, and many other false jugglings, wherewith simple people had been deceived: all which was then made known, and destroyed. *Jo. Foze in Act.* In the same year followeth the ruine of all religious (as they had been called) houses, by advice of the same L-Cromwell Lord of the privy seale; So that all friers, Nuns and sects of religion were rooted out of England, to

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the number of 645. Abbeyes, priories and Nuneries, and by Act of Parliament their lands did return to the heirs of the first Donours. All that time Steeven Gardener Bishop of Winchester so dealt with the king by representing unto him the grudge of his subjects for rejecting the pope and for his dealing toward his wives (he had then married Anna Sister to the Duke of Cleve *An. 1539.*) and for these his late doings; that he persuadeth him (for taking away suspicion of heresy) to consent unto the burning of John Lambert: yea Gardener prevailleth so, that the king hearkned no more unto L. Cromwell, but contrariwise he beheaded him and Walter. L. Hungerford, July 28 *An. 1540. Tho. Cooper.* He made an Act discharging the Translation of the Bible made by W. Tindall, and restraining the authorized Translation with many limitations, *An. 34. Henr. VIII.* It came then to passe, that the estate of Religion seemed more and more to decay, and popish injunctions were authorized, establishing Transubstantiation, vowes of chastity, private Masses and auricular confession; and forbidding communion in both kinds and marriage of priests (wherefore some said, Henry had forsaken the Pope, but not popery) and he annulled not those former Statutes. Such was the craft of the venomous serpent! But God raiseth up some good instruments: for Thomas Cranmer archb. of Canterbury resists Gardener; and the Counsel of England was divided: some were for the old Religion, and some for the Reformed; and Statutes of both sorts were in force. So in one day at Smith field *An. 1541.* Gardener with his faction, for refusing his articles caused burn three godly men, Do. Robert Barnes, Tho. Garret & Will. Jerom priests; and Tho Cranmer with his side, caused hang, drawe and quarter other three, Ed. Powell, Ric. Fetherston & Tho. Abell, for denying the kings Supremacy, and maintainging the Bishop of Rome's authority. *Jo. Foxe in Acts.* A stranger beholding these, said, Good God. how can men live here? on the one side Papists are hanged, and on the other anti-papists are burnt. The people were brought marvelously into doubt of Religion. All the number of them, which suffered in England for maintaining Papacy (which was called Treason) wer 24 persons: but of the other sort many were burnt, and so many were imprisoned the same year, that room could not be found in the prisons of London, and many were kept in other houses: by intercession of the L. Chancellor Audley, many of them were given to the custody of Noble men. where they were used favourably. In that year Henry was divorced from his fourth wife by Sentence of his Clergy, which did hate her for Lutheranisme (as they spoke) yet with her own consent, and within a month he married Catherin Howard a brothers daughter of the house of Norfolk: the next year she was accused of adultery with Tho. Culpeper, and beheaded in the Tower with Jane Lady Rocheford as accessory unto her deeds. After that, Henry began to misse his good Counsellor L. Cromwell, and to perceive the scope of Gardener: he wrote unto Archbishop. Cranmer, to reforme pilgrimages and idolatry; and he permits to eat flesh in Lent, pretending a civill respect and the benefite of the people. But bloodie Gardener ceaseth not from persecution, and burnt in one fire Ro. Testwood, Ja. Filmer, Jo. Marbeck and Antonie pierson, at Winchester *An. 1543;* and great numbers at Calice; amongst whom was the abovenamed Alex. Seton. The Commissioners of this bloody Inquisition were restrained by the Lords of parliament *An. 1545,* that no inditeiments should be received against any person, but by the oaths of 12. men (atleast) of honesty

honesty & credite, and free of malice. Item, that no person should be put in ward before his enditement were heard & judged except at the Kings speciall command. Item *An. 35. Henr. VIII. c. 16.* it was enacted, that the king should have full authority to appoint 16. of the clergy, and 16 of the Temporality, to peruse and examine the canons, constitutions and ordinances Provincial and Synodal, and according to their discretions with his Royall consent, to settle and establish an order of Ecclesiasticall lawes, to be observed in time coming in all spirituall courts. As these Acts did in some measure shew the mind of the King, so Gardener ceaseth not; yea he spareth not the godly Lady the Kings sixth wife, and sent to apprehend her: but by her wisdom and submission unto the King she was saved out of the butchers handes. In a word, Henry was much led by his Counsellors: he died in January 1547. When he saw death approaching, he nameth his son Edward to be his heire; and failing him, he appointeth the Crown unto Mary; and failing her, unto Elisabeth. he appointeth 16. Counsellours, as Governours of his son: a mongst whom were Th. Cranmer, and Gardener: but afterward he caused to blott out Gardeners name, because (said he) he would trouble all the rest, he is of so turbulent a spirit. The chieff of these Counsellors was Edward Seymer Earle of Herford uncle to king Edward, and Zealous of the Reformed religion. Henry would not suffer Gardener to come into his presence in time of his sicknes, but called oft for Cranmer, to receive spirituall comfort. *Jo. Fox in Acts.* Great joy was among the Fathers at Trent and Rome, when they heard of his death. *Te. Soave.* But they were disappointed, as followes.

IV. Pope Paul seeing that England had left him, and fearing the like departure of Scotland, creates David beton (one, which was not entred into the order of priesthood) Cardinal S. Stephani *de Monte Caelio*, and sent him as his Legat to prevent defection. Strict inquisition was made at his command in the year 1538. many both in Edinburgh and Sant Andrewes for fear did abjure the reformed Religion. Norwithstanding his opposition, the light of the Truth spreads in the cloisters, and the Friers preach against the ignorance and malice of the Bishops. In February 1538. the bishops held a meeting at Edinburgh: There two Friers Killore and Beverage, two priests Duncan Simson and Thomas Forrest, and a gentleman Tho. Forrester were condemned and burnt upon the Castle-hill. Thomas Forrest had been Vicar of Dolor, and was detained unto the Bishop of Dunkell for preaching every sunday to his parishoners upon the Epistles & Gospels of the day: the Bishop desireth him to forbear, seeing that diligence brought him into suspicion of heresy: but (said he) if you can find a good Gospell or a good epistle, that makes for the liberty of the holy Church, teach that, and leave the rest. Thomas answereth, I have read both the New testament and the old, and I never found an ill epistle or an ill gospell in any of them. The Bishop replieth, I thank God, I have lived well these many years, and never knew the old nor new: I content mee with my Portuise and Pontificall; and if you leave not those fantasies, you will repent, when you can not mende it. He answered, he thought it his duty to do as he did, and had layd his account with any danger, that may follow. The sommer following, Jer. Russell a gray frier and Thomas Kennedy a young man of Aire not above 18 years of age were at Glascow accused of heresy: because the Bishop Gawin Dumber was thought cold in the business, Mrs John Lawder & And. Oliphant, and frier Maltman were sent from Edinburgh, to assist him.

him. The young man would have saved his life by denying the points layd to his charge: but when he heard Russel's answers, he falls upon his knees, and saith, Wonderfull, o Lord, is thy love and mercy towards mee a miserable wretch! for even now I would have denied thee and thy son the Lord Jesus Christ my only Saviour, and so have thrown myself into everlasting condemnation: thou by thy own hand hast pulled mee back from the bottom of hell, and given mee to feel most heavenly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear, that before oppressed my mind: now I defy death: do what yee please: I praise God, I am ready. The Frier reasoneth a long time with his accusers, and when he heard nothing from them, but bitter and menacing speeches, he said, This is your houre and power of darknes: now yee sit as Judges, and we stand, and wrongfully are condemned: but the day comes, which will shew our innocency, and yee shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion: go on, and fulfill the measure of your iniquity. At these words the Bishop was moved, and said, These rigorous executions hurt the cause of the Church more than wee think of: and therefore in my opinion, it were better to spare the mens lives, and take some other course with them. These which were sent to assist, said, If he will follow any other course, than which had been kept at Edinburgh, he could not be esteemed a friend of the Church. So he consentes to their cruelty. All the time the fire was preparing, Russel comforts the young man, and useth such speeches, Fear not brother: for he is more mighty which is in us, than he who is in the world: the pain which wee shall suffer is short, and light, but our joy & consolation shall never have an end: death can not destroy us: for it is destroyed already by him, for whose sake wee suffer: let us strive to enter by the same strait way, which our Saviour hath taken before us. The hearers were wonderfully moved with these and such words, and seeing their constancy. *Spotswo. in the Histo. Lib. 2.* At that time Geo. Buchanan was imprisoned for his poësie written against the Franciscans: but he escaped out of prison. The Bishops intend to use the like cruelty in all parts of the realme: nevertheless day by day not only the learned, but even those of whom such gifts could scarcely have been expected, began plainly to paint forth the hypocrisy of friers, and ignorance of priests. Bishop Beaton becomes sick, and commits his charge to his nephew the Cardinal which did succeed him. At his first entring, to shew his grandure, he calleh to Sant Andrews in Maje 1540. eight Earls & Lords, 5 Bishops,

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no 1540. 4 Abbots with a great number of Barons, Priours, Deans and Doctours; and sitting in a chaire somewhat above them all (because he was a Cardinal) he speaks of the danger of the Catholick Church by the increase of hereticks, and their boldnesse even in the Kings Court, where they finde too great countenance. He named Sir John Borthwick (commonly called Captain Borthwick; and some call him Provest of Lithgow) whom he had caused to be summoned for dispersing the English New Testament and books of Jo. Oecolampade, Melanthon and Erasmus; and for maintaining diverse heresies: and the Cardinal craves their assistance in proceeding in justice against him. Among other articles these were read; 1. The Pope hath no greater authority over Christians, then any other Bishop hath. 2. Indulgences granted by the Pope are but to deceive poor souls. 3. bb. priests and other clerks may lawfully marry 4. the heresies commonly called *the heresies of England*, and their new liturgy is commendable, and should be embraced &c. He appeares not, and is condemned for these particulars as

an heresiarch, and is ordained to be burnt in *effigie*, if he can not be apprehended. He fled into England, and King Henry emploiet him in a commission to the Protestant Princes in Germany for a confederation in defense of their common profession. Some years preceeding, King Henry had sent the Bishop of S. Davids with some English books unto his nephew K. James; aiming to induce him unto the like Reformation: and in that year he craves a meeting at York, to treat of the common good of both kingdoms. The King was advised by the Nobility, to prepare for that journey: and he returns answer, that he will come. But the Cardinal and clergy fearing the effects of that Conference, set themselves against it: they call the seed of discord among the Counsellors, and propound unto the King the inconstancy of promises from an hostile king: he needs not go into England for any benefite, seeing he hath enough at home: they promise to give him yearly 30000 crowns from the Church; and of them, which are rebellious against the holy Father the Pope, and his lawes, he may make unto the Crown yearly above 100000 Crouns, if he will authorize such a Judge as they would name, to proceed against them. Nor can there be any danger in arraigning them, seeing it is known, that they do use the Bible in English, they talk commonly of the Popes power; they despise the Service of the Church; they deny obedience unto sacred persons, and are not worthy to live under a king. By these persuasions the king gives over his journey to York. Wherefore king Henry was offended, and prepares an Army against Scotland: and James prepares another to invade England. In time of these levies, the Cardinal gives unto the king a catalogue of above 300 persons, whom in his inquisition he had appointed unto death: but this bloody designe was stayd by that preparation, and taken away by the death of the king. For the sum of the warrs is, when the Scots were past Solway, a gentle man Oliver Sinclair shewes his Commission, to be Commander in chieff: the Noble men refuse to fight under his command, and were taken captives (the water flowing, they could not return) and King James hearing of their overthrow, died in sorow within 3. dayes, on December 13. year 1542; leaving a Daughter Mary five dayes old, to be his heire. Then were various discourses, what might be the issue of those warrs: Every one talkes as he wisheth or feareth. Henry calleth for the captives unto White-hall, and shewes them, how God had offered them a most fit occasion of firme concord, if their Queen were contracted with his son. They do promise to use their diligence, so far as they could, without prejudice of the kingdom and their own infamy: and so were dismissed in January. Buchan. *Histor. Libr.* 14. & 15. Then the Cardinal had more than hope, to be Regent: he causeth a Priest Hen. Balfour to write (as the Kings last will) that he and some others should be Governours; and the Queen Dowager favoureth him. But these who loved not his Inquisition, and others calling to mind the former difficulties of the kingdom in the like case, chuseth and declareth February 10. James hamilton Earle of Arran (who was one of these, whom the Cardinal had appointed unto death, and next heire of the Crown) to be Regent, during the minority of the infant Queen. He had two preachers Thomas Guillian and John rough found in religion according to these times. The Card. was not content with the Regent, nor his preachers: he endeavoureth to molest him, and to stay the preaching of the Word. In March a Parliament was assembled: thither Ralph Sadler Ambassadour from England comes

for common peace; and by the way to put in mind the former captives of their promises. The Contract of promise was once concluded: but the Qu. Dowager, the Card. and the Prelates do so wilfully oppose it, that with common voice of the most part, the Cardinal was removed, and shut up strait in a chamber, untill the votes were asked: then the marriage was concluded; other conditions of peace were penned, and pledges were ordained to be sent into England. The Cardinal was convoyed to Dalkeith, and there kept as in firme ward: by intercession of the Queen he obtains liberty to go unto Seton, and afterwards was set at full liberty. In the same Parliament the rigour of Acts against them, who have English Bibles was taken off. The Prelates did object, that the Church had forbidden all languages in religion but three, Hebrew, Greek and Latine. The Lords demande, When was that inhibition made, seeing Chrysostom complaines, that men will not use the sacred books in their own language. The Bishops answer, These were Greeks. The Lords reply, Christ commandeth, that his Word be preached unto all Nations, and therefore it should be preached in every language, which the Nation understands best: and if it should be preached in all tongues, why should it not be read in all tongues? In the end the best part prevails, and liberty was granted to read the Bible, and to say prayers in the vulgar language. This was not a small victory of the truth, and thereby many simple ones receive information. Sundry treatises went abroad against the tyranny and abuses of the Church of Rome, and many in forreign Nations praise God for the Regent. At that time the New Testament was so unknown unto the multitude of priests, that they were not ashamed to say in their preachings, That book was written by Luther. Not long after, the Abbot of Pasley comes out of France, and prevails so with his brother the Regent, that Frier Guiliam was put from preaching, and went into England; and John rogh went to Kyle; and all godly men were terrified from Court. Likewise the Card. hindereth the sending of the pledges into England, and by his means and of his complices, the Regent was persuaded to alliance with France. Yea the crafty insinuations of the Card. and Abbot move the Regent, to renounce the profession of the Gospell, and submit himself unto the Pope. Then every thing was done at the nod of the Cardinal: many were persecuted: of whom some fled, and some were burnt, as *An.* 1546. in February Ja. hunter, Will. lambe, Wi. Anderson and Ja. rannell burgeses of Sant Iohn stoun, because they had eaten a goose on a fryday; and a woman, because in her travelling she would not call upon Mary. John rogers a black frier (who had faithfully preached the gospell unto many in Anguise and Merns) was murdered in the sea-tower of Santandrews, and then was thrown over the wall, and a report was spread, that he had broken his own neck. In the year 1544. came home that blessed servant of Christ, George wishart, one of great learning, Zeal and modesty: as I being young have heard of very antient men, he had been Schoolemaster of Montros, and there did teach his disciples the new testament in Greck: for this fault he was delated unto the Bishop of Brechen in time of the persecution *An.* 1533. when he was summoned to appear, he fled; and after sixe years returns with more knowledge of the truth and with more Zeall: He preached first in Montros within a private house next unto the church, except one; then in Dundie, where by authority of the Card. he was prohibited to preach: because the town was so ready to forsake the Word of God for boast of a man, he foretold that a scourge was coming shortly upon them.

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From thence he went to Aire, and preached in the open fields at the church of Galtoun: for he was hindered by the Bishop of Glasgou to preach in a Church. There he is informed, that within four dayes after his coming from Dundie, that town was infected with the pest. Upon this occasion he leaves Kyle with the grief of many, and returns to Dundy, being confident, that in that visitation they would hearken unto the comfort of the Word. Because some were sick, and some were clean, he stood upon the east port, and preached both in the hearing of the sick without, and of the cleane within. They hearken then unto him with such comfort, that they wish to dy rather than live, thinking that possibly they could not have such comfort afterwards. He spareth not to visite the sick both with bodily and spirituall refreshment. The Cardinal was enraged at this preaching, and hireth a frier to kill him: but God made his servant to espy the weapon under the friers gown, and to gripe his hand. The people would have used violence against the frier: but he stayd them, saying, He hath done mee no wrong, but rather good; and shewes, that I have need to take heed unto myself. The frier declares, who had sent him, and was let go. When the plague ceaseth in Dundy, he returns to Montross, to visite the Church there, and ministreth the Communion with both elements in Dun. From thence he was called by the gentle men of the West, to meet them at Edinburgh, because they intend to seek a dispute with the Bishops. In the way he lodged at Innergoury in the house of James watson, there it was revealed unto him, that he was to glorify God shortly by martyrdom, and not many shall suffer after him. When he told these things unto others in that house, he said also, The glory of God shall triumph clearly in this realme, in spite of Satan: but alas! if the people shall become unthankfull, fearfull shall their plagues bee. When he came to Edinburg; these of Kyle came not: he preaches sometimes there, and some times in Lieth within privat houses: at the entreaty of some he preached now in Brounstoun, then in Ormestoun, and sometimes in Halingrout: in that town for feare of the Earle Bothuell few did hear him, and he foretold the desolation, that came on that town. When he returned to Ormestoun, he told that he was to be apprehended shortly: the same night Bothuell comes with a number of armed men at the instigation of the Cardinal. Wishart yeelds himself, and is convoyd to Edinburgh, and then to Santandrews. There he was accused upon the doctrin of justification: he defends himself by the Scriptures. Nevertheless he is condemned, and burnt March 1. year 1546. When he was in the fire, the Captain of the castle went near him, and in few words exhorts him to be of good courage, and crave pardon of his sins from God. He answereth. This fire is grievous to my body, but touches not my soule: yet (said he, pointing at the Card.) he who so proudly lookes out of his window, shall be shortly layd forth ignominiously. Many of the Nobility were rather provoked than afraid with such cruelty; and they began to think, Something must be attempted with hazert, rather than always suffer shamefully. So Normand Lesley (son to the Earle of Rothes, whom the Card. had much respected) and other 16 persones conspire his death. Buchanan (*Lib. 15 Histor.*) saith, a private quarrel moved them. May 7. in the morning, when the masons were wont to be let in to work, they kill the porter at the gate, and then (having locked the gate) they kill the Cardinal in his bedchamber. A noise ariseth in the City: some would climb the walls: then the murderers lay the corps forth at the window, (whence

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he had beheld the burning of Mr Wishart) to shew, that their business was too late. The report is quickly spread: some said, God had done justly, albeit the attempt was wicked. I passe over what was done by the Regent, to punish the fact, and how they keep the castle. If we will judge of the fact by the event, some of these murderers died in prison, some in the galeys, some escaped, but all died miserably. Nor did the posterity of the Cardinal enjoy long prosperity: for his three daughters were Ladies of Crawford, Vain and Kelly in Anguise; and all these families are now ruined. He gave good estates unto his three sons, but none of their posterity have any heritage that he gave them: but I return to the history. Because the Scots were intending a match with France, a fleet of ships sent from England, arrive at Lieth unaworse: they spoile Edinburgh and the country thereabout, and sent their ships loadned with spoile again in the same year. The Regent and Queen bring some aid from France: but the country was a common prey to both the Nations; and they were divided among themselves, some adhering unto England and their first Contract, and others pretending the old league with France, but indeed cleaving to idolatry: whereupon followed that infortunat battell at Pinky on the tenth of September *An. 1547*. The wars continue some years betwixt the two Nations, and the Queen was sent to France in April *An. 1548*. John Knox hapned to be within the castle of Saintandrews, when the last siege began; and was carried away to France with the others: because it was made cleare, that he was not at the murder, nor did consent unto the other crimes, he was set at liberty, and went to Geneva: thence he was called to the Ministry of Englishes at Frankford. In the year 1553. Mary being Queen of England, peace was concluded with France, England & Scotland. The next year the Queen Dowager went to France, and procureth, that the Regent was moved to dimit his office: they terrify him, that within a few years he may be called to account of his intromission; and in present contentation the King of France gave him the Dukedom of Chatterault. So he resigneth his office in Parliament unto the Ambassadour Mons. d'Ofell in favours of Q. Mary and her Curatours King of France and Duke of Guise. The Ambassadour delivereth instantly the same office unto the Q. Dowager. Then the Prelates thought, that none durst open a mouth against them: but the provident eie of God brought from England in time of persecution under Mary some learned men, as Wi: harlaw, John willock, &c. and Jo. Knox returns in the end of the year 1555. Before his coming the best men thought it not a sin, to be present at Masse: he by authority of Gods word persuades them to abhor it. He abode at Dun, and was exercised dayly in preaching: then he went unto Calder, where the Lord Erskin, L. Lorn and James Priour of Sant Andrews son of James V. and sundry other Noble men were his hearers. He went to Finlathoun, and preaches before the Zealous Earle of Glencairn: he ministrerth the Lords supper wherever he preacheth. When the Bishops heard of this, they summon him to appear at Edinburg May 15. *An. 1556*. The Bishops assemblen not, and he preaches in the Bishop of Dunkells lodging with greater audience than ever he had before. There the Earles Marshall, Glencairn and others advise him to write unto the Regent an exhortation unto the hearing of Gods word. He obeieth them: but it was in vain. He is called by his flock at Frankford to return: he goeth against the mind of many, but promiseth to return, if they abide constant in the truth. Then the Bishops summon him again: for no-compearance they burn him in *effigie* at the cross of Edinburgh in

Another
step of
Reformation.

July

ly An. 1556. He wrote his appeal, and caused it to be printed, and directed it unto the Nobility and Commons of Scotland. William harlaw preaches publickly in Edinburgh: so did John Douglas a Carmelite, and sometimes in Lieth. Paul messin preacheth ordinarily in Dundy; and many having the Cloisters preach in all parts of the Country, and the number of professors of Reformation was multiplied. When the priests saw, that they were much deserted, they complain unto the Bishops; and the Bishops judge it vain to summon these Preachers for heresy: therefore they complain unto the Regent, and accuse the Preachers of mutiny and sedition. The Regent knew that the multitude of all sorts were earnest that way, and saith, It is safer to delay for a time all contrary course: let the hereticks have some way, and wee shall wait our opportunity. *Buchan. list. Lib. 16.*

V. After the death of King Henry, follows a blessed Reformation in England: for he had caused his young son Edward to be well instructed by *Publick Reformation in England under* Do. Cox; and Edward L. Herford (who then was called Protectour of England, and Duke of Somerset) both loved the Reformation, and did his endeavour that the true light of the Gospell might shine everywhere. He had *King Edward* good helper Tho. Cranmer archb. of Canterbury. The King also was of singulare gifts above his age; one of the rarest Princes, that had been in many ages; yea it is doubted, if ever he had an equall in prudence, besides his knowledge of Sciences and languages, Greek, Latine and French. So he as another Josias purgeth the temple of the Lord from Popish idolatry and false invocation, and would have brought it to greater perfection, if time and life had answered unto his godly purpose. It may be easily conceived, how difficult it was to Reform all things at the first, when the greatest part of the Privy Counsell, of the Bishops and Nobility were open close Papists: but his purpose was not to leave one hoofe of the Romish east, and did forbid, that the Masse should be permitted unto his sister. In his first year, by authority of Parliament the sacrament of the Lords supper was administred unto the people with both elements; and Cranmer did translate and in some measure purge the Missal and Breviary. In the second year that book under the name *The book of common prayer and administration of Sacraments* was by act of Parliament, to be used in all churches and chappells; and that none practise, nor speak against it, nor any part of it, Providing also, that they who are acquainted with other languages, may use that which they understand best, in chappells, but not in parish-churches. In this third year an Act was made against all books called Antiphoners, Missals, grailes, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuiffes, aimers and other books whatsoever used before, for service in the Church of England in English or Latine, other than were then, or after shalbe set forth by the King. Item, against all images of stone, timber, alabastrer or earth; graven, carved or painted in any church or chappell, except only images or pictures upon any tombe for monument only of any person, which had been of good reputation. The book of *Common prayer* was some what amended in the year 1552. He put the Popish Bishops and priests to silence, and removed them from their Benefices. Boner Bishop of London was removed, and for contumacy was condemned to perpetuall prison in the Tower, and Do. Ridley became Bishop of London. Gardener was deposed from Winchester &c. But he killed none; yea when the Counsell would perswade him, to burn a woman Joan butcher, he said, What? will yee send her quick to the Devill in her errors?

When the Reformation was first intended, a generall Visitation of the Bishopricks was made by certaine prudent and learned men, which were appointed Commissioners, for severall Diocies; and unto every Company two or three preachers were adjoined. to preach at every Session, and dehorte the people from their wonted superstition, and inform them in the trueth. And that they might proceed the more orderly in their Commissions or visitations, 32 persons (as in the time of King Henry VIII) were appointed to prescribe certain instructions and orders of Visitation. The troubles in Germany at that time did contribute (by the gracious providence of God) to the furtherance of the Gospell in England, Tho. Cranmer by Letters brought Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, Peter Martyr and other learned men in the year 1548 and 1549: their coming was most acceptable unto the King & country. Fagius an expert Hebrician, and Bucer were sent to be Doctors in Cambridge, and Martyr was designed Reader of Divinity in Oxford. But (as Theod. Beza in *Resp. ad. Fr. Balduin Vol. 1. Tractat. Tag. 322 edit. An. 1570.* hath observed in *epist. Buceri* dated Cantabrig. Januarii 12 An. 1550): concerning the purity of rites, the advice of no forreiner was sought: what they could do, they did not fail both by word and write, to advise the people to chuse good Pastours, and to endeavour more purity both in doctrine and rites: but some through mans wisdom and vanishing thoughts would glue God and Belial with the leaven of Antichrist. And John à Lasco a Polonian was then a preacher of a Dutch congregation in London: he in his preface before his book *de Ecclesiastico ordine*, saith, That most holy King was desirous to have the whole Religion so reformed throughout all the king dom, that he was carefull of no other thing almost: but because some Lawes of the country were in the way; that the publick rites of Divine worship especially, which had been in use under Popery, could not be purged out as the King himself would; and I was instant for the forrein Churches; it pleased them at last, that the publick rites should be purged out of the English churches by degrees, so soon as they could by the lawes; and in the meantime forreiners (which in this respect were not so tied unto these lawes of the Country) should order their churches freely, and without any respect unto the rites of the Country, if their doctrine were only Apostolicall: nor so it may come to passe, that the English churches also might be moved by unanimous consent of the Estates, to embrace the Apostolical purity: and some took it so ill, that they did strive against the Kings purpose. *So far he.* yea they did so strive, and were so malicious, that they did accuse the Duke of Somerset, that he had changed the lawes of the realme, and had secret intelligence with forrein Ambassadors, without their knowledge, &c. And for these causes he was beheaded in the Tower An. 1552. So variance entereth among them, and coldness of Religion repossesseth many; and some have written, that the King was poisoned. Certainly for a clearer manifestation of mens hearts, the King was visited with long sickness, and died July 6. An. 1553. In time of his sickness he advised with his Privie Counsell, who should have the government after him: for albeit his Father had appointed Mary to succeed, yet seeing she is of a contrary religion, and it is doubted of the lawfulness of her birth, and himself is of lawfull years, he accounts it proper unto him, to name his heire; and the rather, that it is to be feared, that she will not only subvert religion, but the realm shall be thrall'd to a stranger, as Scotland is unto France. After deliberation it was decreed, to chuse Lady Jane daughter of the Earle of Suffolk and of Mary

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daughter of King Henry. 7. So foure dayes after Edwards death, Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen, by authority of the Councel. Many of the Nobility and people were much displeased, not so much for love of Mary, as for hatred to the Duke of Northumberland, because Lady Jane was married unto his fourth son. At this time Mary goeth into Norfolk and Suffolk and promisseth unto them of the Reformation, that she shall change nothing in Religion as it was established by her brother. They take her part; she writes abroad for aid, and carryeth her self as Queen. The Councell convening at London, sendeth some forces under the conduct of Northumberland, to apprehend her. But then the Councell perceiving the inclination of the people, and hearing that the Reformed of Norfolk and Suffolk were for her, change their Sentence; they cause proclaime Mary Queen, and keep La Jane in the Tower: When these newes were brought into the campe, all men forsook the Duke: but when they receive Letters from the Councell in name of Queen Mary, they take him, and bring him to London. Then he made open profession of Popery, under hope to gain the Queen's favour and liberty: but was beheaded. *Ja. Thuan lib. 23. ad An. 1553.* Cardinal Reginald Pool hearing at Rome, that King Edward was dead, hasteneth towards England, hoping to have the Crown by right (for he had pretensions) or by marriage with Mary. The Emperour invites him to come into Germany by his way; and entertaines him with great shew of honour, untill by his Ambassadour he had finished a Contract of marriage betwixt his son Philip & Mary: and by the Queens parent he became archbishop of Canterbury. Then another world was to be seen: processions of joy were in Italy for regaining England unto the Romane See. *Te Soave in Conc. Trud.* Gardener, Tontill and other Popish Bishops were advanced: Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley and other Reformed Bishops were committed to prison, and burnt: reading and printing of English Bibles and of late books were discharged: the Supremacy of the Pope was proclaimed: the Latine Masse was used: the clause of prayer, that *God would deliver the kingdom from sedition and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome*, was blotted out of the Letany: the Queen would not suffer her fathers name in publick prayers, because he had made apostasy from the Church. *Ja. Thuan. lo. cit.* All temporaries turn their clock, wicked men reioice: good men are oppressed: some fled: many were imprisoned: some sterve in prison: many hundreds were burnt: in a word, in no Kings time (beeing free from warre) were so many killed as in the five years reigne of Q. Mary by beheading, hanging, burning, racking and sterving. That cruel Bishop Bonner beholding how joyfully the Martyrs suffered, said to one of them, They call mee, bloody Bonner: a vengeance on you all: I would faine be rid of you: but yee have a delight in burning: if I might have my will, I would sew your mouths, put you in sacks, and drown you all. Gods reverging hand was upon these persecuters: Gardener the archpersecuter, being at dinner with the Duke of Norfolk, and hearing that Bishop Ridley and Mr. Latimer were burnt at Oxford, shewes no litle joy, and by and by was so smitten (none knowing how) that he was carryed from table to a bed: where he lay 15. dayes in such intolerable torments, that in all that space he could voide neither by urine nor otherwise, his tongue hangeth out, and so died. Do. Morgon, who condemned Ferrare Bishop of S. Davier, and usurped his place, was smitten, that when he would eat, nothing went down, but it hurst out again, sometime at his mouth, and sometime at his nose. Do Dunning the bloody Chancellor at Norwich was taken away suddenly: the like befell Bernie

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Commissarie of Norfolk, &c. Mary had her kingdom diminished by losse of Cales, which eleven English kings had kept, and the countrie was plagued with famine, that the subiects were glad to eat ackorns: she was never able to put the Crown on her husbands head: of all things both he and shee was most desirous to have children, but she had none: once she was thought to be bigg with child; but of what she was delivered, it was known to few: then Philip left her; and she had neither the love of her subiects, nor his company, nor could marry another: at last she was diseased; some called it a tympany; others call it melancholy; because of her deep and continuall groanes: she died November 17. *An. 1558.* and her cousine the Card. died within sixteen hours after her. *Jo. Foxe in Acts.* Enduring her reigne, La. Elisabeth was kept in the Tower: Gardener and others sought her death often; they accuse her of treason, and would have stirred up King Phillip against her: but he preserveth her, not for any love to her person or religion, but for reason of State, lest she being taken out of the way, and the Queen dying without children, the kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland might be annexed unto the Crown of France, by means of Mary *Q^{ueen}* of Scotland, next heire of England, and at that time affianced to the Daulphin of France: than which the Spaniard thought no thing could happen more adverse to his affection of greatnes. At first when she was locked up, she was much daunted: but being comforted afterwards she said, The skill of a Pilot is not known but in a tempest. and a true Christian appeares best in time of tentation. In the year 1558. they condemne her to be beheaded, and went to bring her to execution: by miraculous providence she was preserved. The lieutenant of the Tower will not give them credite, and goeth to ask the *Queen*, whether it was her will? Mary saith, Not: and commandeth to set her at liberty. On the very day of Marie's death, Elisabeth was proclaimed *Queen*, and so of a prisoner was acknowledged by Counsell, Nobility and Commons to be the only Heire, and was crowned January 15, with many glad hearts: all the Bishops except Owen Bishop of Carlile, refuse to perform the solemnities of the Coronation; because of her Religion. At her coronation she did secure the kingdom by oath, that she shall not marry a stranger: nor would she make open declaration, what doctrine she would follow: only she set free all the prisoners for Religion (many hundreds) and promiseth, that when she shall be established in her government, to establish religion by advice of Parliament and of learned & godly men: and causeth it be proclaimed, that in the mean time none shall alter any ceremonies, unless it be according to the rites of her own chappel: and these were as it was ordered in her fathers time. *Speed & Cambden.* She sendeth to make account unto the Pope of her assumption. He answereth, That kingdom was held in fee of the Apostolick See, and it was her presumption to usurp the name of *Queen*. without his knowledge: therefore she deserveth not to be heard, unless she renounce her pretensions, and submit herself unto his free disposition. This soundeth harsh both to her and to the counsel, therefore she will treat no more with him. *Te Soave in conc. Tride.* Then knowing the difference of opinions in religion among her subiects, and willing to satisfie both parties according to reason, she calleth a Parliament, and by common aduice appointeth a Conference of eight persons on either side, that after debating of reasons they might come to an happy agreement. The persons were named; the day appointed; the questions were (for the first) concerning the vulgare tongue in Divine

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Service, and the communion under both kinds; order was prescribed, that for avoiding heat of contention. they shall not dispute by word, but both parties shall write their reasons, and give them in the first day; and answers shall be prepared against the next day; and all to be in English, that every one may receive information. Both parties were content. But when the day was come, the Papists alledge, they understood not the ordinance concerning the disputation in write, and they will dispute by voice only. The second day they were pressed more instantly: but as despising authority, nor regarding their own credite, or rather being convinced in their consciences, they still refuse. The third day both parties were required to produce their books and opinions. All the Popish party (except the Bishop of Westminster) plainly deny to let their books be read: some spake unreverently. even of excommunicating the Queen. Sir Nicolas Bacon Lord Keeper, and Nicolas archb. of York were named by the Parliament, to be Judges of the Conference: they take this carriage as a contempt both of Nobility and Commons, as also of her Roiall Majesty. Then the Bishops were required to give their oath of allegiance and Supremacy, as in King Henry VIII. time. They refuse this also. Wherefore the Bishop of Winchester, who had shewed more folly than others, was committed to the Tower (afterwards he was set at liberty). Boner Bishop of London (who was the chief butcher in Mary's time) was committed to the Marshall-ke: some fled out of the Country; and others were charged to answer before the Counsell: some were confined; not one more imprisoned: and all the exiled bb. and others in Q. Mary's time were recalled. *Franc. Mason. Lib. 3 c. 1.* A Parliament was held at Westminster where was much debate in matter of Religion, and hote study on both sides. In the goodness of God, the Gospell had the upper hand: the hope of the Popish falleth: their rage is abated: the supremacy of the Pope is denied: the bloody Statutes of Q. Mary are repealed: popish bb. were deposed, and good men put in their rooms: the Masse is abolished; altars are appointed to be removed, and tables set for them: the zeal of many (pulling down the altars, before that Act) was approved. *Jo. Foxe in Acts.* In a brief view behold the hand of God toward her afterwards, 1. The king of France pretending right by his Queen Mary, intended to invade England, but he was taken away. II. Philip king of Spain sought her in marriage: she abhorred that, because he had married her Sister. Therefore he sought to match her with Charles son of the Emperour Ferdinand; but to the end he might bring the Nation to the house of Austria: and because She refused, he became her utter enemy, yet to her greater glory. 3. *An. 1562.* Arthur Pool of the house of York, intended to bring an Army from France into Wales: but he and his confederates were discovered before the execution of the plot, and were condemned. 4. As before, the French king, so again Philip sought of it, that the Popes would accurse her, that so he might have pretext to invade her kingdom. God hindered Paul 4. and Pius 4. from decerning it; and more followes.

VI. In Aprile *An. 1558.* Walter mill priest of Lunan in Anguise was accused by the Bishop of Santandrews for leaving the Masse, and that therefore he and John petrie priest at Innerkilor were condemned by the late Cardinal to be burnt, wherever they should be apprehended. Walter answered, I served the Cure there before the Cardinals time 20. years, with the approbation of all the parishoners: but when the furious Cardinal persecuted mee and many more for the preaching of Gods word, I was constrained

(abb)

to,

Walter mill may be a right of Anguise in Scotland

to keep myself quiet, and I went about reproving vices, and instructing people in the grounds of Religion, for which cause now I am taken. When he was brought to trial in the Church before the Bishops of Santandrews, Murray, Briechin, Caitnes, the Abbots of Dumfermlin, Lundors, Balmerino, and Couper, and many Doctors of the Univerſity, he looked so feeble partly by age, and partly by hard usage, that it was feared, none could hear, what he would answer; yet he delivered his mind with such courage, that his enemies were amazed. At first he kneeled to pray. Andrew Oliphant a priest said, Sir Walter mill, get up and answer, for you keep my Lord here too long. He continued yet praying, and when he arose, he said, I should obey God more than man; I serve a mightier Lord then your Lord is: and whereas you call mee, Sir Walter, they call mee Walter, and not, Sir Walter, I have been too long one of the Popes Knights: now say what you have to say. Oliphant asked, What thinkest thou of priests marriage? He answered; I think it a blessed bond, ordained by God, approved by Christ, and free to all sorts of men: but yee abhor it, and in the mean while yee take other mens wives and daughters; yee vowe chastity, and keep it not. Oliphant said, Thou sayst; that there are not seven sacraments. He answered, Give us baptism and the Lords Supper, take yee the rest, and part them among you. Oliphant, Thou saist, the Masse is idolatry. He answered, A Lord sends, and calleth many to a dinner, and when it is ready, he tolleth the bell, and they come into the hall, but he turnes his back upon his guests and eates all himself, giving them no part; even so do yee. Olip. Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the body of Christ really in flesh and blood. Mill. The Scripture is not understood carnally but spiritually, and your Masse is wrong: for Christ was once offered on the cross for mans sin, and will never be offered again: for at that time he put an end to all sacrifices. Oliph. Thou deniest the office of a Bishop. Mill. I affirm, they whom yee call Bishops, do not Bishops works, nor exercise the office of Bishops, but live after their sensuall pleasures, taking no care for Christs flock, nor regarding His word. Oliph. Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it pilgrimage to whoordom. Mill. I say, pilgrimage is not commanded in Scriptures, and there is no greater whoordom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in the common brothels. Olip. Thou preacheſt privately in houses, and sometimes in the fields. Mill. yea man, and upon the sea too, when I was sailing. Olip. If thou wilt not recant thy opinions, I will pronounce sentence against thee. Mill; I know, I must die once: therefore as Christ said to Judas, *Quod facis, fac cito*: yee shall know that I will not recant the trueth: I am corn, and not chaff: I will neither be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but will abide both. Then he was condemned of heresy, and was kept two dayes, because the Bishop could not find a Judge to condemne him to death. The Bishop sent for Patrick Lermond of Dairie Provost of the city, and willed him to condemne him, as being now condemned of heresy. The Provost answered, I will do any thing at your Lordships command, that belongs to my office according to justice: but I will not meddle with the innocent servants of God, and preachers. The Bishop said, Provost, you are Bailive of my Regality, and ought to judge all such as transgreſſe within my bounds. He answered. Yes, and if your Lo. please, I will take him, and give him a faire assise of temporal men, who perhaps will absolve him. I am content, said the Bishop, make mee quite of him any way you please. But some said unto the Provost, It is dangerous to absolve a man, who is already by the clergy condemned

demned of heresy: wherefore the Provost desired him to advise till the morne; and ere then he went out of the town, Wherefore the Bishop sought this man and that, to be Judge; and at last set Alexander Somervail one of his domestick servants, to supply the place of a Judge for the time, and he condemned him to the fire: and because none in the town would sell ropes for that use, the ropes of the Bishops pavilion were taken. When they brought him nigh the fire, they said unto him in derision; *Recant.* He answered, I marvell at your rage, yee hypocrites, who so cruelly do persecute the servants of God: as for mee, I am 82 years old, and can not live long by course of nature: but an hundred better than I, shall arise out of the ashes of my bones. which shall scatter the proud pack of you hypocrites and persecuters of God's servants, and who of you thinkes yourself worthyest, shall not dy so honest a death, as I dy now: I trust in God, I shall be the last, that shall suffer death in this Land for this cause. *Out of a manuscript History written by Lindsay, in the Bibliothek of the Colledge of Edinburgh.* Oliphant commandeth him to go unto the stake. Mill said, I will not go, unless thou put mee up with thy hand: for by the law of God, I am forbidden to put hand in myself: but will thou put to thy hand, and thou shall see mee go up gladly. Oliphant put him fore ward: and he went with a chearfull countenance, saying, *Introibo ad altare dei.* then he craved liberty to speak unto the people. Oliphant said, You have spoken too much, and the Bishops are offended with so long delay: Some youths standing-by, willed him to speak, and accursed the Bishops, and all the executioners. He first prayed, and spake unto the people to this purpose, Deare friends. the cause, why I suffer tooday, is not for any crime layd to my charge: I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner before God: but I suffer for the defence of the truth of Jesus Christ, set forth in the old and new Testaments: for which as many Martyres have offered their lives most gladly, being assured after their death to enjoy endless felicity, so this day I praise God, that he hath called mee of his mercy among others his servants, to seal up his truth with my life: which as I have received of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory: And as yee would escape eternall death, be no more deluded with the lies of the priests, monks, friers, Priors, Abbots, Bishops and others of the sect of Antichrist: but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that yee may be delivered from condemnation. The people made great lamentation, and were exceedingly moved with his words. When the fire was kindled, he cried, *Lord have mercy on mee: pray, good people, whilether is time.* And thus he departed, shewing a wonderfull courage. His death was the very death of Popery in this realme: for the minds of men were so greatly enslaved, that resolving openly to professe the truth, they did bind themselves by promise and subscription of oaths, if any shall be called into question for Religion hereafter, they shall take arms, and joyn in defense of their brethren against the tyrannous and persecuting Bi-shops.

VII. Immediately some Noble men and Barons did present unto the Queen Regent this supplication, the copy whereof I found in fair write (as is to be seen in sundrie other papers concerning these times, among the papers of John Erskine Superintendent; in the hands of his great-grand-child Alexander Erskine of Dun) with this Inscription, *The subjects of this realm of Scot and wish unto the most Excellent Princess Mary Queen dowrier and Regent, all felicity, Most Noble Princess, It is not unknown, unto your Maiety, our ardent desire, to see the name of God glorified in this our native Countrey, and*

wee have often made humble suit unto your Grace, to have your good will and protection, to live quietly in free conscience without oppression of tyranny, according to the will of our God made manifest to us in his holy Scriptures: And because some men, which most unjustly have entred themselves by title and name, as Ministers of Gods Kirk, are conspired together against the Lord and his anointed, to put down his name and honour, and to maintain most odious abominations, wee have forsaken them and their detestable ministry, knowing them to be accursed of God; And according to the Scripture wee have received such Ministers as with humble mindes submit themselves, their doctrine and ministry unto the word of God and triall thereof, of whom wee have experience, that they do minister truly according to the institution of our Saviour; And now, Madam, the Bishop of Santandrews by the corrupt Counsell of most wicked and ungodly persons, hath given forth his letters of summons against our Ministers to compear in Santandrews or elsewhere, such day as he hath appointed in his letters (the copy whereof being required, was refused) to underly the most corrupt judgement of them, whose Counsell in this cause he doth most follow, And knowing how dangerous a thing it is, to enter under the judgement of enemies, wee can not suffer them to enter under their hands, nor to compear before them, unless they be accompanied with such as, may be able to defend them from the violence and tyranny, whereof wee have now experience: But to stop all tumults and other inconvenients, that may thereby occurre, wee most humbly offer ourselves and Ministers to come before your Grace and Counsell, to abide tryall in all things, that they have to lay unto the charge of us and our ministers, according to the word of God; Beseeching your Grace as you ought of duty, and as you are placed of God above his people, take our cause, or rather the cause of God, to be tryed most justly according to the holy Scriptures, before yourself; and put inhibition to the said Bishop to proceed further. untill tryall be taken, as said is: Unto the which, your Gr. shall find us at all times ready, as shall please you to command: and your Gr. good answer wee most humbly beseech. This supplication had no answer, as they did expect. Then the Counsell convening, they did agree to hazard their lives and estates, in advancing the cause of Religion: and after deliberation what were fittest first to do, they conclude these articles, 1. that in all parishes the Curate should be caused to read the prayers and Lessons of the old and new Testament on sundays and festiwall days, conform to the book of Common prayers; and if the Curate be not qualified or refuse, another shall be chosen to do the same. 2. preaching and interpretation of Scriptures shall be used only in private houses after a quiet manner, untill God shall move the Queen, to grant further liberty. It was performed accordingly in many towns and parishes, to the great offense of the clergy, who complain unto the Regent, and were answered, that it is no fit time to enter into these matters, but ere long she wil find occasion to put order unto them. Archbald Earle of Argile had been in the Councell at the making of these Acts; and the Bishop of Santandrews sent a letter unto him, shewing the perill, whereinto he casts himself by that open defection from the Church; willing him to rid himself of that defamed and perjured Apostat Johu douglas (*whom the Earle had chosen to be his Minister*) and offering to provide unto him a learned and wise Preacher, for whom he would lay his soule in pawne, that he shall teach no other but true doctrine and agreeable to the Catholick faith.

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The Earle answered; he feared no perill to himself nor his house, having resolved to live in obedience to his Prince, and to serve God as well as he could according to his word: as for the alledged defection, seeing it hath pleased God to open his eyes, and give him the knowledge of his truth, which he takes as a token of his favour, he will not forsake it for fear of any inconvenients: and that man he had named, he had heard him teach the doctrine of Christ, condemne idolatry, adultery, fornication and the like vices, as he is ready to give account, whensoever he shall be cited: but to call him defamed and perjured, there was no reason, seeing he was not declared to be such by any Sentence; and if formerly he had taken any unlawfull oath, he had done much better in forsaking it, than if he had observed it: and whereas he had profered unto him some learned man, he gave him thanks, seeing, is so great necessity of labourers in the Lord's harvest: but he understood his meaning, and minded not to be led with such teachers: In end he wished, he would not beginne the battell with him, whereof the event may be doubtfull, but that he knew, God is God, and shall bee still, whatsoever the craft of man can work or devise. The Bishop receiving this answer, communicates it unto the chief of the clergy, who began to think upon other defenses; and they summon some Ministers to compare at Edinburgh the 20 of July, especially Paul messan Preacher in Dundie. So many people did convene, that the Bishops thought best to delay all process, except that they condemned the absents, and summoned them to compare on September 1. with promise of pardon, if they will recant their errors. Buchan. *hist. lib.* 16. The feast of S. Giles was then approaching: for the custom was on Septemb. 1. to carry the image of their Patron-Saint through the town with drums, trumpets and other muscicall instruments, and to envite neighbours unto feasting and great drinking. At that time the Clergy did entreat the Regent, to honour the solemnity with her presence; and she fearing some tumult consents to accompany the procession: but when the time of solemnity was come, the image could not be found. This made a stay, till another little image was brought from the *Gray Friars*: the people in mockery called it, young S. Giles. They go on with this, and the Regent went with them till the procession was nigh ended. So soon as she went to dinner, some young men drew neer, making shew to help the bearers, and perceiving by the notion, the image was fixed to the cart, they threw all to the ground: then taking the image by the heels, they dash it against the stones, untill they break it into pieces: the priests and friers runne away, to make shew of violence: but when no danger did appeare, they come to the street again. And albeit the clergy were out of all hope to stand, yet to put the fairest face on their condition, they convene, and delay their censuring, untill November 7. In the mean time, who were most foreward for Reformation, went through out the Shires, exhorting all men to take the Reformation to heart, and that they would not suffer themselves nor friends to be oppressed by a few priests, and assuring them of victory, if the cause be handled legally; if violence be used, they shall not be inferiour. Vnto so many who were willing, they offered a bonde to subscribe, which they had drawn up on forme to the use of the Councell. The subscribers were called *The Congregation*: which name became more famous. In November a Parliament or articles of the marriage betwixt Francis Daulphin of France and Queen Mary, was to be convened: then they knowing by the return of the subscriptions, that the Countrie for the most part was enclined that way,

resolve to make an end of the work, and draw up a supplication unto the Queen and Parliament, for promoting the Reformation. The Prelats hearing of it, were highly enrag'd, that any man durst presume to appear in so great a crime, and said, *They would not depart a jot from the decrees of Trent.* But a little afterwards they made offer to commit the cause to dispute; trusting to carry it, because they were to be the Judges. The Congregation accepts the disputation with two conditions, 1. the controversies in debates shall be decided by Scripture. 2. such of the brethren, who were exiled or condemned, might savelv be at the dispute. Both these were refused: they would admit no other Canon, but the canon-law, nor would they dispence with any Sentence, that they had pronounced. Then the priests propound other articles, but so unworthy (saith Buchan.) that they are unworthy of an answer, towit, if the Congregation would continue in former reverence, acknowledge purgatory, prayers to Saints, and prayers for the dead; they shall be permitted to use the common language in prayers and administration of the Sacraments. They therefore did entreat the Queen, to present their Supplication unto the Parliament publickly. She answered, I think it not expedient at this time: for it will make the Ecclesiasticall persons adverse unto the main business in hand: but how soon order shall be taken heerin, yee shall know my good mind. They were content to give place for a time: but withall they thought good to make protestation, ere the Parliament were dissolved, in this manner; IT IS not unknown unto this Honourable Parliament, what controversy is lately risen betwixt those that will be called the Prelats and Rulers of the Church, and a great number of us the Nobility and Commonalty of the Realme, for the true worship of God, for the duty of Ministers, and the right administration of Christ Jesus his holy sacraments; How wee have complained by our supplication unto the Queen Regent, that our consciences are burdened with unprofitable ceremonies; that wee are compelled to adhere unto idolatry; That such as take upon them the ecclesiasticall office, discharge no part thereof, as becomes true Ministers to do; And finally that wee and our brethren are most injuriously oppressed by their usurped authority: And wee suppose it is sufficiently known, that wee were of mind to seek redresse of these enormities at this present Parliament. But considering that the troubles of the time do not suffer such Reformation as wee do by Gods plain word require, wee are enforced to delay that which wee most earnestly desire: And yet lest our silence may give occasion unto our adversaries, to think, that wee repent of our former enterprises, wee can not cease, to protest for remedy against that most unjust tyranny, which heretofore wee have most patiently sustained. And so I, wee protest, that seeing wee can not obtain a just Reformation according to Gods word, that it be lawfull unto us, to use ourselves in matters of Religion and conscience as wee must answer unto God, untill such time our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true Ministers of Christs Church, and to purge themselves of such crimes as wee have already layd unto their charge; offering ourselves, to prove the same, whensoever the Sacred Authority shall please to give us audience. II. Wee protest, that neither wee, nor any other of the godly, that list to join with us in the true faith, which is grounded upon the invincible word of God, shall incur any danger of life or land or any political pain, for not observing such Acts, as heretofore have passed in favours of our adversaries, nor for violating such rites, as man without Gods commandement or word hath commanded. III. Wee protest, that

A Protestation made in Parliament 1558.

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if any tumult or uprore shall arise among the members of this realme, for the diversity of Religion; and if it shall chance, that abuses be violently Reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed unto us, who now do most humbly seek all to be reformed by Order: but rather whatsoever inconvenient shall happen to follow, for lack of Order taken, it may be imputed unto those, that do refuse the same. IV. and lastly wee protest, that these our requests proceeding from conscience, do tend to none other end, but to the Reformation of abuses in Religion only; Most humbly beseeching the sacred Authority, to take us faithfull and obedient subiects into protection against our adversaries, and to shew unto us such indifferency in our most just petition, as it becometh Gods Lieutenant to do unto those who in his name do call for defense against cruell oppressors and blood-thirsty tyrants. *This Protestation was* publickly read: and they craved to have it inserted in the common Register: but that was denied by the adversaries: nevertheless the Q. Regent said, VVee will remember, what is protested, and wee shall put good Order after this to all things, that now be in controversy. With this answer they depart in good hope of her favour, and praising God, that she was so well inclined. But when the Parliament was closed, and a generall Peace was concluded betwixt Spain, France, England and Scotland, the Regents countenance was altered against these, which were for the Reformation. and she said, Seing now wee are free from these vexations, which most troubled my mind, wee will labour to restore the Authority by some notable example unto that reverend esteem, which it hath lately lost. Then she takes the names of all the Ministers, and caused summon them to compear at Sterlin May 10. 1559, and the Prelates become more insolent, And they devised to send the Earle of Argile and L. James Stuart Priour of Santandrews into France with the matrimoniall Diademe. But these considering, how all the Comissioners were put off or returned not, which were sent unto the solemnization of the marriage, and what might fall out at home in time of their absence, deaied to take voiage from time to time.

VIII. In the next Spring, the Earle of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Cambell Shireff of Aire were sent unto the Regent, to enquire the reason of that *Troubles* summons, and to entreat her, not to molest the Ministers, unless they *arise* could be charged of false doctrine, or behaving themselves disorderly. The Regent said with vehemency of passion, Maugre your hearrs and all that will take part with them, these Ministers shall be banished Scotland, though they preached als soundly as ever S. Paul did. The Noble men besought her in a humble manner, to think of the promises, Shee had made from time to time. In greater choler She saith, *Promises of Princes should be no further strained, than it seemes unto them convenient to performe.* Then said they, If this be your resolution to keep no promises unto the subiects, wee can not any more acknowledge your authority, and will henceforth renounce all obedience unto you; and what inconveniences may arise of this, you may bethink yourself. This answer was unexpected, and calming herself a little, she said, Wee will think, how to remedy these evils in the best and quiet way. The same day report was brought, that a Minister had preached publickly in the Church of Perth: this did provoke her yet more, and calling the Lord Ruthuen Provost of the town, She commanded him to go and suppress these of the new Religion. He answered, that he would make their bodies and goods subject, but he had no power over their consciences. She was more commoved, and vowed. that she

would make him and them repent of their stoutness. When the day appointed for appearing of the Ministers, drew neer, the Professours went with them from all parts of the country: in Anguise and Mernsfuch was their zeal, that scarcely any man abode at home, all crying, that they would go and give confession of their faith with their Ministers. So many came before the day, that the Regent was agast, albeit they came without weapons. Then She calleth for John Erskin of Dun, and employeth him, to dismishe that needles multitude, and promiserh to do nothing against any of that sect. Nevertheless in the Counsell all the Ministers were condemned and outlawed, which had not answered. John Erskin seeing, how none can trust her promises, did hasten unto the Gentlemen at Perth from Strathern, Anguise & Merns, not as yet being severed; and excused himself of the advice he had given. Then they understood certainly, that no favour was to be expected from the Regent. VVhile they are in perplexity, John Knox newly being returned into the country, comes to Perth, and in a Sermon takes occasion to speak against the worship of images, and exhorted the people unto constancy. After Sermon (this was May 11.) some people abode in the church, and then a priest, not so much for devotion, as for to try men's affection. would say Masse: he openeth a glorious case standing by the high altar, wherein were many brave pictures. A young man said, *This is intolerable: the word of God condemnes it as idolatrie, and wee stand and see it used in despite.* The priest gives the young man a blow: the young man goeth, and finding aston, casts it at the priest, and therewith breakes one of the images: whereupon a stir is raised, some fall upon the priest, and others unto the images, so that on a sudden all was pulled down that had any mark of idolatry. Upon this noise in the church, the people of the town gather in great numbers, and run into the cloisters of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Carthusians; where they saw by experience, that these were not poor men, as they had professed: the plunder was left to poor people, the richer sort abstaining from any part of it: they demolished these glorious edifices with such speed, that within two dayes all the stones were removed. They of Couper in Fife hearing of this, did the like in their town, and defaced all the instruments of idolatry: which the Curate took so heavily, that the night following, he put violent hands in himself. When this was reported unto the Regent, She dispatches Letters to the Duke, and others, Earls of Argile and Athol, willing them to come unto her with speed and she calleth for the French souldiers, intending to surpris Perth unworse; and vowed to destroy man, woman and child, and turne the tower into dust, and salt it with salt, as she was stirred up by the Prelats and priest crying in her ears, Foreward, foreward upon these hereticks, and one rid the kingdom of them. When they of Perth had intelligence hereof, they assemble to publick prayers, and resolute to send a Supplication in this manner; To the Queens Maiesty regent, all humble obedience and duty premised. As heertofore with icopardy of our lifes, and yet with willing hearts wee have served the Authority of Scotland, and your Majesty now Reger in this realm, in service to our bodies dangerous and painfull, So now with most dolorous mindes wee are constrained by uniuert tyranney purposed against us, To declare unto your Majesty, that excep this cruelty be stay by your wisdom, wee shall be compelled to take the sword of iust defense against all that shall persue us for the matter of Religion, and for our conscience sake: which ought not, nor may bee subiect to mortall creature futh

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further than by Gods word man is able to prove, that he hath power to command us: Wee signify more over unto your Ma. that if by rigour wee be compelled, to seek the extreame defense, that wee will not only notify our innocency and petition to the King of France, to our Mistresse and to her Husband, but also to the Princes and Counsell of every Christian Realm, Declaring unto them, that this cruell, unjust and most tyrannicall murder intended against Towns and Multitudes, was and is the only cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience, which in Gods presence wee faithfully promise to our Soverain Mistresse, to her Husband and unto your Majesty, Regent; Provided, that our consciences may live in that peace and liberty, which Christ Jesus hath purchased unto us by his blood, and that wee may have his word truly preached, and holy Sacraments rightly administred unto us, without which wee firmly purpose never to be subject to mortall man. For better wee think to expose our bodies to a thousand deaths, than to hazard our souls to perpetuall damnation; by denying Christ Jesus and his manifest verity: which thing not only do they who commit open idolatry, but also such as seeing their brethren persued, for the cause of Religion, and having sufficient means to comfort and assist them, do nevertheless withdraw from them their comfortable support; Wee would not, your Ma. should be deceived by the false persuasions of these cruell beasts the Church-men, who affirm that your Ma. needeth not greatly to regard the losse of us, who professe Christ Jesus in this realme; If (as God forbid) yee give eare to their pestilent counsell, and so use against us this extremity intended, it is to be feared, that neither yee nor your Posterity shall at any time after this find that obedience and faithfull service within this realme, which at all time yee have found in us. Wee declare our judgements freely, as true and faithfull subjects. God move your Princely heart, favourably to interpret our faithfull meaning; Further advertising your Ma. that the self samething, together with all things that wee have done, or yet intend to do, wee will notify by our letters to the King of France; Asking you in the name of the Eternall God, and as your Ma. tenders the peace and quietnes of this realme, That yee invade us not with any violence; untill wee receive answer from our Mistresse and her Husband and from their advised Counsell there. And thus wee commit your Majesty to the protection of the Omnipotent. From Santiohnstoun May 22. 1559: *and it was subscribed thus*; your Majesties obedient subjects in all things not repugnant to God, The faithfull Congregation in Christ Jesus, in Scotland. They wrote also to Monsieur Dosell, entreating him, to mitigate the Queen's wrath, and the rage of the Prelats, or els that flamm which then began to burn, might kindle so, that when some men would, it could not be slackned; and they add, that he declared himself no faithfull servant unto his Master the King of France, if for the pleasure of priests he did persecute the subjects. Likewise they wrot unto Captain Le Bourse and to all French souldiers in generall, that their carand was not, to fight against naturall Scots men, nor had they such command from their Master, and besought them, that they would not provoke such whom they had found favourable in their great extremities. The priests did suppress these Letters, so far as they could; and yet they were delivered unto the chief persons, and came to the knowledge of many moe. But the wrarh of the Queen was not appeased, and the Priests push her forward against Perth, where were but a few gentlemen for the time: they hearing of the intended extremity, did write

A letter to
the Nobility
ad-
versaries

unto all their brethren to come unto their aid. Many were so ready, that the work of God was evidently seen. And because they would omit no diligence to declare their innocency unto all men, they sent a Letter unto such of the Nobility, who at that time were their adversaries, in this manner; To the Nobility of Scotland, The Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same, desire the Spirit of righteous judgement; Because wee are not ignorant, that yee the Nobility of this realm, who now persecute us, employing your whol studie and force, to maintain the kingdom of Satan, of superstition and idolatry, are yet divided in opinion; Wee the Congregation of Christ Jesus, by you uniuersally persecuted, have thought good, in one Letter to writ unto you severally. Yee are divided, weesay, in opinion: for some of you think, that wee who have taken this enterprise to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same, to erect the true preaching of Christ Iesus, in the bounds committed to our charge, are hereticks, seditious men and troublers of the commonwealth, and therefore no punishment is sufficient for us; and so blinded are yee with this rage, and under pretence to serve the Authority, yee proclame warr and destruction without all order of Law against us. Vnto you weesay, that neither your blind Zeal, nor the colour of Authority shall excuse you in Gods presence, who commandeth none to suffer death, till he bee openly convinced in judgement, to have offended against God and his written Law: which no mortall is able to prove against us: for whatsoever wee have done, the same have wee done at Gods commandement, who plainly commands to destroy and abolish idolatry and all monuments of the same. Our earnest and long request hath been and is, That in open Assembly it may be disputed, in presence of indifferent Auditors, Whether these abominations, named by the *pestilent Papists*, Religion, which they by fire and sword defend, be the true Religion of Jesus Christ, or not? When this humble request is denied unto us, our lifes are sought in most cruell manner. And the Nobility, whose duty is to defend innocents, and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of Princes or Emperours, do notwithstanding follow their appetites, and arm yourselves against us your brethren and naturall country men; yea against us that be innocent and just, as concerning all such crimes, as belayd unto our charges. If yee think, that wee be criminall, because wee dissent from your opinion, consider, wee beseech you, that the Prophets under the Law, the Apostles of Christ Iesus after his ascension, his primitive Church and holy Martyrs, did disagree from all the world in their daies: and will yee deny but their action was just, and all who persecuted them were murderers before God? May not the lyke be true this day? What assurance have yee this day of your Religion, which the world that day had not of theirs? yee have a multitude that agree with you, and so had they: yee have antiquity of time, and that they lacked not [*nor have yee so much as they had*] yee have counsellors, laws and men of reputation, that have established all things, as yee suppose: but none of all these can make any Religion acceptible unto God, which only dependeth upon his own will, reveled to men in his most sacred word. Is it not then a wonder, that yee sleep in so deadly a security in the matter of your own salvation, considering, that God gives unto you so manifest tokens, that yee and your leaders are both declined from God? For if the tree shall be judged by the frute (as Christ affirms, it must bee) then of necessity it is, That your Prelates and the wholl rabble of their clergy be evill trees: for if adultery, pride, ambi-

tion;

tion, drunkenness, covetousness, incest, unthankfulness, oppression, murder, idolatry and blasphemy, be evill fruits, there can none of that generation, which claim to themselves the title of Chur chmen, be judged to be good trées: for all these pestilent and wicked fruits do they bring forth in greatest abundance. And if they be evill trees (as yee yourselves must be compelled to confesse, they are) advise prudently with what consciences yee can maintain them to occupie the room and place in the Lords vineyard. Do yee not consider, that in so doing yee labour to maintain the servants of sin in their filthy corruption, and so yee strive that the devill may reigne, and still abuse this realm by all iniquity and tyranny, and that Christ Iesus and his blessed gospel be suppressed and extinguished. The name and cloke of authority which yee pretend, will nothing excuse you in Gods presence, but rather shall yee bear double condemnation, for that yee burden God, as if his good ordinances were the cause of your iniquity. All authority, which God hath established, is good and perfect, and is to be obeyed of all men, yea under pain of damnation: But do yee not understand, that there is a great difference betwixt the Authority which is of Gods ordinance, and the persons of these who are placed in authority? The authority and Gods Ordinance can never do wrong: for it commands that vice and wicked men be punished, and vertue with vertuous and just men be maintained: but the corrupt person placed in this authority may offend, and most commonly doth contrary to this Authority. And is then the corruption of man to be followed, because it is clothed with the name of Authority? Or shall those which obey the wicked commandment of these that are placed in Authority, be excusable before God? Not so; not so, but the plagues and vengeance of God taken upon Kings, their servants and subiects do witnes unto us the plain contrary. Pharao was a King, and had his authority of God, who commanded his subiects to murder and torment the Israelites, and most cruelly to persecute their lives: but was their obedience (blind rage it should be called) excusable before God? The vniversall plague doth plainly declare, that the wicked Commander, and they which obeyed, were alike guilty before God. And if the example of Pharao shall be reiected, because he was an ethnick, then consider the facts of Saul: he was a King anointed of God, appointed to reigne over his people: he commanded to persecute *David*, because (as he alledged) *David* was a traitour and usuper of the Crown; and also commanded *Abimelech* the hiepriest and his fellowes to be slain: but did God approve any part of this obedience? evident it is, he did not. And think yee, that God will approve in you, that which he did condemne in others? be not deceived: with God is not such partiality. If yee obey the uniuist commands of wicked rulers, yee shall suffer Gods vengeance and just punishment with them. And therefore as yee tender your own salvation, wee most earnestly require of you moderation, and that yee stay yourselves, and the fury of others, from persecuting us, till our cause be tried in open and lawfull judgement. And now to you, which are perswaded of the justice of our cause, who sometimes have professed Christ Iesus with us, and also have exhorted us unto this enterprize, and yet have left us in our extreame necessity, at least look thorow your fingers in this our trouble, as if the matter appertained not unto you, wee say, that unless (all fear and wordly respect set aside) yee join yourselves with us, that as of God yee are reputed Traitours, so yee shall yee be excommunicated from our society, and from all participation with us in the administration of sacraments: the

Distinction between authority and the person,

glory of this Victory which God shall give to his Church, yea even in the eyes of men, shall not be appertain unto you, but the fearfull judgement that apprehended *Ananias* and his wife *Saphira* shall apprehend you and your posterity. Yee may perchance contemn and despise the excommunication of the Church now by Gods mighty power erected among us, as a thing of no force: yet wee doubt nothing, but that our Church and the true Ministers of the same, have the same power, which our Master Christ Jesus granted unto his Apostles in these words, *Whose sins yee forgive, shall be forgiven; and whose yee retain, shall be retained*; and that because they preach, and we believe the same doctrine which is contained in his most blessed Worde: and therefore, except yee will contemn Christ Jesus, yee neither can despise our threatning, nor refuse us calling for our just defence. By your fainting, and by retracting your support, the enemies are encouraged, and think that they shall find no resistance: in which point, God willing, they shall be deceived: for if they were ten thousand, and wee but one thousand, they shall not murder the least of our brethren, but wee, God assisting us, shall first commit our lives into the hands of God for their defense. But that shall aggravate your condemnation: for yee declare yourselves traitors to the truth once professed, and murderers of us and of our brethren, from whom yee withdraw your dutifull and promised support, whom your only presence (in mans judgement) might preserve from this danger. For our enemies look not to the power of God, but to the power and strength of man; when the number is mean to resist them, then rage they as bloody wolves, but a party equall or able to resist them by appearance, doth bridle their fury. Examine your own consciences, and weigh that sentence of our Master Christ Jesus, saying, *Whosoever denieth mee or is ashamed of mee before men, I shall deny him before my Father*. Now is the day of his Battell in this realm: if yee deny us your brethren, suffering for his Name sake, yee do also deny Him, as he witnesseth in these words, *Whatsoever yee did to any of these little ones, yee did that to mee: and what yee did not to one of these little ones, that yee did not to mee*. If these sentences be true, as concerning meat, drink, clothes, and such things appertaining unto the body, shall they not also be true in the things appertaining to the preservation of the lives of thousands, whose blood is now sought for profession of Christ Jesus? And thus shortly wee leave you, who sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, to the examination of your own consciences. And yet once again of you, who being blinded by superstition, do persecute us, Wee require moderation, till our cause may be tried: which if yee will not grant unto us for Gods cause, yet wee desire you, to have respect to the preservation of our common country, which wee can not sooner betray into the hands of strangers, than that one of us destroy and murder another. Consider our petitions, and call for the Spirit of righteous judgement. When these Letters were divulged, some began to aske, Whether they might in conscience fight against such as offered due obedience unto Authority, and required nothing but liberty of conscience; and that their Religion and facts be tryed by the Word of God? The Letters were carried quickly unto Kyle and Cunningham, where the professors did convene at Craiggy, and after some dubious reasonings, Alexander Earle of Glencairn said, *Let every man serve his conscience, I will by Gods grace, see my brethren at Perth; yea albeit never a man will accompany mee, I will go; albeit I had but a Tik upon my shoulder: for I had rather die with that companie, then live after them*. Then others were

were so encouraged, that all went with him: and when the Lion-herault in his coat of armes commanded all men under pain of treason to return to their own houses, By publick sound of trumpet at Glasſow, not one man obeyed the charge. Because it was known, that the Prelats and their party did suppress their petitions so far as they could, and did kindle the rage of all men against them, it was thought expedient to write a Declaration unto them in this form; *To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent Prelats and their shavelings within Scotland, The congregation of Christ Jesus, saith, To the end, that yee shall not be abused, thinking to escape just punishment, after that yee in your blind fury have caused the blood of many to be shed; This wee notify and declare unto you, that if yee proceed in your malicious cruelty, yee shall be dealt withall, wheresoever yee shall be apprehended, as murderers and open enemies to God and unto mankind: and therefore betimes cease from your blind rage: Remove first from yourselves, your bands of bloody men of warr, and reform yourselves to a more quiet life; and then mitigate yee the Authority, which without crime committed on our part, yee have enflamed against us; Or els be yee assured, that with the same measure, that yee have measured against us, and yet intend to measure unto others, it shall be measured unto you, that is, as yee intend not only by tyranny to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in the bondage of the devill, and subiect to idolatry; So shall wee with all force and power, which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you, yea, wee shall begin the same war which God commanded *Israel* to execute against the Cananites, that is, contract of peace shall never be made, till yee desist from your open idolatry and cruell persecution of Gods children: And this wee signify unto you in the name of the eternall God and of his Sone Christ Jesus, whose verity wee profess, and Gospell wee have preached, and holy Sacraments rightly ministred, so long as God will assist us to gainstand your idolatry. Take this for advertisement. This advertisement did not stay them and their bands of souldiers with Mon. Dossell and his French men: they came within ten myles unto the Town: and brethren made hast from all quarters for its relief. The first that did hazard to resist were the Gentle men of Pife, Angus, Merns and the burgessees of Dundy: they made choise of a place of ground within a myle or more from the town. The same day May 24 the Lord Ruthuen left them, and went to the Regent, to the great discouragement of many: but they did comfort themselves in God, and some said, *The hope of victory is not in their own strength, but in his power whose verity they profess.* The next day came the Earle of Argile. L. James Priour of Santandrews and the Lo. Semple, from the Queen, to enquire the cause of their meeting there. It was answered, Only to resist the cruelty threatened against that poor town. They ask, Whether they intend to hold that town against the Regent? They answer, If the Queen will suffer the Religion there begun to proceed, and not trouble the town, that have professed with them, the town, themselves and whatsoever they have, are at her Majesties commandement. They say, We were otherwise informed by the Queen, that yee intend not Religion, but a plain rebellion. It was answered, We have convened for no other purpose, but only to assist our brethren, who now are unjustly persecuted: and therefore we desire you, to report our answer faithfully, and to be intercessours, that such cruelty be not used against us, seeing we have offered in our former Letters, alswell unto her Majesty, as unto the Nobility, that our cause may*

To the
Bishops

A parlee

bet tried in lawfull judgement. They do promise their fidelity. The next day, when these were returning, John Knox said unto them, Honourable Lords, the present troubles should move the hearts, not only of the true servants of God, but also of all such as bear any favour unto the Country and naturall Country-men, to descend within themselves, and deeply to consider, what shall be the end of this intended tyranny: The rage of Satan seeks the destruction of all those, who within the realme profess Christ Jesus; and they that enflamme the Queen and you the Nobles against us, regard not who prevail, if they may abuse the world and live at their pleasure, as they have done: yea I fear, that some seek nothing more than the effusion of Scots blood, to the end, that their possessions may be the more patent unto others: but because this is not the principall which I intend to speak, omitting this to be considered by the wisdom of these, to whom the care of the Commonwealth appertaines; 1. I most humbly require of you, my Lords, in my name to say unto the Queen Regent, that we whom she in her blind rage doth persecute, are Gods servants, faithfull and obedient subiects unto the Authority of this Realm; and that religion which she pretends to maintain by fire and sword, is not the true religion of Christ Jesus, but is expressly contrary to the same, a superstition devised by the brain of men, which I offer myself to prove against all that within Scotland will maintain the contrary, liberty of tongue being granted unto mee, and Gods written word being admitted for Judge. 2. I further require your Honours, in my name, to say unto the Queen, that as I have often written, so now I say, that this her enterprize shall not prosperously succeed in the end; and albeit for a time She trouble the Saints of God (for she fights not against man only, but against the eternall God and his invincible verity) and therefore the end shall be to her confusion, unless betimes she repent and desist. These things I require of you in the name of the eternall God, as from my mouth, to say unto Her Majesty; adding, that I have been, and am a more assured friend unto her Ma. than they, who either flattering her as servants to her corrupt appetites, or else enflame her against us, who seek nothing but Gods glory to be advanced; vice to be suppressed, and Verity to be maintained in this poore realme. *All the three Noble men* did promise to report his words so well as they could. They did so: yea the L. Sempill (though an enemy to the Reformation) made such report, that the Queen was offended at such liberty, Immediately She sent the Lion-herault to charge all men to avoide the town under pain of treason. He did so May. 27. being Sunday. And the same day the Regent is informed, that the Earle of Glencairn was marched through the hills with twelve hundred horsemen and moe foot men (notwithstanding her men had stopped the passages of Forth, Gudie and Teith) towards Perth. Their coming was comfortable unto the one party; and moved the other to send and require some discreet men, to come and speak with Duke Hamilton and Mon. Dofel (lying with their army at Ouchterardor) that some reasonable appointment might be had. The Lairds of Dun, Innerquharly and Abbots-hall were sent, the town not as yet knowing of the West-countrymen. The Duke and Dofell require, that the town should be patent, and all things be submitted unto the Queens pleasure. They answer, they had not such commission, nor could they undertake in conscience to advise their brethren to do so: but if the Queen would be pleased, that none should be accused for change of religion, or for casting down the places of the Friars, and suffer the begun Religion to continue, and leave the town free

see of French souldiers at her departing, they would endeavour that the
 Queen shall be obeyed in all things. Dossell perceiving, that they could
 not by violence attain their designes, dismissed the gentle men which faire
 words, and exhorts them to persuade their brethren unto submission.
 They were all so glad, that with one voice they cried, *Cursed be they, that
 seek effusion of blood: let us professe Christ Jesus, and have the benefite of the Gospell,
 and none of Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we shall bee.* That day
 the Companies of the West came to Perth, and all men began to praise
 God, that he had so mercifully heard them in their extremity, and had
 sent such support, that without effusion of blood the rage of their enemies
 might be stayd. The same night the Earle of Argile and L. James were sent
 from Sterlin, and coming the next day began to advise unto agreement:
 of which they were all willing, but some were suspicious, that promises
 would not be kept longer then their adversaries saw their advantage.
 John willock came with them of the West country: then he and John Knox
 went to the Earle of Argile and L. James, accusing them, that they had de-
 frauded the brethren of their dutifull assistance in such necessity. They both
 answered, Their heart was constant with their brethren, and they would
 defend that cause to the uttermost of their power: but because they had
 promised to endeavour a concord, and to assist the Queen, if yee shall
 refuse reasonable offers, in conscience and honour we could do no less than
 be faithfull in our promise made; and therefore we yet require, that the
 brethren may be persuaded to consent unto a reasonable appointment; and
 we promise in Gods presence, that if the Queen shall break in any jote
 thereof, we with our whole power will concur with the brethren in all
 time coming. So Maie 28. the appointment containing the forenamed
 conditions was concluded; and free entry was made unto the Queen, the
 Duke and the French men. Before the departing of the Congregation, *A peace
 was made*
 John Knox had a Sermon, exhorting them all unto constancy, and unfain-
 edly to thank God, for that it had pleased his mercy, to stay the malice
 of the enemy, without effusion of blood; and that none should be weary
 to support such as shall hereafter be persecuted: for (said he) I am assured,
 that no part of this promise shall be longer kept, than the Queen
 and the French men have the upper hand. Many of the adversaries were
 at the Sermon. And before the Lords went away, this bond was drawn-up;
*At Perth the last day of May, in the year 1559. the Congregations of the West
 Country, with the Congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundy, Angus, Merns
 and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth in the name of Jesus Christ,
 for setting forth his glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same, than
 to keep constant amity, unity and fellowship together, according as they are com-
 manded by God, Are confederated and become bounden and obliged in the presence of
 God, to concur and assist together in doing all things required of God in his Scrip-
 ture, that may be to his glory; And at their whol powers to destroy and put away all
 things, that do dishonour to his name, so that God may be truly and purely wor-
 shipped. And in case any trouble be intended against the said Congregation, or
 any part or member thereof, the whole congregation shall concur, assist and convene
 together to the defense of the same congregation or person troubled: And shall not
 spare labours, goods, substance, bodies and lifes, in maintaining the liberty of
 the whole congregation and every member thereof, against whatsoever person shall
 intend the said trouble, for cause of Religion, or any other cause depending there-
 upon, or lay to their charge under pretense thereof, although it happen to be colour-
 ed with any other outward cause. In witnessing and testimony of the which, the*
 (ECC) 2 whole

whole congregation fore said have ordained and appointed the Noble men and persons underwritten, to subscribe these presents. It was subscribed by the Earls Argile and Glencairn, and by the Lords James Stuart, Boyd, Uchiltry, and Mathew cambell of Tarmganart. *The hist. of refor. li. 2* Immediately after their departing, all the heads of the Capitulation were broken: some citizens were exiled, others were fined in great sums, the Magistrats thrust out of their office, new ones against the usuall manner intruded; and four companies left for a garrison; and these were charged to permit no other Service but of the Roman Church. Some desiring matters to be carried more peaceably, told her these things would be interpreted a breach of the Articles. She answered, The promise was to leave no French Souldiers in the town, which she had done: for those were al Scots men. It was replied, that all who took wages of the French King, would be called French Souldiers. She said, Promises are not to be kept to hereticks, and if she could make an honest excuse after the fact committed, she would take upon her conscience, to kill and undo all that Sect: And Princes should not be so strictly urged to keep promises. These speeches, beeing divulged, did procure to her much ill: nor did she after that time see a good day, but was despised and misregarded by all sorts of people. The Earle of Argile and L. James, thinking their honour touched by the breach of the peace, did forsake her, and went to the Congregation. Therefore they were charged to appear before Her Council: but they answer, Seing the Queen had broken conditions, which by warrant from herself they had made with the Lords of the Congregation, they would meddle no more in such dishonest courses, and do their best to repair things. The Noble men were gone to Santandrews, and because they feared some sudden attempt; (for the Queen and the Frenches lay at Faulkland) they sent to the Lairds of Dun & Pittarrow, and entreated them of Anguise & Merns to meet at Santandrews Juny 4; and they went to Creil, whither all that had warning, came with great forwardness; and were not a little encouraged by John Knox: in a Sermon he told them, that then they saw it true, whar he had said at Perth concerning the Queens sincerity, and exhorted them to be no longer deluded with fair promises of them, who had no regard of contracts, covenants nor oaths: and because there will be no quietnes, till one of the parties were Masters, he wished them to prepare themselves, to dy as men, or to live victorious. By this exhortation the hearers were so moved, that immediately they pull down altars, images and all the monuments of idolatry within the town; and the next day they did the like in Anstruther: from thence they hasten to S. Andrews. The Bishop hearing what they had done, and thinking they would attempt the same reformation in the City, came to it well accompanied, to withstand them: but when he had tried the affections of the people, he goeth the next morning unto the Queen. That day being sunday John Knox preached in the Parish-church: he compared the estate of the Church which was at Jerusalem, when Christ purged the temple unto the estate of the present Church, and declared what was the duty of these to whom God had given authority and power. He did so incite the hearers, that after Sermon they went and made spoil of the Churches, and rased the monasteries of the black and gray Friars. I will not scan, whither the acts of such zeal was according to Gods law: but (to speak historically) in such paroxisms and great revolutions the like practise is scarcely evitable, and certainly is contrary unto the Standing law of the Land, and is condemned by the adverse party; and yet maintained,

or at least the Actors have been cleared by their own party having the Supreme power, whether the practise was in good or evil; as appeareth by the Parliament of England in that same year justifying or absolving all them who had done the like against the lawes made under Q. Mary, and Standing for the time un-repealed (as I hinted before); and also by the Parliament of England absolving them, who had torn and burnt the English Bibles and Service-books, and had killed the Ministers, &c. in the year 1553. which was contrary unto the Law of the Land made in time of King Edward 6. and Standing at that time unrepealed. The Regent hearing of those things, gave presently order unto the French Companies, to march toward Sant Andrews, and sent proclamation to all the parts about, to meet her in armes the next morning at Couper. The Lords went thither the same night accompanied with a hundred horse only, and so many foot: but such was the readines of men, that before ten of the clock the next day they grew to 3000. Rothes and Ruthuen brought many Gentle men with them; some came from Lothian, and the towns shew great resolution. The next day was foggy: about noon the aire began to clear: then the Frenches sent some to view the fields; and these returning began to faint of their courage: wherefore a Post was sent to Falkland, to shew the Regent, that the Lords were stronger than was supposed, as also that there was mutiny in their own army, some openly professing, that they would not fight against their Country-men for pleasure of strangers. These newes moved her to yeeld unto a treaty of peace: so Lindsay and Wagh-ton were employed by the Duke (who commanded the Scots in the Regents army) to confer with the Lords: they would not suffer the two to come neer their army and said, They knew, the Regent had sent these forces against them, and if they will invade, they shall find them ready to defend: but they professing their purpose of peace, and that they were sent for that effect, were admitted: the Lords say, They had been so oft abused by the Regent's promises, that they can not truit her words any more: But if She will send away the French men, and give suretie, that no violence shall be used against them of the true Religion, they shall not be unreasonable. They reply, The Frenches can nor be sent away, untill the French King were advertised; and She can give no other security but her own word, nor stands it with her honour, to do otherwise. Because peace could not be concluded, truce was made for 8. dayes, upon condition, that the Frenches shall be removed into Lothian; and before the expiring of that time some shall be sent to Santandrews with authorised power to make a firm peace. This truce was signed in name of the Queen by the Duke and Dofell Junie 13. So the Lords of the Congregation did first remove, and at Couper they had a publick thanksgiving unto God, that their enemies were disappointed: and the next day the Armie was dismissed, and the Lords went to Santandrews, waiting (but in vain) for the makers of the peace: and in the mean time complaints were brought dayly from Perth, against him, whom the Regent had set in the Provosts place, and did oppresse them. The Earle of Argile and Lord James did advertise the Regent, and craved that the town may be restored to their former liberty. No answer was returned: wherefore the Lords went and summoned the Provost, Captains and souldiers to render the town, assuring them, if they will hold out, and any one of them be killed in the assault, all their lives shall pay for it. The Provost answered at first, they had promised to keep the town, and they will defend it to the last drop of their blood.

Another
treaty of
peace.

Perth set
free.

Scone is
burnt,

blood. So they answered the second summons, being confident, that the Regent would send relief. But when the besiegers began to play upon the west and east parts of the town at once, they within profered to depart, if relief came not within twelve hours. Thus the town was yielded, and restored to their liberties June 26, The next day they consult what to do with the Bishop of Murray, who was then dwelling in Scone, and having many souldiers there about, had despitefully threatened the town: The Lords wrot unto him, that unless he come and assist them, they could not save his Palace. But these of Dundie considering his pride, and especially how violent he had been against *Waltermill*, would march to Scone: some persons were sent to hinder them: but because they had found in the Church a great parcell of his goods hid, to preserve them, the multitude could not be stayd till the ornaments (as they terme them) of the Church were destroyed. The Lords did so prevaile, that for that night the Church and place were spared, and they brought away the multitude. The same night the Bishops servants began to fortify again, and to do violence unto some carrying away what baggage they had gote: and the next day some few persons went again, to behold what they were a doing: the Bishops servants were offended, and began to speak proudly, and as it was affirmed, one of the Bishops sons with a rapier thrust thorow one of Dundy, because he looked in at the Girnell-door. When this was reported, the towns men of Dundie were enraged, and sent word to the inhabitants of Perth, that unless they would support them to avenge that iniurie, they would never concur with them in any action. The multitude was easily enflamed, and quickly set all the palace in a fire. Many were offended, and an antient woman hearing them take it so ill, said, *Now I see, Gods judgements are just, and that no man can save, where God will punish: since I can remember, this place hath been nothing els, but a den of whoremongers: it is incredible how many wives have been abused, and young women deflowred by these filthy beasts, which have been fostered in this Den: and especially by that wicked man who is called The Bishop: if every one knew as well as I, they would praise God, and no man would be offended.* With these words many were pacified. *Histo. of Reforma.* The day preceeding, news was brought, that the Regent had ordered a garrison to lye in Sterlin, to seclude the Congregation of the one side of Forth from the other: the Lords made hast to prevent that, and riding all night came early in the morning, where the altars and images, and abbey of Cambuskenneth were thrown down: and on the fourth day marched toward Edinburgh, doing the like at Lithgow. The Lord Seton being Provost of Edinburgh had undertaken the protection of the black and gray Friars: but hearing of the sudden coming of the Lords, he fled, and the Monasteries were plundered before they came, and God put such a fear into the adversaries hearts, that they did all flee to Dumbart. Then the Regent gave forth a Proclamation, declaring, that where as a seditious tumult was raised by some of the Lieges under pretense of Religion, she had made offer to call a Parliament in January next or sooner, for establishing an universall Order, and in the mean time to suffer every man to live at liberty of conscience. But they reiecting all reasonable offers, had by their actions clearly shewed, that it is not Religion they seek, but the vsurpation of the Crown, as appeares by that they had received and sent messages from and into England, and now have possessed the palace of Halirudhouse, and the Mint-house: Wherefore She commanded all persons to forsake them, and live obedient unto authority, or els they shall be reputed traitours to the

the Crown, Asalso that party caused it be rumored, that these Lords had conspired to deprive the Queen Regent, of her authority. and the Duke of his title of succession unto the Crown. These rumors prevailed so, that many began to shrink away. Therefore they did clear themselves by their Letters unto the Regent, and open proclamation unto the people, declaring, that these misreports had flowed from their enemies, and were most false, feigning their intentions were no other, but to abolish superstition which is contrary unto the Word of God, and to maintain the Preachers of the truth from the violence of wicked men: And if She would use her authority to that effect, they shall continue als obedient subjects as any within the realme. Then the Regent trusting to gain some what by conference, did offer a safe-conduct to any they pleased to send. Two were sent to petition liberty of their consciences, the removing of unable Ministers, licence of publick preaching without molestation, untill by a general Councell lawfully convened, or by a Parliament within the realm all controversies of Religion shall be decided; and to remove the French Souldiers. These propositions were not pleasing, yet made She no shew of dislike, but using gracious words, she craved to speak with some of greater authority, and namely the Earle of Argile and Lord James: For (said She) I still suspect, there is some higher purpose amongst them than religion. The Lords would not consent, that these two should go unto her, because one of her chief attendants, was said to have bragged, that before Michaelmes these two Noble men shall lose their heads. This not succeeding, it was agreed, that sixe persons on each side should meet at Preston. The first day nothing was concluded: for the Queen seeming to yeeld unto the free exercise of Religion, would have it provided, that where she hapned to come, the Ministers should ceate, and the Masse only be used. It was answered, This were to leave them no Church: for the Queen might change the place of her residence, and so could there not be any certain exercise of Religion. The next day the Lord Ruthven and Pittarrow were sent with this answer, As they could not impede her to use what Religion she pleased, so could they not consent, that the Ministers of Christ should be silenced upon any occasion, much less that the true service should give place to idolatry: wherefore they humbly crave (as they had oft) liberty to serve God according to their conscience, and to remove the French Souldiers; or els there can be no solide peace. The Queen said, She wished peace, but gave a direct answer to none of the points. At this time the Commons were scattered for want of victuals; and Gentle men being constrained by lack of furnishing, and partly hoping for a finall agreement, had returned after so many months unto their dwellings: but the Noble men resolved to abide at Edinburgh, till matters were fully composed. Now newes came that Henry II. King of France was dead. This put the Lords in better hope, but made them more careles: for as if there were no fear, many went home, and they who remained, lived secure without any watch. But the Queen became more watchfull, observing al occasions of advantage: and hearing of the solitude in Edinburgh, hasteth thither with her companies. The Lords hearing thereof, are doubtfull: if they leave the town, the Church, which was then established in some measure, would be cast down: therefore with the small number they had; they put themselves in order at Craigingat, to impede the Frenches. The Duke and Earle of Morton were conveying the Queen, and would have composed things: only that

A Confe-
rence,

The articles of appointment in Lieth.

New Policies.

day they kept the parties from an open conflict. The next day the Queen (having lodged in Lieth) prepared to enter the town at the West port, and the Lord Erskin (who till then had been neuter, and had the Castle) threatned to play upon them, unless they suffer the Queen to enter without trouble. Hereupon after consultation it was thought safer to take an appointment, albeit the conditions were not such as were wished, than to hazard battell betwixt two such enemies. After long talking, five articles were penned, which they craved; 1. No member of the Congregation should be troubled in life, lands, or possessions, by the Queen's authority nor any Judge, for any thing done in the late Innovation, till a Parliament (which shall begin January 10.) had decreed things in controversy. 2. idolatry shall not be erected, where it is at this day suppressed. 3. Preachers shall not be troubled in their Ministry, where they are already established, nor stopped to preach, wheresoever they shall chance to come. 4. No bands of men of war shall be layd in garrison within Edinburgh. 5. French men shall be sent away at a convenient day, and none other shall be brought without consent of the Nobility and Parliament. These articles were granted: and the Queen addeth, 1. the members of the congregation (excepting the indwellers of Edinburgh) shall leave it the next day before ten a clock. 2. they shall render the Mint-house at that time. 3. the Church-men shall take up and freely dispose of the tyths and other profits of their Benefices until January the tenth. The next day July 25. the Lords went to Sterlin: The Duke and Earle of Huntley met with them at the Querry-hols, promising if any part of the appointment shall be violated, they shall join all their forces for expelling the Frenches. The Queen was thereafter more carefull then formerly, to observe the conditions; but went about many wayes to reëstablish the Masse, and bring the favourers of Religion into contempt. In Edinburgh she employeth the Duke and Huntley and Setoun to deal with the Magistrates, to appoint some other Church for their preaching, and let the Church of S. Giles be for the Masse. They answer That were a violation of the articles. The others reply, The Queen will keep all the conditions, but craves this as a favour only; or at least, that they will permit the Masse there before or after noon. They answer, They will never yeeld, that the Masse enter there again; or if violence shall be used, they must suffer, and use the next remedy. Then another device was invented: the French Captains and Souldiers made their walks in time of prayer and preaching, and did laugh and talk all the time, that the preachers could not be heard. This was patiently digested, knowing that they sought an occasion of trouble. In Lieth they cut the pulpite into pieces, and set up the Masse; and in the Abbey-church by force they hindered the Common prayers, and wheresoever they came, they made disturbance: and withall they dispersed a rumor both in France and in the Country, that the Congregation intends an open rebellion, and to set up Lord James in place of the lawfull Queen. At the same time letters were brought from the King and Queen unto L. James, full of exprobrations and menacings. Ere the Letters were delivered, the Lords had drawn up a third band at Sterlin August 1. in this manner; Wee foreseeing the craft and slight of our adversaries, who try all wayes to circumveen us, and by privy means intend to assault every one of us particularly, by fair heights and promises, thereby to separate us one from another, to our utter ruin and destruction: For remedy thereof, wee faithfully and truly binde us in the presence of God, and as wee tender the maintaining of true Religion,

that

that none of us shall in time coming pass to the Queen Dowager, to talk or commune with her, for any Letter or message sent by her unto us, or yet to be sent, without consent of the rest or common consultation thereupon: and how soon either Writing or message shall come from her unto us, with all diligence wee shall notify the same one to another, so that nothing shall proceed there in without common consent of us all. *And because they had observed, that the Regent and Bishops intend nothing but deceit, they resolve to seek the aid of Christian Princes, if they shall be any more pursued; and first they would begin with Queen Elisabet as nearest and of the same Religion: and sent two Messengers into England. They appoint the next meeting at Sterlin September 10. and go to their own houses for the most part. Now what were the contents of the Kings Letters (which for brevity I omit) may appear from the answer of Lord James, which is thus; SIR, my most humble duty remembred, Your Majesties Letters I received from Parise July 17. importing in effect, that your Ma. doth marvel, that I being forgetfull of the graces and favours shewed mee by the King of bl. memory, your Ma. self, and the Queen my Sovrain, have declared myself head and one of the principall beginners of these alledged tumults and seditions in these parts, deceiving heerby your Ma. expectation in all times had of mee, with assurance, that if I do not declare by contrary effect my repentance, I with the rest that have put, or yet put hand to this Work, shall receive that reward, which wee have deserved* Sir, It grieves mee very heavily, that the crime of ingratitude is laid to my charge, by your Ma. and the rather, that I perceive the same to have proceeded of sinister information of them (whose part it was not to have reported so, if true service past had been regarded) and as for repentance and declaration of the same, by certain effects, that your Ma. desireth I shew; my conscience persuades mee, in these proceedings to have done nothing against God, nor the dutifull obedience toward your Ma. nor the Queen my Sovrain: Otherwise it should not have been to be repented, and also it should have been repented already, according to your Majesties expectation of mee: But your Ma. being truly informed and persuaded, that the thing, which wee have done, makes for the advancement of Gods glory, without any manner of derogation to your Majes. due obedience; Wee doubt not but your Ma. shall be well contented with our proceedings: which being grounded upon the commandement of the eternall God, wee dare not leave the same unaccomplished, only wishing and desiring, your Ma. might know the same and the trueth thereof, as wee are persuaded in our consciences, and all them, that are truly instructed in the eternall word of our God, upon whom wee cast our care from all dangers, that may follow the accomplishment of his eternall will, and to whom wee commend your Ma., beseeching him to illuminate your heart with the gospell of his eternall truth, to know your Majes. duty toward your poor subiects, Gods chosen people, and what you ought to crave justly of them again: for then wee should have no occasion to fear your Majes. wrath and indignation, nor your Majes. have suspicion of our obedience. The same God have your Ma. in his eternall safeguard. *At Dumbarton August 12. 1559. This Letter was delivered unto the Regent: she opened it, and having read it, said, So proud an answer was never given to King nor Trinceffe. and Buchanan saith, but contrarily, many did judge it within the bounds of modesty, especially where he was upbraided with graces and favours, whereof he had not received any, but such as were common unto all strangers. At that time*

*L. James
his Letter
to the
King*

came a thousand souldiers from France to Lieth, and reporte, that more were coming; and the Earle of Arran eldest son to Duke hamilton came thorough England; having heard in France, that the Cardinall of Lorrain the Queen Regents brother had said in the Parliament of Paris, (as he was inveying against the Protestants) that they shall shortly see punishment executed on some, who is in honour equal to Princes; and calling to minde, that lately he had spoken freely with the Duke of Guise in the cause of Religion; came away privately, and after his departure his younger brother was apprehended and imprisoned. And he dealeth with his father to forger old quarrells, and joyn with the Lords of the Congregation. and so both came to the meeting at Sterlin. Where the Lords understand, that the Queen was fortifying Lieth for a Magazin and a safe haven for receiving French ships, as again 2000. men were landed under the command of Mon. de la Bross, and with him the Bishop of Amiens under the colour of Ambassadors. When these were come, the Regent was heard say, Now shall I be avenged on the enemies of the Saints and of Authority. And the French men began to brag, as if all were their own; one was called *Monsieur de Argile*, another, *Monsieur Le Prior*, &c. and the indwellers of Lieth were put forth, both Protestants and Papists. And nevertheless the Regent caused to make a proclamation, that she intendes not to violate the Appointment in the least point, but only to preserve peace and dutifull obedience, if the Congregation will likewise keep their part. These which were called Ambassadors, kept up their commission, saith the *historie of Reforma.* but Buchanan saith, they craved from twelve Lords, which were at Edinburgh, a day to be appointed for hearing their commission: and it was answered unto them, They sought not peace, but war: for what els did so many armed men declare? nor could they be so simple, as to come into Conference, where they might be forced to accept conditions at the pleasure of their enemies: but if peace was their aime, they should dismiss their banded companies, that so it may appear, they yield unto equity, and not forced by the sword; and on the other side they would use the like diligence. No more was heard of their commission. The Regent sent many letters both unto them which were indifferent, and to these which were for the Reformation, soliciting them severally to come unto her: the one sort would not receive her Letters, according to their bond: and from their meeting they sent the reasons of their refusing, and declared their intentions, and complained of the violation of the appointment, especially in bringing so many Frenches, fortifying of Lieth, and putting out the Indwellers. Many Declarations and proclamations did passe on both sides untill Octob. 21. when the Noble men and others after warning being frequently convened in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, the question was propounded, *Whether she that contemptuously refuseth the most humble requests of the borne Councillers of the realme, being also but a Regent, whose pretences threaten the bondage of the whole common wealsh, ought to be suffered so tyrannically to domineer over them?* After deliberation it was concluded without any contrary vote in this manner: *At Edinburgh October 21. 1559.* The Nobility, Barons and Burgeses convened to advise upon the affaires of the Commonwealth, and to aide and support the same, perceiving and lamenting the enterprised destruction of their said Common wealth, and overthrow of the Liberties of their native Countie, by the means of the Queen Regent and certain strangers her privy Councillers, plain contrary unto our Souverain Lord and Ladies mind, and direct against the Counsell of the Nobility, to proceed

A Sentence of suspension against the regent

ceed by little and little even to the uttermost ruin; So that the urgent necessity of the Commonwealth may no longer suffer delay, and earnestly craves our support. Seing therefore that the said Queen Regent (abusing and overpassing our Soverain Lord and Ladyes commission given and granted unto her) hath in all her proceedings pursued the Barons and Burgeses within this realme, with weapons and armour of strangers, without any proceess and order of Law, they being our Soverain Lord and Ladies true Lieges, and never called nor convinced of any crime by any judgement lawfull; as 1. at Santiohnstoun in the month of May she assembled her armie against the town and inhabitants thereof, never called nor convinced of any crime, only because they professed the true worship of God, conform to his sacred word. 2. in the moneth of Juny last, without any order or calling going before, invaded the persons of sundrie Noble men and Barons with force of arms, conveyed at Saintandrews, only for the cause of Religion, as is notoriously known, they never being called nor convinced of any crime. 3. again layd garrisons the same moneth upon the inhabitants of the said town, oppressing the Liberties of the Queens true Lieges: for fear of which her garrisons, a great part of the inhabitants thereof fled from the town, and durst not resort again unto their houses & heritages, untill they were restored by arms; they not withstanding not being called nor convinced of any crime. 4. further at the same time did thrust-in upon the inhabitants of the said town, Provest and Bailifs against all order of election, as lately in this month of September she hath done in other towns of Edinburgh and Jedburgh and diverse other places, in manifest oppression of our Liberties. 5. Declaring her evill mind toward the Nobility, Commonalty and wholle nation, she hath brought-in strangers, and dayly pretends to bring greater force of the same, pretending a manifest conquest of our native rooms and Countrie, as the deed ittelf declares; in so far, as she having brought-in the said strangers without any advice of Councell & Nobility, and contrary to their expresse minde sent to her in Writing, hath placed and planted her said strangers in one of the principall towns and parts of the realm, sending continually for greater forces, willing thereby to suppress the Common wealth and liberty of our native countrie, to make us and our posterity slaves to strangers for ever: which, as it is intolerable to Commonwealths and free Countries, so it is very prejudiciall to our Soverain Lady and her Heirs whatsoever, in case our Souverain Ladie decease without Heirs of her person. And to perform these her wicked enterprises conceived (as appeares) of inveterate malice against our whole countrie and nation, caused (without any consent or advice of the Councell or Nobility) to coin lead money, so base and of such quantity, that the whole realm shalbe depauperated, and all traffique with forrein Nations everted thereby. 6. She placeth and maintaineth against the pleasure of the Counsell of this realme, a stranger in one of the greatest Offices of credite in this realm, that is, in keeping the great Seal thereof, wherein great perils may be engendred to the Common weale and Liberty thereof. 7. Further, sent the great Seal forth of this realme by the said stranger, against the advise of the said Counsell, to what effect, God knoweth. 8. And hath also by this mean, altered the old Law and custom of this our realm, ever observed in the Graces and pardons granted by our Soveraines to all their Lieges, being repentant of their offences committed against their Majesties; or the Lieges of the Realm; And hath introduced a new, captious stile and forme of the said pardons and Remissions, con-

and can-
ses thereof

form to the practises of France, tending thereby to draw the said Lieges of this realm, by proceſſe of time, into a deceivable ſnare, and further ſhall creep-in the whole ſubuerſion and alteration of the remanent Lawes of this realme, contrary to the Contents of the Appointment of marriage 9 And alſo Peace being accorded among the Princes, retaineth the great Army of ſtrangers, after commandement ſent by the King of France to retier the ſame, making excuſe that they were retained for ſuppreſſing the attempts of the Lieges of this realm; albeit the whole ſubjects thereof of all eſtates, is and ever have been ready to give all dutifull obedience to their Sovereains and their lawfull miniſters proceeding by Gods Ordinance; And the ſame Army of ſtrangers not being paid their wages, was layd by her upon the necks of the poor Commonalty of our native Country, who were compelled by force to defraud themſelves, their wives and children, of that poor ſubſtance which they might purchaſe with the ſweat of their brows, to ſatisfy their hunger and neceſſities, and quit the ſame to ſuſtain the idle bellies of her ſtrangers; through the which, in all parts roſe ſuch heavy lamentation and complaint of the Commonalty, accusing the Counſell and Nobility of their ſloth, that as the ſame oppreſſion wee doubt not, hath entred in before the Juſtice Seat of God, ſo it hath moved our hearts with pittie and compaſſion. And for redreſſ of the ſame with great offences committed againſt the publik weell of this Realm, wee have convened here, as ſaid is; and as often before, have moſt humbly and with all reverence deſired and required the ſaid Queen Regent, to redreſſ theſe enormities, and eſpecially to remove her ſtrangers from the necks of the poore commonalty, and to deſiſt from enterpriſing of fortification of Strengths within this realm, againſt the expreſſe will of the Nobility and Counſell of the ſame; yet wee beeing convened the more ſtrong for fear of her ſtrangers, who, wee ſawe, preſume no other thing, but with Arms to purſue our lives and poſſeſſions, Beſought her to remove our fear of the ſame, and make the town patent to all our Sovereain Lord and Ladies Lieges; The ſame would ſhe no way grant unto: but when ſome of our companie in peaceable manner went to viewe the town, there was great and ſmall munition ſhot forth at them. And ſeing that neither acceſſe was granted unto us by her, nor yet ſhe would joyn herſelf unto us, to conſult upon the affairs of our Commonwealth, as wee be borne Counſellors to the ſame, by the antient Lawes of the Realm: but fearing that the judgements of the Counſell would reform, as neceſſity required, the foreſaid enormities, ſhe reſuſeth all manner of aſſiſtance with us, and by force and violence intends to ſuppreſſe the Liberties of our Commonweall, and of us the favourers of the ſame. Wee therefore, ſo many of the Nobility, Barons, and Proveſts of our Boroughs, as are rouchd with the care of the Commonweale (unto the which wee acknowledge ourſelves, out only born but alſo ſworn protectours and Defenders, againſt all and whatſoever inuaders of the ſame) and moved by the foreſaid proceedings notorious, and with the lamentable complaint of oppreſſion of our Commonalty, our fellow-members of the ſame; Perceiving farther, that the preſent neceſſity of our Commonweal may ſuffer no delay, being convened (as ſaid is) preſently in Edinburgh, for ſupport of our Commonweal, and ripely conſulted and adviſed, taking the fear of God before our eies, for the cauſes foreſaid, which are notorious, with one conſent and common vote, every man in order, his judgement being required, in the name and authority of our Sovereain Lord and Lady, ſuſpend the ſaid Commiſſion granted by our Sovereain to the

the said Queen Dowager, discharging her of all administration or authority she hath or may have thereby, untill the next Parliament, to be set by our advice and consent: And that because the said Queen, by the foresaid faults notorious, declares herself enemy to our Commonwell, abusing the power of the said authority, to the destruction of the same: And likewise wee discharge all members, of her said authority from henceforth; and that no Coin be coined from henceforth, without expresse consent of the sayd Counsell and Nobility, conform to the Lawes of this realm, which wee maintain; And ordain this to be notified and proclaimed by officers of Arms in all head-Boroughs within the realm of Scotland. In wignes of which our common consent and free Vote, Wee have subscribed this present Act of suspension with our hands, day, year and place aforesaid. *And it was subscribed in this manner,* By us the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland. The next day this Act was proclaimed with sound of Trumpet: and then they sent a Letter unto the Regent, shewing her, what they had done, and they add, *And howbeit* wee have determined with the hazard of our lives, to set that Town at liberty, wherein you have most uniuersally planted your mercenary souldiers and strangers, yet for the reverence wee bear unto you, as being the mother of our Queen, wee earnestly beseech you to depart thence at this time, when wee (constrained by publick necessity) are by force of arms to recover it. Wee further request you to bring forth of the Town with your self, all that carry themselves as Ambassadors, and are come into the Countrey, either for taking up of controversies, or assisting the government of publick affairs, within the space of 24. hours, And to cause the Captains & Lieutenants and souldiers (whose blood wee would gladly spare, because of the old amity and friendship betwixt us and the Realm of France, which the marriage of our Soverain Lady to that King, ought rather to increase than diminish) to remove themselves within the same space. *This Letter was subscribed by the Nobility and Barons* October 23. After defiance on both sides, Octob. 25. the town was summoned, and all the Scots and French men of whatsoever degree were commanded to leave it within the space of twelve hours. But God would not as yet put an end to these troubles untill mens hearts were more discovered, and his Hand were more seen and acknowledged. The people were earnest to invade; many were but too forward, and for hast to make their scalads, they made choise of St Giles church, and would not give place to publick Prayers nor preaching; which and other disorders gave occasion unto the Preachers, to affirm, that God would not suffer such contempt of his word and abuses of his Grace, to be long unpunished. Their most secret determinations were revealed, and overthrown. The Duke's friends did terrifie him, and by his fear many others were troubled. The hired souldiers made a mutiny, because they wanted a part of their wages. Whosoever had any silvers vessel, did profer to give it unto the Mint-house, but Johnhart and others of that faction stole away the instruments. They sent to Berwick, to borrow money: instantly 4000 Crowns was lent and delivered to Sir John Cocburn of Ormiston: the Regent had notice of it, and sent the Earle of Bothwell to intercept it. He had promised before to befor the Country: but then he goeth, wounded the gentle man, took him prisoner and all that he had. The Earle of Arran and a great party of the horsemen went forth to recover the prisoner: they took the Earle's house: but himself was gone. In absence of the Horsemen, these of Dundie and foot men went with some Ordnance to shoot at Lieth. The French men

*Some
broils and
discouragements.*

knew, that they were but few, and that the Horsemen were gone another way, and with expedition came forth upon them. The souldiers fled without stroke of sword, and left the Ordinance to their enemies, who followed unto Lieth-winde. Upon the first alarm all men in Edinburgh made haft for relieff: but then was a shout, All the Frenches are entred. This crie did amase many, and they fled to the west port. The Earle of Argile and his men did stay them fleeing, and Lord Robert Stewart Abbot of Halirud-houfe issued forth upon the Frenches, and caused them to turn and flee. At that time the cruelty of the French men began to discover it self: for they spared not the aged, maimed, women, nor Papist; and of the souldiers ten only were killed. Then many were dejected: and with great difficulty were moved to abide in the town. October 31. William Mairlane of Lethington Secretary to the Regent, perceiving that the Frenches sought his life (for somtimes he had freely opposed their cruelty) conveyed himself away, and coming to Edinburgh, exhorted the Lords and others unto constancy, and most prudently layd before them the dangers ensuing, if they shall depart from that Town. They stayd untill November 5: then was another skirmish: but the souldiers could scarcely be moved to go forth; and they went disorderly, and were repulsed with the loss of 25. or 30. of their number: and then such dolour and fear overtook the hearts of the most part, that they could admit of no consolation: only they appoint to meet the next day at Sterlin, and there to take consultation. On wednesday November 7. they meet in the Church of Sterlin: John Knox had a Sermon on Psa. 80. v. 5. 6. 7. In his exposition he declared, wherefore God in wisdom suffers sometimes his chosen people to be exposed to mockage and danger, even to appearing distruction, towit, that they may feel the vehemency of his indignation; that they may know, how little strength is in themselves; they may leave unto the following generations a testimony both of the wicked's malice, and of the marvellous work of God in perserving His little Flock by other means than man can espy: he sheweth how fearfull a tentation it is, when God heares not the prayers of his people; and a difference betwixt the elect and reprobats under such a tentation: and in the end he did exhort them all to amendement of life and to earnestness of praying. The mindes of the hearers were wonderously erected. After dinner the Lords conven in Counsell; where (after invocation of Gods name) it was concluded 1. that William Maitlan shall go to London, and declare their condition unto the Queen and Counsell) and the Noble men should have their next publick meeting at Sterlin December. 16. In the mean time the French men domineer in Edinburgh: the Regent gave the houses of the honestest Burgeses unto them as a part of their reward: the Earle of Arran was proclaimed Traitour: great practises were used against the Castle: but the Captain (as he had refused to be for the Lords and country, so) would not give over unto the Regent. Advertisement was dispatched to the Duke of Guise, desiring him to make expedition, if he would have the full conquest of Scotland. He had at that time greatest power to command in France, (the King Francis being but 15 years of age) and without delay sent another Army of horse and foot with the Marques D'Elbeuf and Count Martiques: they embarked at Diep, and were dispersed by tempest: 18 Ensignes were cast away upon the coast of Holland; and only the ship wherein were the two principalls with their Ladies was violently driven back to Diep, confessing, that God fought for the defense of Scotland. After the meeting at Sterlin, the Duke, the Earle of Glencairn, and other noble

Encouragement,
and resolution.

ble men went to Glasgou, and caused all the images and altars to be pulled down: and convening in Counsell gave forth this Proclamation: FRANCIS and MARIE King and Queen of Scots, Daulphin and Daulphineſs of Viennoys, to our lovets messengers or sherifs in that part conjunctly and severally specially constitute, greeting. For so much as it is understood by the Lords of our Privy Counsell that be reformed, of the suspension of the Queen Dowrier's authority, the samine is by consent of the Nobility and Barons of our realm, now by Gods providence devolved unto them: And their chieff and first charge and study is, and should bee, to advance the glory of God, by maintaining and upsetting true preachers of the Word, Reforming of Religion, and subversion of idolatry; And there are diverse of the clergy, who have not as yet adioined themselves unto the Congregation, nor made open testification of their faith, and renunciation of idolatry; Our will is heerfore and we charge you straitly, and command that incontinently, these Our letters seen, yee pass and in our name and authority command and charge all and sundry of the clergy, who have not as yet adioined themselves to the Congregation as said is, by open proclamation at all places needfull, That they compare before the saids Lords of Counsell in Santandrews the day of

Two proclamations of the Council.

and there give open testification of their conversion with plain confession of their faith, and renunciation of all manner of superstition and idolatry; With certification unto them, if they fail, they shalbe reputed and holden as enemies to God and true Religion, and the fruits of their Benefices shall be taken away, one part thereof to the true preachers who ministrat truly the word, and the remanent to be applied to the forthsetting of the Common well of our realm. The which to do we commit to you conjunctly and severally Our full power by these our letters delivering them by you duly execute and indorſed again unto the bearer. Given under our signet at Glasgou the penult day of November and of our reignes the first & seventeenth years. Nevertheless some Bishops intend a new persecution wherupon the Counsell send forth another proclamation in this manner: FRANCIS and MARIE by the Grace of God King and Queen of Scots, Daulphin and Daulphineſs of Viennois, To our lovets
 . . . our shirefs in that part conjunctly and severally specially constitute greeting. For so much as the Lords of our Counsell understanding the great hurt and iniquity, that in times past hath proceeded to the members of Christs Church by maintaining and upholding of the Antichrists lawes and his consistory, boasting and fearing the simple and ignorant people with their cursings; gravatures and such like others their threatnings, whereby they sate on the consciences of men, of long time by gone, Ordained that no consistory should be afterward holden, hanted nor used, Having respect that there be enough of Civil ordinary Judges, to the which our Lieges may have recourse in all their actions & causes; And not the less the said Lords are informed, that certain wicked persons within the City of Brechin, malevolent members of the said Antichrist, contemptuously disobey the said ordinance, and cease not stil to hold consistory, and execute his pestilent lawes within the said City in contempt of Vs and our authority; Our will is therefore and wee charge you straitly, and command, that incontinent these our letters seen, yee pass and in our name and authority, command and charge the Commissary and Scribe of Brechin, and all other members of the said Consistory, and others our Lieges whatsoever having interests, That none of them take in hand, to hold any consistory

*An obser-
vation out
of the pre-
misses.*

story for administration of the said wicked lawes, or assist there to in any way from thence forth, Vnder the pain of death, As yee will answer to us thereupon. The which to do we commit to you conjunctly and severally our full power. ... Given under our signet at Dundy the 14 day of December, and of our reignes the second and 18 years. These two Proclamations are not (that I have seen) in print: but I have them by mee, as yet with the Signet whole and entire; which I received (as I have hinted before) among the papers of Johnerskin of Dun. The difference of the time in the Date is clear, for the Queen was married in the beginning of Decemb. *An.* 1558.. And I make use of them here against the impudent slaunders of that malevolent Author who in that Latin History (lately printed) calleth the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, a tumultuous and Vandal Reformation; howbeit out of these Proclamations and all other proceedings heertofore, it appeares clearly, that whatsoever was done, had the authority of the Publick Convention of the Estates, and lesser things were done by the Counsell; but the Queen being a Minor and not in the Country from her infancy, and being under the tutory of her Vncle a stranger and an enemy of Religion, who had given his power unto strangers for opposing Religion. And all the antient Churches as yet standing both in burroughs and country do bear witnes, that they did not at that time throw down any necessary church, but only the abbeyes and monasteries and their churches.

*A treaty
with En-
gland: and
the Fren-
ches make
trouble to
their own
losse.*

I X. About the 20. of December Robert Meluill of Raith (who was sent with Lethintoun into England) returnes, and shewes, that the Queen of England had granted a supply, and appointed the Duke of Norfolk to treat at Berwick with the Commissioners of the Scottish Nobility. When the Regent was advertised of this conclusion, she with her Counsell resolves to make an end of the warre before the English support could be in readines, and to begin at Fife. Thereupon the French men take their journey by Sterlin, and spoil where they come: when they had passed the bridge, the storm was so bitter, and the snow had fallen so deep, that they could not passe thorough the middle of the country, but resolve to march by the coast, and so unto Santandrewes, and to have fortified the castle and City. The Lord James Stuart and others hearing that they were passed Sterlin, sent some Forces with the Lord Ruthuen to withstand them; and in his company was the Earle of Sutherland, being directed (as he professed) by the Earle of Huntly, to offer his assistance, but his principall commission was for the Regent, as afterward was made known. But he was not long time in their company: for in the first rancounter of the Scots and French men at Kingorn, Sutherland was hurt in the arme, and went back to Couper. The French men being the greater number, took Kingorn, and the Scots return to Dyfert, where they continued skirmishing for three weeks, that the enemies could not march further, and the country was preserved from the spoil, so soon as the Regent heard, that Kingorn was taken, she sent post to France, shewing, that thousands of the hereticks were slain, and the rest were fled, and requiring that some of her friends would come and take the glory of that Victory. So Martiques was sent again with two ships. A day was appointed by the Noble men to meet at Couper for sending Commissioners, to treat with the Duke of Norfolk: unto this meeting went the Noble men that were at Dyfert: and sixe were sent to Berwick: both parties did quickly agree upon a league for defense of both kingdoms, whosoever shall invade either of them. The contract

was dated Februar. 27. The capacity of a Treaty with England shewes what a considerable part of the kingdom the Congregation was at that time. The Frenchmen at Kingorn, hearing that the Noble men were gone from Dyfert, march a long the coast, and at Kinraig they see a fleet of ships: they apprehend them a supply from France: but they were by and by informed, that it was a fleet of Englishes, and also that an Army was coming by land. Wherefore they fearing to be severed from their fellowes at Lieth; made the greater hast by night and day, and came to Lieth on the third day, losing more of their company by the way than they had killed of their adversaries; as they had done more evill to their friends: for of all that were professed enemies unto them, only the Laird of Grange had his house blown up with powder: but others of their faction were forced to furnish them; or the souldiers took the readiest they could apprehend. When complaints were made to the French Captaines, they scornfully answered, These were the Congregation-mens goods. Or if they made faith, that these were their own goods; they were railed upon, as unworthy and niggard cowards, that made more account of their goods than of their friends. And the professours of religion had put their goods out of the way. But this spoil made that faction joyn the more willingly with the defenders of their liberty. At that time the Barons of the Merns were busy in the Refomation of Aberdien. The Earle of Huntly withstood: but when he heard of the advancing of the Englishes, he sent unto the Lords, craving to be admitted among them: as also he heard, that Proclamations were sent through all the country, charging all the subjects to meet in arms at Lithgow the last day of March, and thence to passe in persuite of the French enemies. At that time the English forces consisting of two thousand horse and 600 foot entred into Scotland, and the Scots army joyned with them April 4. *An. 1660.* The same day the Regent removes her family to the castle of Edinburgh, the Lord Erskin knowing, that she was of intention to have the Frenches Masters of that strength, would not deny her entry, but he was so circumspect, that both she and the castle were still in his power.

X. The Noble men then wrote unto her humbly again and again entreating that she would dismiss the French souldiers, and profering that they shall besafely conveyed into France; and promising never to forsake dutifull obedience unto their Queen, nor resist the King her husband, in any thing that shall not tend to the subversion of the liberties of the Kingdom, and beseeching her, to weigh the equity of their petition and the inconveniences of warre. The English Generall did in like manner direct two gentle men unto the French men, in Lieth for the same purpose. Both were answered with delayes; but would not be delayed; and assault the town, and were repulsed twice with the losse of two men. The King of France hearing, what they were doing in Scotland, sent unto Queen Elisabeth, requiring to bring back her Forces, and he would render Calais, which was taken in her sisters time. The Queen answereth, That fisher town is not to be weighed with the hazard of Britanne. Then the Kings Counsellers were desirous of peace; but thought it disgracefull to treat with his subjects. Wherefore he entreats the Queen to mediate a peace: so the English Secretary, and a Doctour Wotton Dean of Canterburry were sent with the French Ambassadors into Scotland. While these were upon their journey, the Queen Regent dieth through displeasure and sickness, in the castle of Edinburgh Juny 10 *An. 1560.* Before her death she desired to

*Mediation
of peace.
An. 1560*

*Queen Re
gent dieth*

speake with the Duke; the Earls of Argile; Glencairn, Marshall and Lord James: unto them she bemoaned the troubles of the realm, and entreated them to study peace; and to perform these particulars; that were lately written in that Letter unto her: then bursting forth into tears, she asked pardon of them all: and disposing herself for another world she sent for John willock the Preacher of the town, and conferring with him a pretty space, she professed, that she did trust to be saved by the death and merites of Iesus Christ only. Shortly after her death, truce was made for hearing the Ambassadors; and peace was concluded at Edinburg: among other articles the 8th was, that the King nor Queen shall depute no strangers in the administration of Civil and common Justice, nor bestow the publick Offices upon any, but born subjects of the realm. 9. that a Parliament shall be held in the month of August next: for which a commission shall be sent, and it shall be as lawfull in all respects, as if it had been ordained by expresse command of their Majesties; providing all tumults of warre be discharged, and they who ought by their places to be present, may come without fear. So on July 16. both Frenches and Englishes did return home, and a solemne thanksgiving that day was in the Church of S. Giles, by the Lords and others professing true Religion.

The Re-
formation
goeth on.

XI. In the midst of these broyles the Counsell did not forget the condition of the Church, and (as it is said expressly in the beginning of the first book of Discipline) on the 29 day of Aprile in that year 1660. they gave Order unto the Ministers, to conveen, and draw up in writing and in a book, a common order for reformation and uniformity to be observed in the discipline and policy of the Church. This they did as they could for the time, before the 20 day of May: but it was not allowed by the Counsell untill January 17. following. After the solemne thanksgiving in July the Commissioners of Borroughs with some Nobles and Barons were appointed to see the equall distribution of Ministers, as the most part shall think expedient: so one was appointed unto every chief burgh and City: they appointed five, whom they called *Superintendents*. What was their office, appears by the first book of Discipline, wherein it is written thus; *Wee consider*, that if the Ministers, whom God hath endowed with his singular graces among us, should be appointed to severall places, there to make their continuall residence, that then the greatest part of the realm should be destitute of all doctrine, which should be not only the occasion of great murmur, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many: and therefore wee have thought it a thing expedient *at this time*, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realm, be selected ten or twelve (for in so many Provinces we have divided the whole) to whom charge and commandement should be given, to plant and erect Kirks, to set, order and appoint Ministers (as the former prescribes) to the countries, that shalbe appointed to their care, where none are now. And by their means your love and common care over all inhabitants of this realme, to whom you are equally debtors, shall evidently appear: as also the simple & ignorant, who perchance have never heard Iesus Christ truly preached, shall come to some knowledge: by the which many that are dead in superstition and ignorance, shall attain to some feeling of godliness, by the which they shall be provoked to seek farther knowledge of God and his true Religion and worship: where by the contrary if they shall be neglected, then shall they not only grudge, but also seek the means where by they may continue in their blindness, or return to their accustomed idolatry:

The first
plantation
of Mini-
sters and
Superin-
tendents.

and therefore we desire nothing more earnestly, than that Christ Jesus be once universally preached throughout this realm; which shall not suddenly be, unless that by you, men be appointed and compelled, faithfully to travell in such Provinces as to them shalbe assigned. *Here they designe the bounds for ten Superintendents, and then it is added,* These men must not be suffered to live as your idle Bishops have done heretofore: neither must they remain, wherethey gladly would, but they must be preachers themselves; and such as may not make long residence in any place, till their Kirks be planted and provided of Ministers, or at least of Readers. Charge must be given to them, that they remain in no place above twenty dayes in their visitation; till they have passed through their whole bounds. They must preach thrice at the least every week; and when they return to their principall Town and residence, they must be exercised likewise in preaching and edification of the Kirk: and yet they must not be suffered to continue there so long, that they may seem to neglect their other Kirks: but after they have remained in their chief town three or four months at most, they shalbe compelled (unless by sicknes they be retained) to re-enter in visitation: In which they shall not only preach, but also examine the life, diligence and behaviour of the Ministers, as also the order of their Kirks, and manners of the people: They must further consider how the poor be provided; how the youth be instructed: They must admonish, where admonition needeth, and redresse such things as by good counsel they may appease: And finally they must note such crimes as be heinous, that by censure of the Kirk the same may be corrected. If the Superintendent be found negligent in any the chief points of his office, and specially if he be negligent in preaching of the word; and visitation of the kirks, or if he be convicted of such crimes, as in common ministers are damned, he must be deposed without respect of his person or office: *Though Bishop Spotswood professes to set down all the book of Discipline,* yet of all this that I have written, he hath but foure lines, but he omits not the bounds of each Superintendent. Then after the manner of the election of the Superintendent, it followes in the book thus; the Superintendent being elected and appointed unto his charge, must be subiect to the censure and correction of Ministers and Elders not of his chief town only; but also of the whole Province of which he is appointed overseer. If his offence be known, and the Ministers and Elders of the town and province be negligent, then the next one or two Superintendents with their ministers and elders may convene him, and the Ministers and Elders of his chief town (provided it be within his own province or chief town) may accuse or correct aswell the Superintendent in these things that are worthy of correction, as the ministers and elders, of their negligence and ungodly toleration of his offence. Whatsoever crime deserves deposition or correction of any other minister, deserves the same in the Superintendent, without exception of persons. *He hath also curtailed these rules:* for what cause he hath so done, he who pleaseth to confer the two, may guesse.

XII. The Parliament (as was appointed in the Treaty) late down in August at Edinburgh: there were present sixe Bishops, twelve Abbots and Priors, nineteen Earls and Lords with many Barons, and of Commissioners of Burghs none were absent. Many Lords both of the one and other Estates did absent themselves contemptuously, saith the author of the *History of Reformation*: The first thing they treat was a supplication of the Barons, gentlemen, burgesses and other true subjects of the realm, professing the Lord Jesus, for a Reformation of Religion. So soon as it was read, the

The Reformation is established by Parliament, and the Confession of faith.

Barons and Ministers were called, and command given unto them, to draw into plain and severall heads the sum of the doctrine, which they would maintain, and desire to be established, as wholefom, true, and only necessary to be believed. This they willingly accept and on the fourth day, to wit, August 17. they present the Confession, which afterward was registred in the first Parliament of King James 6. and is commonly seen also in the Harmony of Confessions. When the Confession was read first by the Lords of the articles, and then in audience of the whole Parliament, all were bidden in Gods name, to object, if they could say any thing against that doctrine; some Ministers standing-by ready to answer, if any would defend Papistry, or impugne any article. No objection was made: then a day was appointed for concurrence in that and other heads: that day the Confession was read again, each article severally, and the votes were asked accordingly. The Papisticall Bishops said nothing. Three Lords Athol, Sommerwell and Bortwick said, *Wee will believe, as our fathers believed.* The Earle Marshall said, *It is long since I had some favour unto the Trueth, and since I had a suspicion of the papisticall Religion: but I praise my God, who this day hath fully resolved mee in the one and the other: forseeing the Bishops, who for their learning can, and for their zeal that they should bear unto the verity, would, as I suppose, have gain-said any thing, that directly repugneth unto the verity of God: Seing, I say, the Bishops here present speake nothing against the doctrine proposed, I can not but hold it for the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine: and therefore so far as in me lyeth, I approve the one, and condemne the other: And yet more I must vote by way of Protestation, that if any person Ecclesiasticall shall after this oppose themselves to this our Confession, that they have no place nor credite; considering that they having long advertisment and full knowledge of this our Confession, none is now found in lawfull free and open Parliament, to oppose themselves to that which we profess: and therefore if any of this Generation pretend to do it after this, I protest, that he be reputed one that loveth his own commodity and the glory of the world, more than the Trueth of God, and the salvation of mens souls.* After the voting and establishing of the Confession by the whole Body of the Parliament, there were also read two partticular Acts, one against the exercise of the Masse, and the abuse of the sacraments, and the other against the supremacy of the Pope: these were severally voted and concluded then; and reanued in the Parliament An. 1567. With these Acts Sir James Sandelanes Knight of the Rhodess (who had been neutrall hether to) was sent into France for obtaining ratification; and was ordered to clear the Noble men and others from the imputations of disloyalty, and to pacifie the mindes of their Soveraines. But he found, his ambassage and himself contemned, the Guisians checking him bitterly at his first audience, that he being a Knight of the holy Order, had taken a Commission from rebels to sollicite ratification of execrable heresies. I will not stay here upon the reasonableness of this answer, nor to consider who gave it; only this is added by my author, that more care was given unto three persons, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Abbot of Dumfermlin and the Lord Seton, who went away with the French Army. The Countrie then was greatly troubled for this cold entertainment of their Commissioner: for they were sensible of their own weakness, if France would invade again, and they were doubtfull of England, because their last support was with so great charges and hazard; and the Earls of Morton and Glencairn (who after the Parliament were sent to give thanks unto the Queen Elisabeth, and to entreat the continuance of her love) had given no advertisment: In time of this doubtfulness, newes was brought that young King Francis

was dead: then sorrowfull were the hearts of the Popish faction, and the Countrey were confident to have their Queen at home again; as God brought it to pass in despite of all the attempts, that that faction did use in the contrary. After the death of the King, a Convention of the Estates was called to meet in January 1561. then was Lord James Stuart appointed to go in their names unto the Queen: Commission was given to severall Noblemen and Barons in severall parts to pull down the abbeyes and cloisters that were yet standing, and to demolish all monuments of idolatry throughout the Countrey. Then also the book of Discipline was presented, and the Ministers supplicate the Convention to establish it. Alexander anderson Subprincipall of the Vniversity at Aberdeen was called to object against it. He refuseth to dispute there, in matters of faith, pretending (for excuse) a sentence of Tertullian. The Ministers reply. The authority of Tertullian can not preiudge the authority of the Holy Ghost, commanding to give a reason of our faith, to every one that requires it: and for the present it is not required of him, nor of any man to dispute in any point of our faith, which is fully grounded upon Gods word, and all that wee believe, is without controverly contained in the holy Scriptures: But it is required of him as of other Papists, that they will suffer their doctrine, constitutions and ceremonies come to a tryall; and especially that the Masse and the opinions, which they teach the people concerning it, be laid to the square of the first institution, that the world may know, whither their teachers had offended or not, in that which they have affirmed; whither the action of the Masse be not expressly repugnant unto the last Supper of the Lord Jesus? whither the sayer of it commit not horrible blasphemy in vsurping ^{The sayer} upon the offices of Christ? Al. Anderson denied, that the Priest takes upon him Christs office. A masse-book was brought, and it was read out of the ^{of Masse} beginning of the Canon, *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam ego ^{is a blas-}phemer ^{phemer} indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo et vero, pro peccatis totius Ecclesie, vivorum et mortuorum.* Then said the Minister, If to offer for the sins of the whole Church, be not the proper office of Christ only, let the Scripture judge: and if a vile man, whom ye call priest, proudly takes the same upon him, let your own books witness. Al. Anderson said, Christ offered the propitiatory, and none can do that; but we offer the remembrance. It was answered, We praise God, that yee deny a sacrifice propitiatory in the Masse; and we offer to prove, that in more than an hundred places of your Papisticall Doctors, it is affirmed, that the Masse is a sacrifice propitiatory. But whereas ye alledge that yee offer Christ in remembrance, we aske first, Unto whom do yee offer him? and next, By what authority are ye assured of well-doing? In God the Father falleth no oblivion: and if ye will shift and say, that ye offer, not as if God were forgetfull, but as willing to apply Christs merits to his Church; we demand of you, What power and commandement have ye to do so? We know, that our Master commanded his Apostles to do what He did, in remembrance of him: and plain it is, that Christ *took bread, gave thanks, brak the bread, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat.* . . . here is a command to take and eat, to take and to drink: but to offer Christs body either for remembrance or application, we find not: and therefore we say, To take upon you an office, which is not given unto you, is uniuert vsurpation, and not lawfull power. Then Alexander vlieth some words of shifiting: but the Lords require him to answer directly. Then said he, I am better acquainted with philosophy than with Theology. Then John Lesley, (then Parson of Vne, and immediatly

was sent by the Bishops and their faction to be agent in their business with the Queen, and thereafter was called Bishop of Ross) was demanded to answer unto that argument. After some little pause, he said, If our Master hath nothing to say unto it, I have nothing: for I know nothing but the Canon-law: and the greatest reason, that ever I could find there, is, *Volumus*, and *Nolumus*. The Nobility seeing, that neither the one nor the other would answer directly, say, *Wee have been miserably deceived; for if the Masse may not obtain remission of sin to the quick and to the dead, wherefore were all the Abbeyes so richly doted and endowed with our lands?* Hereby it is clear, (as also by what is written of the Parliament) that the Papists had liberty to plead for their Religion; and were required to say what they could, not only with safety and assurance of protection; but they did appeare, and shew their weakness. At that time the book of Discipline was not allowed nor reiected, but delayd; and thereafter it was approved by the Counsell for their own part, but not authoris'd; and some additions were noted, and this provision expressly added, That the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Beneficed men, who had already adioined them unto the Religion, shall enjoy their benefices during their lives, they upholding and sustaining the Ministry and Ministers for their part: The issue of this provision was; many Church-men gave away and sold their Manes, glebes, tyths and other things, to the prejudice of the Church; so that the entertainment of Ministers was very small; in many places nothing at all; and the glebes could hardly be recovered.

The first
assembly
of the
Church.

XIII. At Edinburgh December 20. *An. 1560.* was the first Nationall assembly: where convened the Ministers and Commissioners from Shires and Burghs about the number of 44. persons. 1. They designe Ministers and Readers unto severall parishes throughout the Countrie. 2. It was appointed, that in time coming the election of Minister, Elders and deacons shall be in the publick church, and premonition to be on the Sunday preceeding. 3. It is found by the law of God, marriages may be solemnized betwixt parties of the second or third degrees of consanguinity, and others that are not prohibited by the word of God: and therefore to desire the Lords and Estates to interpose their authority, and make lawes thereupon. 4. It is appointed that for punishment of fornication the law of God be observed; and these shall make publick repentance, which vs carnall copulation betwixt the promise and solemnization of their marriage 5. that earnest supplication be made unto the Estates of the realm, and to the Lords of Secret Counsell, that all Judges ordinary and Judiciall Officers, as Lords of the Session, Shireffs, Stewarts, Balives and other ordinary Judges be professors of the truth according to the word of God; and all Ministers of the word to be removed from such Offices, according to the Civill law. 6. To supplicate the Parliament and Secret Counsell, that, for eschuing the wrath of the Eternall, and removing the plagues threatned in His law, Sharp punishment be ordained against idolaters and maintainers thereof, in contempt of Gods true Religion and Acts of Parliament, namely, which say Masse, or cause it to be said, or are present thereat. And a catalogue of their names is written. They appoint Commissioners to attend the Parliament (if any shall be called) with these supplications. It is to be observed from the first Act, that Ministers of the word were forbidden to be Judges in Civil causes: which is against the former practise, when Bishops and other prelates were Lords of Parliament and sat in Civill Courts. No Parliament was called, as was expected: but a Conyention of Estates was appointed to
be

be in May before which time Papists resort to Edinburgh in great numbers, and began to brag of their power. The Commissioners which were appointed by the Assembly of the Church, convene May 17. *An 1561.* and draw up these articles to be presented unto the Convention; that idolatry and all monuments thereof should be suppressed throughout the realm; that the sayers, maintainers and hearers of the Masse should be punished according to the Act of Parliament. 2. That certain provision be made for maintenance of the Superintendents, Ministers and Readers; that Superintendents be planted where none are; That punishment be appointed for such as disobey or contemned the Superintendents in their function. 3. That punishment be appointed for the abusers and contemnners of the Sacraments. 4. That no Letters of Session, or warrant from any Judge be given, to answer or pay tythes unto any person, without special provision, that the parishoners retain so much in their hands as is appointed for maintenance of the Ministry; And that all such as are given heretofore, be called in and discharged. 5. That the Lords of the Session or any other Judges proceed not upon such Precepts or warnings past at the instance of them, which lately have obtained fees of Vicarages and Manes and Churchyards; and that six akers (if so much there be of the Gleebe) be always reserved to the Minister, according to the appointment of the book of Discipline. 6. That no Letters of Session nor other Warrants take place, untill the stipends contained in the book of Discipline for maintenance of the Ministers be first consigned in the hands at least of the principalls of the parishoners. 7. That punishment be appointed against all such as purchase, bring home or execute within this realm, the Popes Bulls. The Tenour of the Supplication was this; Please your Honours, and the Wisdoms of such as are presently convened with you in Counsell, to understand, that by many arguments we perceive, what the pestilent generation of that Roman Antichrist within this realm pretends, towit, that they would erect their idolatry, take upon them Empire above our consciences, and so to command us the true subjects of this realm, and such as God of his mercy hath (under our Sovereine) made subject unto us, in all things to obey their appetites. Honesty craveth, and conscience moveth us, to make the very secrets of our hearts patent to your Honours in that behalf, which is this, *That before ever these tyrants and dumb dogs empire above us, and above such as God hath subjected unto us, that wee the Barons and Gentle men professing Christ Jesus within this realm are fully determined to hazard life and whatsoever we have received from God in temporall things.* Most humbly therefore beseeching your Honours, that such order may be taken that we have not occasion to take again the sword of just defence unto our hands, which we have willingly (after God had given Victory both to your Honours and us) resigned over into your hands; to the end, that Gods gospel may be publicly preached within this realm, the true Ministers thereof reasonably maintained, idolatry suppressed, and the committers thereof punished, according to the lawes of God and men. In doing whereof your Honours shall finde us not only obedient in all things lawfull, but also ready at all times, to bring under order and obedience such as would rebell against your just authority, which in absence of our Sovereain wee acknowledge to be in your hands, beseeching your Honours with upright judgement and indifferency to look upon these few articles, and by these our Brethren to signifie unto us such answer again, as may declare your Honours worthy of that place, whereunto God (after

In a Convention of the Estates An. 1561. Papistry is again forbidden.

A supplication of Barons & burgesses.

some danger sustained) in his mercy hath called you. And let these enemies assure themselves, that if your Honours put not order unto them, that we shall shortly take such order, that they shall neither be able to do what they list, nor to live upon the sweat of the browes of such as are not debtors unto them. Let your Honours conceive nothing of us, but all humble obedience in God. But let the Papists be yet once again assured, that their pride and idolatry we will not suffer. This Supplication was sent by the Master of Lindsay, the Lords of Lochinvar, Pharnherst and Whittengham, Tho. Menzies Provost of Aberdieu and Ge. Lovell burghes of Dundy. The Lords and Counsell made an Act & ordinance answering to every head of these articles, and commanded Letters to be answered thereupon. At this time Lord James Stuard had returned from France, and brought Letters from the Queen, praying them to entertain quietnes, and to suffer nothing to be attempted against the Contract of peace which was made at Lieth, till her own cominghome, and to suffer the Religion publicly established to go forward, &c. This second fall got Saran, after he had begun to trouble the Religion once established by Law. *The Histor. of Reformat. Lib. 3.* That book closeth with these words, *The books of discipline have been of late so often published, that we shall forbear to print them at this time, hoping that no good man will refuse to follow the same, till God in a greater light establish a more persite.* By these and many passages of the book it is cleare, that at that time they did not judge it to be the constant rule of Disciplin in all time coming: and so we will find, that within few years, the Assembly thought upon another Order.

The
Queens
arrivall.

XIV. August 19. An. 1561. The Queen arrives at Lieth: very many of all ranks come to congratulate her safe return: much mirth was that week in Halirudhouse and Edinburgh. On Sunday August 24. when preparation was for the Masse in the Chappell-Royal, the hearts of the godly were stirred, and some said openly, *Shall that Idol be suffered to take place again within this realme?* It shall not. One carrying the candle was fore-afrighted. No Papist durst speak against them: but Lord James took upon him, to keep the Chappell-door: when the Masse was ended, the Priest was convoied betwixt the Lords of Coldingham & Halirudhouse unto his chamber. The next day the Queen comes into Privy Counsell: Some were sent unto the Noblemen severally with these or such persuasions; Alas, will you chase our soverain from us? She will incontinently return to her Galeys, and then what will all Nations say of us? may we not suffer her a little while? I doubt not, but she will leave it: if we were not assured, that She may be won, we should be as great enemies to the Masse, as ye can bee: her Uncles will go away, and then we shall rule all at our pleasure: would not we be as sorry to hurt the Religion as any of you would bee? With these persuasions the fervency of many was abated: and an Act was made wherein her Majesty ordaines Letters to be directed and proclaimed, that all the subjects should keep peace and Civil society, while the Estates of the realme may be assembled, and her Majesty shall have taken a finall order by their advice, which her Majesty hopeth, shall be to the contentment of all, the Law bidding that none should take in hand privately or openly any alteration of the State of Religion, or attempt any thing against the same, which She hath found publicly & universally standing at her arrivall. under pain of death; With certification, that if any subject shall come in the contrary, he shall be held for a seditious person and raiser of tumults; and her Majesty commandes with advice of her Secret Counsell,

An Act
concerning
Religion.

Counsell, that none of the Lieges take in hand to molest or trouble any of her domestik servants, or persons whatsoever come out of France in her Company at this time, in word, deed or countenance, for any cause whatsoever, either within her palace or without, under the said pain of death. This Act was proclaimed the same day; and immediately the Earle of Arran makes publick protestation, thus; In so far as by this Proclamation it is made known unto the Church of God and members thereof that the Queen is minded, that the true Religion and worship of God already established, proceed forward, that it may dayly increase, Untill the Parliament, that order may be taken then for extirpation of all idolatry out of this realm; We render most hearty thanks to the Lord our God for her Majesties good mind, earnestly praying, that it may be increased in her Majesty, to the honour & glory of his Name, and good of his Church within this realm; And as touching the molestation of her Highness servants, we suppose, that none dare be so bold as once to move their finger at them, in doing their lawfull business: and we have learned at our Master Christ's School, to keep peace with all men: And therefore for our part we will promise that obedience unto her Majesty (as is our duty) that none of her servants shall be troubled, molested or once touched by the Church or any member thereof, in doing their lawfull business: But seeing God hath said, *The idolater shall die the death*, Wee protest solemnly in the presence of God, and in the eares of all people, that heare this Proclamation, and especially in the presence of you, Lion herauld and the rest of your Colleagues, maker of the proclamation, that if any of her servants shall commit idolatry, shall say Masse, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof (which, we are loath, should be in her Highness company) in that case, that this proclamation is not extended to them, in that behalf, nor be a savegard nor girth to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit slaughter or murder, seeing the one is much more abominable & odious in the sight of God, than is the other; but that it may be lawfull to inflict upon them the pains contained in Gods Word against idolaters, wherever they may be apprehended without favour. And this our protestation we desire you to notify unto her, and give Her the copy hereof, lest her Highness may suspect an uproar, if wee all shall come and present the same. *At Edinburgh day & year foresaid.* This Protestation did some what exasperate the Queen and others following her in that point. When the Lords (of the Congregation, as they were called) came to the Town, at the first they were much offended that the Masse was permitted, and each did accuse these, that were before him: but when they tarried a short space, they were as quiet as others. Whereupon Robert campbell of Kings-cleugh said unto the Lord Ochiltry, My Lord, you are come now, and almost the last of all the rest, and I perceive by your anger that the fire-edge is not off you yet: but I fear, that when the holy water of the Court shall be sprinkled upon you, you shall become as temperate as others: for I have been here now five dayes, and at the first, I heard every man say, Let us hang the priest: But after that they had been twice or thrice in the Abby, all that fervency was past: I thinke, there is some enchantment where with men are bewitched. And it was so: for on the one part the Queen's fair words still crying, *Conscience, it is a sore thing to constrain Conscience*; and on the other part the persuasions of others blinded them all, and put them in opinion; that the Queen will be content to hear the Preaching, and so she may be won: and so all were content to suffer her

A publick
Protestation

Court
cooleth
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for a time. The next sunday John Knox in Sermon shewes what terrible plagues God had sent upon Nations for idolatry; and one Masse is more fearfull unto him, than if ten thousand enemies were landed in any part of the realm: for in our God is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfainedly depend upon Him, as we have experience heretofore: but when we join hands with idolatry, it's no doubt, but both Gods amiable presence, and comfortable defence will leave us: and what shall then become of us, &c. Some said, Such fear was no point of their faith: it was besides his text, and a very untimely admonition. The Writer of *The history of Reformation* addeth by way of anticipation, that in December *An. 1565.* when they which at the Queens arrivall maintained the toleration of the Masse, were summoned upon treason, exiled, and a decret of forfeiture was intended against them, the same Knoxe recited these words in the audience of many, and besought Gods mercy, that he was not more vehement and upright in suppressing that idol: for (said he) albeit I spake what was offensive unto some (which this day they feel to be true) yet I did not what I might have done; for God hath not only given mee knowledge and tongue, to make the impietie of that idol known, but he had given mee credite with many, who would have put in execution Gods judgements, if I would have only consented therunto: But so carefull was I of common tranquillity, and so loath to offend those, of whom I had conceived a good opinion, that in private conference with dearest and Zealous men, I travelled rather to mitigate, yea to slacken that fervency, that God had kindled in them, than to encourage them to put their hands unto the Lords work; wherein I confesse unfainedly, that I have done most wickedly, and from the bottom of my heart do ask of my God grace & pardon: for I did not what in mee lay, to have suppressed that idoll at the beginning. After that Sermon, the Queen sent for I. Knox, and (none being present, except the Lord James, and two gentle men in the end of the room) said unto him; That he had raised a part of her subiects against her mother & herself: that he had written a book against her just authority [*she meaneth the treatise against the Regiment of women*] which she had, and would cause the most learned in Europe to write against it; That he was the cause of sedition and great slaughter in England; and that is was said to her, All that he did was by necromancy. John answereth, Madam, it may please your Majesty to heare my simple answers: and first, if to teach the word of God in sincerity, or to rebuke idolatry, and to presse a people to worship God according to his word, be to raise subiects against their Princes, then I can not be excused: for it hath pleased God of his mercy, to make mee (among many) to disclose unto this realm the vanity of the Papistick religion, and the deceit, pride and tyranny of that Roman Antichrist: But Madam, if the true knowledge of God and his right worshipping be the chief cause, which must move men to obey their just Princes from their heart (as it is most certain, they are) where in can I be reprehended? I think, and am surely persuaded, that your Ma. hath had, and presently hath as unfained obedience of such as professe Christ Jesus within this realm, as every your Father or your progenitours had of those, that were called Bishops. As for that book, that seemeth so highly to offend your Ma. (it is most certain) I am content, that all the learned of the world judge of it: I hear, that an English man hath written against it, but I have not read him: if he hath sufficiently confuted my reasons, and established his contrary propositions with as evident tes-

timon-

The Queen
accused
10. Knox
and his
answers

simonies, as I have done mine, I shall not be obstinat, but confesse my
 errour & ignorance: but to this houre I have thought, and yet thinks my
 self alone more able to sustain the things affirmed in that my work, than
 any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it. The Queen said, you think,
 that I have not just authority. John answereth, Please your Ma. learned
 men in all ages have had their judgement free, and disagreeing from the
 common judgement of the world: and such have they published both by
 pen & tongue; and not withstanding they have lived in the common society
 with others, and have borne patiently with the errors and imperfections,
 which they could not amend. Plato the Philosopher wrote his book of
 the commonwealth, in which he condemnes many things that were main-
 tained in the world, and required many things to have been reformed: and
 yet he lived under such Politicks, as then were universally received, with-
 out further troubling any State: So, Madam, am I content to do, in
 uprightness of heart, and with the testimony of a good conscience have I
 communicated my judgement unto the world: if the realm finds no incon-
 veniences in the regiment of a woman, that which they approve, I shall not
 further disallow than within my own brest, but shall be aswell content to
 live under your Majesty, as Paul was to live under the Roman Emperour:
 and my hope is, that so long as yee defile not your hands with the blood of
 the Saints of God, that neither I nor that book shall either hurt you nor your
 authority: for in very deed Madam; that book was written most especially
 against that wicked Mary of England. But, said the Queen, you speak of
 women in general. John answereth, Most true it is, Madam: and yet plainly
 appeares to mee, that wisdom should perswade your Ma. never to raise trou-
 ble for that which to this day hath not troubled your Ma. neither in person
 nor in anxiety: for of late years many things which before were holden
 Stable, have been called in doubt; yea they have been plainly impugned; But
 yet, Madam, I am assured, that neither Protestant nor Papist shall be able
 to prove, that any such question was at any time moved in publick or pri-
 vate: and if I had intended to trouble your State, Madam, because you
 are a woman, I might have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose,
 than I can do now, when your presence is within the realm. But now,
 Madam, to answer shortly unto the other two accusations, I heartily praise
 my God through Jesus Christ, that Satan and the wicked of the world have
 no other crimes to lay to my charge, than such as the very world knowes to
 be most false and vain: for in England I was resident the space of five years on-
 ly; two years at Berwick, so long in New-castle, and a year in London. If in any
 place, during the time I was there, any man shall be able to prove, that
 there was barrrell, sedition or mutiny, I shall confesse, that I was the ma-
 lefactor, and shedder of the blood. I am not ashamed further to affirm,
 that God so blessed my weake labours then in Berwick (where then com-
 monly was wont to be slaughter, by occasion of quarrells among souldiers)
 there was as great quietnes all the time that I remained there, as there is
 this day in Edinburgh. Where they slander mee of Magick, or any o-
 ther art forbidden of God, I have witnes (besides my own conscience) all
 the Congregations, that ever heard me, what I speake both against such
 acts, and against these that use such impiety: but seeing the wicked said,
 that our Master the Lord Jesus was possessed with Beelzebub, I must pa-
 tiently beare, albeit that I a wretched sinner be unjustly accused by these,
 that never delighted in the verity. The Queen said, you have taught the
 people to receive another Religion than their Prince can allow: and how

Religion
riseth not
from Prin
ces.

can that doctrine be of God, seeing God commandeth subjects to obey their Princes? Madam, said he, as right Religion took neither originall nor antiquity from worldly Princes, but from the Eternall God alone; so are not subjects bound to frame their Religion according to the appetite of their Princes: for often Princes are the most ignorant of all others, in Gods true Religion, as we read in the histories, both before the death of Christ Iesus, and after: if all the seed of Abraham had been of the Religion of Pharaoh, unto whom they were a long time subject, what Religion had there been in the world? If all men in the dayes of the Apostles had been of the Religion of the Roman Emperours, what Religion had there been upon the face of the earth? Daniel and his fellowes were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and yet they would not be of the Religion of the one nor of the other: for the three children said, *Wee make it known to thee, o King, that we will not worship thy Gods*: and Daniel did pray publicly unto his God, against the expresse commandment of the King: and so Madam, you may perceive that subjects are not bound to the Religion of their Princes, albeit they are commanded to give them obedience. Yet, said the Queen, none of these lifted their sword against their Princes. John answereth, Yet, Madam, it can not be denied, but they resisted: for who obey not the command, do in some sort resist. But they resisted not by the sword, saith the Queen. John said. God had not given them power nor means. The Queen saith, Think you, that subjects having power, may resist their Princes? John answereth, If Princes exceed their bounds, and do against that, for which they should be obeyed, there is no doubt but they may be resisted, even by Power: for there is no greater honour nor greater obedience to be given to Kings, than God hath commanded to be given to father & mother: but so it is, that the father may be stricken with a phrensy, in which he would slay his own children: now Madam, if the children joyn themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword or what other weapon from him, and finally bind his hands, and keep him in prison, till that his phrenzy be overpast; thinke yee, Madam, that the children do any wrong? or that God will be offended with them, that have slayd their father from committing wickednes; It is so with Princes, that would murder the children of God, that are subject unto them. Their blind Zeale is but a mad phrenzy: therefore to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against Princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God. At these words the Queen stood as it were amazed, more than a quarter of an hour and then said, Well, I perceive, that my subjects shall only obey you, and not mee; they shall do what they list, and not what I command; and so I must be subject unto them, and not they unto mee. Knox answereth, God forbid, that ever I take upon mee, to command any to obey mee, or yet to set subjects at liberty, to do what pleaseth them: but my travell is, that both Princes & subjects obey God: and think not; Madam, that wrong is done unto you, when you are willed to be subject unto God: for it is He, that subiecteth people under Princes, and causeth obedience to be given unto them: yea God craves of Kings, that they be as nursing-fathers to the Church, and commands Queens to be Nurses unto his people: and this subiection unto God. and nourishing his troubled Church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can have upon the face of the earth, for it shall carry them to everlasting glory. The Queen said, Yea, but yee dre not the

the Church, that I will nourish: I will defend the Church of Rome: for I think, it is the true Church of God. Knox ans. your will, Madam, is not reason, nor doth your thought make that Roman harlot to be the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ: and wonder not, Madam, that I call Rome an harlot: for that Church is altogether polluted with all kind of spirituall fornication both in doctrine and in manners: yea, I offer myself further to prove that the Church of the Jewes, when they manifestly denied the Son of God, was not so far degenerated from the ordinances and statutes, which God gave by Moses & Aaron unto his people, as the Church of Rome is declined, and more than 500. years hath declined from that purity of Religion which the Apostles taught and planted. The Queen said, My conscience is not so. Knox ans. Madam, conscience requires knowledge, and I feare, of right knowledge you have but little. The Queen saith, I have both heard and read. Knox saith, Madam, so did the Jewes, which crucified Christ Jesus, read both the Law and the prophets, and heard the same interpreted, after their manner. Have yee heard any teach but such as the Pope and his Cardinals have allowed? and you may be assured, they will speak nothing to offend their own State. The Queen said, yee interpret the Scriptures in one manner, and they in another: whom shall I believe? who shall be Judge? Knox ans. Believe God, that speakes plainly in his word; and further than the word teaches you, yee shall neither believe the one nor the other. The word of God is plain in itself: and if there appeare any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, who never is contrary to himselfe, explains the same more clearly in others places; So that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as obstinately will remain ignorant. And now Madam, to take one of the chief points, which this day is in controversy betwixt the Papists and us, for example. They alleadge and boldly have affirmed, that the Masse is the ordinance of God, and the institution of Jesus Christ, and a sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Wee deny both the one and the other, and affirm, that the Masse, as it is now used, is nothing but the invention of man: and therefore it is abomination before God, and no sacrifice that God ever commanded. Now, Madam, who shall judge betwixt us two thus contending? it is not reason, that either of us be further believed, than we are able to prove by unsuspect witnessings. Let them lay down the book of God, and by plain words prove their affirmatives, and we shall give unto them the plea granted. But so long as they are bold to affirm, and prove nothing, we must say, albeit all the world believe them, yet they believe not God, but do receive the lies of men for the truth of God. What our Master Christ Jesus did, we know by his Evangelists: what the Priests do at the Masse, the world seeth. Now doth not the Word of God plainly assure us, that Christ Jesus neither said Masse, nor commanded to say it at his last Supper, seing no such thing as the Masse is mentioned in the wholl Scriptures. The Queen said, You are too hard for mee: but if they were here, whom I have heard, they would answer you. Knox ans. Would God the learnedst Papist in Europe, and he that you would best believe, were present with your Majesty, to sustain the argument, and that you would abide patiently to hear the argument reasoned to the end: for then I doubt not, but you should hear the vanity of the Papisticall Religion, and how small ground it hath within the word of God. The Queen said, Well, you may perchance get that sooner than you believe. Knox said, Assuredly if ever I get that, I get it sooner than I believe: for the ignorant Papist can not patiently

reason, and the learned and crafty Papist will never come in your audience, Madam, to have the ground of their Religion searched out: for they know, they are not able to maintain any argument, except by fire & sword, and their own Lawes be judges. The Queen said, So say you; and I believe, it hath been to this day. John said, How oft have the Papists in this and other realms, been required to conference, and yet could it never be obtained, unless themselves were admitted for Judges: and therefore I must say again, that they dare never dispute, but where themselves are both Judges and party: and when you shall let mee see the contrary, I shall grant myself deceived in that point. At departing, John said, I pray God, Madam, that you may be as blessed within the Commonwealth of Scotland (if it be the pleasure of God) as ever Debora was in the Commonwealth of Israel. Of this long conference, whereof we only touch a part, were diverse opinions: the Papists grudged, and feared what they needed not. The godly rejoiced, thinking that at least She would have heard the preaching: but they were utterly deceived: for She continued in her Massing, and quickly mocked all exhortation, *The Histo. of Reforma. lib 4.*

XIIII. In Edinburgh it was the custom, that when the annuall Magistrates were chosen at Michalmes, they caused to publish the statutes & ordinances of the town: and so in that year one of the statutes was, No adulterer, fornicator, no noted drunkard, no masse-monger, no obstinate Papist, that corrupteth the people, such as priests & Friars and others of that sort, should be found within the town after 41. Hours under pains contained in the Statutes. When this was reported unto the Queen, She caused without any examination of the matter, to charge the Provost and Bailiffs to ward in the castle; and immediatly commandement was sent to chuse other Magistrates. The electors at first did refuse: but when charge was sent after charge, at last they obey; and a contrary proclamation was made at the Queen's command, that the town should be patent to all the Queen's lieges. So murderers, adulterers, and all profane persons got protection by the Queen, under colour, that they were of her Religion, whereas before they durst not be seen in day light upon the streets. The Queen's command being thus obeyed, the priests took more boldness, and November 1. They go to Masse with all their pompe. The Ministers in Sermons declare the inconveniences, that were to follow that coleration. The Nobility through affection unto their Sovereain move the question, *Whether Subjects may suppress the idolatry of the Prince?* Some Noble men and Officers of State convene with some Ministers, and argue together. The conclusion was, because the one would not yeeld unto the other, that the Question should be formed, and Letters directed to Geneva for the judgement of that Church. The Ministers offered to undertake the labour: but the Nobles layd it upon Secretary Lethington, but it was to drive time, as the event declared. The Queen's party do urge, that Shee and her household should have her Religion free in her own chappell. The Ministers sayd, Such liberty shall be their thralldom, ere it be long. But neither could reason nor danger move the affections of such as were ambitious of credite, In December the Superintendents and Ministers do convene unto the Nationall assembly, as it was appointed; and the Nobility will not convene: Some Ministers were sent unto them: some of them made one excuse, and some another; and some call it into doubt, Whither it be expedient to hold such assemblies. For gladly would the Queen and the Secret Counsell had all the assemblies discharged. The one party say, It is suspicious to Prin-

The second Nationall assembly.

ces,

ces, that subiects keep conventions without their knowledge. It was answered, Without the knowledge of the Prince the Church does nothing: for She persirely understands, that there is a Reformed Religion within the realm, and that they have their order and appointed times of meeting. Yea (saith Lethington) the Queen knowes that wel enough, but the question is, Whither the Queen allowes such conventions. It was answered, If the liberty of the Church shall stand upon the Queen's allowance or disallowance, we are sure, not only to be deprived of assemblies, but of the publick preaching of the Gospell. This was mocked, and the contrary affirmed. Well (said the other) time will try the trueth: but this I will adde, *Take from us the freedom of assemblies, and take from us the Evangel: for without assemblies, how shal good order and vnyty of doctrin bee kept?* It can not be supposed, that all Ministers shall be so perfect, but some shall have need of admonition, both for manners & doctrine, as some may be so stiff-necked, that they will not admit the admonition of the simple; and some may be blamed without offence committed: and if there be no order in these cases, it can not be avoided, but grievous offenses shall arise: and for remedy it is necessary, to have generall assemblies, in which the judgement and gravity of many may correct & repress the follie & errors of a few. The most part both of the Nobility and Barons consent heere unto, and conclude, that the Reasoners for the Queen shall shew unto her Ma. that if She was suspicious of any thing handled in the Assemblies, it would please her Ma. to send whom she would appoint, to hear what was propounded or reasoned. The Queen sent none. In time of this assembly the Earle Bothwell, the Marques d'albuff the Queen's uncle and John Lord of Coldingham brake up Cutbert Ramsay a Burges's doors in the night time, and searched the house for his daughter-in-law. The Nobility and Assembly were offended, and sent unto the Queen this supplication; *To the Queens Majesty, to her Secret Counsell, Her Highness faithfull and obedient subjects, The professors of Christ Jesus, his holy Evangell, wish the Spirit of righteous judgement.* The fear of God contained in his holy word; the natural and unfained love we bear unto your Majesty; the duty which we owe to the quietnes of our Country, and the terrible threatenings, which our God pronounces against every realm and city, in which horrible crimes are openly committed, Compell us a great part of your subjects, humbly to crave of your Ma. upright and true judgement, against such persons as have done, what in them lyeth, to kindle God's wrath against this whole realm: the impiety by them committed is so hainous and horrible, that as it is a fact most vile and rare to be heard in this realme, and principally within the bowels of the city, So should we think ourselves guilty of the same, if negligently or for worldly fear wee put it over with silence: and therefore your Ma. may not think, that we crave any thing, when wee crave that open malefactours may condignly be punished; but that God hath commanded us to crave, and also hath commanded your Ma. to give unto every one of your subjects: for by this linke hath God knit together the Prince and people, that as he commands honour, fear & obedience to be given to the powers established by Him, so doth he in exprefs words command & declare what the Prince oweth unto the subjects, towit, that as he is the Minister of God, bearing the sword for vengeance to be taken on evill doers, and for defence of peaceable and quiet men, So ought he to draw the sword without partiality, so oft as in Gods name he is required thereto. Seing it is so, Madam, that this crime

The lawfulness of assemblies

so recently committed, and that in the eyes of all the Realm now publickly assembled, is so hainous: for who heertofore hath heard within the bowells of Edinburgh, gates and doors under silence of night broken, houses ripped or searched, and that with hostility, seeking a woman, as appears to oppress her; Seing (we say) this crime is so hainous, that all godly men fear not only Gods displeasure, to fall upon you and your whole realm, but also that such licentiousness breed contempt, and in the end sedition, if remedy in time be not provided: which in our judgement is impossible, if severe punishment be not executed for the crime committed. Therefore we most humbly beseech your Ma. that all affection set aside, you declare yourself so upright in this case, that ye may give evident demonstration to all your subjects, that the fear of God, joyned with the love of common tranquillity hath the principall seat in your Majesties heart. This further Madam, in conscience we speak, that as your Ma. in Gods name doth crave of us obedience, which to render in all things lawfull we are most willing, So in the same name do we the wholl professors of Christs Evangell within this your Mas. realm, crave of you and of your Counsell sharp punishment of this crime. And for performance thereof, that without delay the principal actors of this hainous crime and the persuaders of this publick villany, may be called before the Chief Justice of this realm to suffer an assise, and to be punished according to the lawes of the same: and your Majesties answer most humbly we beseech. This supplication was presented by sundry Gentle-men. Some Courtiers ask, Who dare avowe this? The Lord Lindsay answered, A thousand Gentlemen within Edinburgh. Others advise the Queen, to give a gentle answer, till the Convention were dissolved. And so the Queen said, Her uncle is a stranger, and hath a young company with him: but she shall put such order unto him and all others, that heereafter they shall have no occasion to complain. *The Histor. of the Reformat. lib. 4.*

Two assemblies,
An. 1562.

XV. In Juny 1562. The assembly gives order to draw up a Supplication unto the Queen, for abolishing the Masse and other superstitious rites of the Roman Religion; for inflicting punishment against blasphemy, contempt of the word, profanation of the sacraments, the violation of the sabbath, adultery, fornication, and such other vices, that are condemned by Gods word, and the lawes of the countrey have not taken notice of: And it was petitioned, that the actions of divorcement should either be remitted to the judgement of the Church, or trusted to men of good knowledge and conversation; And that Papists be excluded from places in Counsell and Session. The draught of this Supplication was judged by the Courtiers to be tarte in some expressions: and they took upon them to write another, containing the same things, but in a more acceptable phrase. It was presented by the Superintendents of Lothian and Fife; and when the Queen had read some of it, she said, Here are many faire words, I can not tell what the hearts are. And so for our painted oratory we were termed flatterers and dissemblers: but we received no other answer. *Ibid.* Spotswood saith, Her answer was, that she would do nothing in prejudice of the Religion she professed, and hoped, before a year were expired, to have the Masse and Catholick profession restored through the whole Kingdom: And thus she parted from them in choler. In this assembly was appointed an Order of Visitation, for regulating the Superintendents, towit, for examination of Ministers lives and doctrine, then of the elders. And some were appointed to visite the Churches in the Shires, where were

no Superintendents, as George Hay to Visite Carrick and Cunningham, John Knox to visite Kile and Galloway, &c. Alexander Gordon Bishop of Galloway did professe the Reformed Religion, and in this assembly petitioneth the Superintendency of Galloway: It was denied unto him. At that time the Abbot of Corrainell sought disputation with John Knox: it continued three daies at Maiboll: the Abbot made choise of the matter, to prove the sacrifice of the Masse, especially from Melchisedek's offering (as he alledged) bread and wine unto God. The Papiests looked for a revolt in Religion, and they would have had some occasion to brag of their disputation. According to the appointment of the preceeding assembly, the next conveenes at Edinburgh December 25. John Knox made the prayer for assistance of Gods Spirit. In the 2. and 3. Sessions Superintendents and then Ministers were removed and censured severally. Complaints were made; that Churches want Ministers; Ministers had not stipends; wicked men were permitted to be Schoollmasters; idolatry was erected in sundry parts of the Nation. For redress of this last, some said, A new Supplication should be presented unto the Queen. Others said, What answer was given to the former? One in name of the Queen said, It is well known, what troubles have occurred since the last Assembly, [*The Queen visiting the North was troubled by the Gordons, and the Earle was killed at Coriechy*] and therefore it is no wonder, though the Queen hath not answered; but before the Parliament in May they doubt not, but such order shall be taken as they all shall have occasion of contentement. This satisfied the assembly for that time. The Lord Controller required the Commissioners of Burghs to declare by word or writ, what course they would take for entertainment of their Ministers. Decemb. 29. inhibition is made to all serving in the Ministry, which have entred being slanderous before in doctrine, and have not satisfied the Church; and which have not been presented by the people unto the Superintendent, and he after tryall had not appointed them unto their charge; And this Act to have strength aswell against them, that are called Bishops, as others pretending to any Ministry within the Church. Decemb. 30. the assembly gives power to every Superintendent within his own bounds, in their Synodall assembly and with consent of the greater part of Ministers and elders, to transport Ministers from one Church to another; and ordaines the Minister so decerned, to obey. And ordaines the Superintendents to hold their Synods twice in the year, to wit, in Aprile and October. Commission is given to the Superintendents of Anguise, Lothian, Glascow and Fife with Da. Forrest to travell with the Lords of Secret Counsell concerning the causes, that should come in judgement of the Church, and what order of execution shall be taken therein. Ordaines the communion to be ministred four times in the year within burghes, and twice yearly in the Landward. Also that uniformity shall be kept in the ministration of the Sacraments, and solemnisation of marriage, and burials according to the book of Geneva. By this book is meant that book called *The common order*; which was conform to the English Church in Geneve, and was usually printed before the Psalmes in Meeter. Likewise a slander was raised upon Paul Messan Minister at Jedburgh; commission was given to John Knox and certain Elders of Edinburgh, to go into that town, and try the slander, and report the truth unto the Session of the Church of Edinburgh, to whom with the assistance of the Superintendent of Lothian commission is given to decern therein. His woman-servant had brought forth a child, and would not tell, who was the

father of it; but said, She was forced in an evening, and knew not by whom. The Matter could hardly be tryed: but at last the womans brother was brought to examination; and Paul seeing that, though before he had alwayes denied the fact, yet then fled, so taking the crime upon him; and the man made the matter so plain, that all doubt was removed. Then those Judges, for this odious crime, did deprive him of all function within the Church of Scotland, and for his contumacy in not appearing before them, did excommunicat him. The author of the *The Histor. of Reformat.* saith, this is recorded, not only for a warning & example unto others, but likewise that the world may see, what difference is betwixt the Church of God, and the Romish Church, seeing many of their Bishops and Priests, yea and Popes are known to be guilty in such crimes, and no way censured.

XVI. The Papists at Easter *An. 1563.* began to say Masse more boldly than before, namely, John Hamilton Bishop of Santandrews, the Prior of Whithern, and many other priests & monks. This was offensive to many: and therefore the Shirefs and others, which had civill power (especially in the West parts) resolve, that they will not complain to the Queen nor Counsell, but execute former proclamations against the sayers of Masse and so some priests in the West were apprehended. The Queen *The Queen* was offended, and sent for John Knox to come to her in Lochleven, and *conferreth* dealt with him, that he would perswad the people, and especially the Gentle men of the West Country, not to punish any man for using what Religion they please. John answereth: If her Ma. would punish malefactors according to the lawes, he could promise quietness upon the part of all, which professe the Lord Jesus within Scotland: but if she thought to delude the lawes, he feareth, some will let the Papists understand, that they shall not be suffered to offend Gods Majesty without punishment. When the Queen heard these and other words to this purpose, she takes another course, and directes summons against Masse-mongers in the straitest form with expedition, to compear on May 19; one day before the Parliament. The Bishop of Santandrews, the beforenamed Prior, the Parson of Saucher, and others do compear. At first the Bishop refuseth to answer before Civill Judges; yet in end they all come into the Queens will: and She designes them to severall prisons. Then said some, See what the Queen hath done: the like was never done within this realm: we doubt not but all shall be well. Others forespake things, as it came to passe; that it was but deceit, and so soon as the Parliament is ended, the Papists will be set at liberty: and therefore advised the Nobility, that they be not abused. Many had their private business to procure in the Parliament, especially the Act of oblivion, and they said, They might not urge the Queen at that time: for if they did so, she will hold no Parliament, and what then may become of them and their friends? but let this Parliament passe over, whensoever the Queen craves any thing (as She must do before her marriage) Religion shall be the first thing, that shall be established. Much was spoken against that politicall delay: but in vain. An act of oblivion was past of all things done in the publick cause from the year 1558. till September 1. in the year 1561; Manfes and glicbs were appointed for Ministers; adultery to be punished with death of both persons: but nothing for establishing of Religion. In time of this Parliament, John Knox said in a Sermon before many of the Nobility and other members, My Lords, I praise my God throug Jesus Christ, that in your presence I may powt forth the sorow of my,

1563.
Masse is
practised.

The Queen
conferreth
wth I. Knox.

A Parlia-
ment.

Admo-
nition unto
the Nobil-
ity.

my heart, yea, yourselves shall be witnesses, if I make any ly in things by past from the beginning of Gods mighty works within this realm: I have been with you in your most desperat tentations: ask your own consciences, and let them answer before God, if that I (not I, but Gods Spirit by mee) in your greatest extremity willed you not, ever to depend upon your God, and in his name promised unto you victory & preservation from your enemies, if yee would depend upon his protection, and prefer his glory before your lives and wordly commodities: in your most extreme dangers I have been with you: Santiohnston, Couper-moore, and the charges of Edinburgh are yet recent in my heart: yea that dark and dolorous night, when all you, my Lords with shame & fear left this town, is yet in my mind, and God forbid, that ever I forget it: What was my exhortation unto you? and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, yee yourselves live, and testify. There is not one of you, against whom death & destruction was threatned, perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? shall this be the thankfulness, that yee shall render unto your God? to betray his cause, when yee have it in your hands to establish it, as you please? Yee say, The Queen will not agree with us. Ask yee of her, what by Gods word yee may justly require; and if She will not agree with you in God, you are not bound to agree with her in the devill. Let her plainly understand so far of your mindes, and steal not from your former stoutnes in God, and he will prosper you in your enterprises. But I can see nothing, but a recooling from Christ Jesus, that the man that first and most speedily fleeth from Christs Ensigne, holdes himself most happy. Yea, I hear some say, that we have nothing of our Religion established, by law nor Parliament: albeit the malicious words of such can neither hurt, he trueth of God, nor yet us, that thereupon depends; yet the speaker of this treason committed against God, and against this poor common wealth, deserves the gallows: for our Religion being commanded, and so established by God, is received within this realm in publick Parliament. And if they will say, It was no Parliament, we must and will say, and also prove, that Parliament was als lawfull a Parliament, as ever any that passed before it in this realm. I say, If the King then living was King, and the Queen now in this realm be lawfull Queen, that Parliament can not be denied. And now, my Lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the Queens marriage: Dukes, Brethren to Emperours, and Kings strive all for the best gain. But this, my Lords, will I say; not the day, and beare witnes hereafter; Whensoever the Nobility of Scotland, who professe the Lord Jesus, consents, that an infidell (and all Papists are infidels) shall be Head to our Soverain, ye do so far as in you lieth, to banish Christ Iesus from this realm; yea, to bring Gods vengeance upon the Country, & plague upon yourselves, and possibly yee shall do small comfort to your Soveraigne. This manner of speaking (saith the *History of Reformation*) was judged intolerable: both Papists and Protestants were offended at it, and some posted to give the Queen advertisement, that Knox had spoken against her marriage. Immediately he was sent for: he goeth, and none was suffered to enter into the Cabinet, but Io. Erskin the Superintendent of Anguise. The Queen in vehemency of passion and with teares, said, Never Prince was so used: I have born with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against myself and against my Uncles: yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means: Knox.

I offered you presence, whensoever it pleased you to admonish mee; and yet I can not be quite of you: I voweto God, I shall be once revenged. Her passion and tears stayeth her speech. When opportunity serves, he answereth; It is true, Madam, your Majesty and I have been at diverse controversies, in which I never perceived your Ma. to be offended at mee: but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darknes and errour, wherein you have been nurished for lack of true doctrine, your Ma. will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive: without the preaching place (Madam) I think few have any occasion to be offended at mee: and there (Madam) I am not master of myself, but must obey him, who commandes mee to speak plain, and flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth. But, saith the Queen, what have yee to do with my marriage? Iohn saith, If it please your Ma. to hear mee, I shall shew the truth in plain words. I grant, your Ma. hath offered unto mee morethan I required: but my answer was then asit is now, that God hath not sent mee to wait upon the Courts of Princes, nor upon the chambres of Ladies, but I am sent to preach the Evangell of Jesus Christ to such as please to hear: it hath two points, *repentance and faith*: now, Madam, in preaching repentance, of necessity it is, that the sins of men be noted, that they may know, wherein they offend: But so it is, that the most part of your Nobility are so addicted to your affection, that neither Gods Word, nor their Common wealth are rightly regarded: and therefore it becomes mee to speak, that they may know their duty. The Queen saith, What have you to do with my marriage? Or what are you within the Common wealth? Iohn answereth, I am a subject born within the same, Madam: and albeit I be neither Earle, Lord nor Baron, yet God hath made mee (how abject soever I be in your eies) a profitable and usefull member within it: Yea, Madam, to mee it appertaines to forewarn of such things, as may hurt it, if I foresee them, noles than it doth any one of the Nobility: for both may vocation and office crave plainness of mee: and therefore Madam, to yourselve I say, what I spake in publick, Whensoever the Nobility of this realm shall be content, and consent, that you bee subject to an unlawfull husband, they do as much as in them lieth, to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, to betray the freedom of this realm, and possibly shall in end do small comfort unto yourselve. Then was the Queen more grieved. The Superintendent spoke what he could, to mitigate her passion, but all was but casting of oile into the fire. The next day the Queen requires the judgement of the Lords of the Articles, whither that Manner of speaking deserves not punishment. But they advise her to desist. After the Parliament, the Bishop of Santandrews and the other Papists that were imprisoned, were set at liberty. The Queen went to see the West-country and Argile, and used the Masse wheresoever she was on sunday. In the mean time the Nationall assembly was held at Perth Juny 25: there were Superintendents, Ministers and commissioners of the Churches. Prayer was made by Io. willock Superintendent of the West. Superintendents and Ministers were censured. Io. Knox and his Colleagues gave account concerning Paul Messan; and their proceedings were approved. The same day Da. ferguson Minister at Dunfermlin declares, that he had spoken with Paul Messan, and that he was sorowfull for his grievous offense, and that he not only acknowledgeth the equity of the Sentence pronounced against him, but was willing to underly whatsoever punishment the Church would lay upon him, &c. After long debate, the Assembly condescen-

The V.
Assembly,
An. 1563.

des, that a comfortable answer shall be directed unto him; and in the meantime they will sollicite the Lords of the privy Counsell for him. 3. It was decerned, that no privat contract of marriage, though carnall copulation follow, shall have faith in judgement, untill the contracters shall satisfie as scandalizers of the Church, and untill famous & unsuspect witnesses testify of the Marriage, or it be confessed by both patties; and if neither probation be brought, nor both patties confesse; they shalbe censured as fornicatours. 4. If any person find himself hurt by any Sentence given by Minister, elders and Deacons of any Church, he may within ten dayes appeal unto the Superintendent and his Synod; and there the Superintendent shall cognosce, whither it was well appealed; And if the party yet alledges, that he is wronged by the Superintendent & Synod, he shal within ten dayes make appellation to the National Assembly; and from thence no appellation is to be made: And if he justify not his appeal before the Provinciaall Synode, they shall impute a fine upon the appellant besides the expences of the Party, and that fine shall be delivered unto the deacons of the Church for use of the poor, where the first sentence was given; And so in the Nationall assembly. 5. Supplication is to be made unto the Queens Maj. and Secret Counsell for union of Churches two or thry, if they be but two or thry myles distant, and cause the inhabitants resort unto one of them, because of the Scarcety of Ministers, and the small number of parishoners. 6. The instruction of youth shall be committed to none in Universities nor in any other place, but such as profess the true Religion; and if any now occupy such a place, they shall be removed. 7. No work shall be printed nor published in write, concerning the doctrine of Religion; untill it be presented unto the Superintendent of the boundes, and approved by him or such of the most learned, that he shal appoint: and if any of them doubt of any point, the work shall be produced before the Nationall assembly. 8. Every Superintendent shall cause warn the Shires and towns within his Jurisdiction, to send their Commissioners unto the Assembly, declaring unto them the day and place; and that they shall convene on the first day of every assembly. 9. Commissions are given to the Bishops of Galloway, Caitnes & Orkney, for one year, to visite and plant Churches within their own bounds severally. That year was a great noyse of businets for a Letter, which John Knox wrote and directed throughout the country, in this manner; *The superscription was, Whersoever two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* It is not unknown unto you, Dear Brethren, what comfort and tranquility God gave unto us in times most dangerous, by our Christian assemblies & godly conference, so oft as any danger appeared unto any member or members of our own body. And how that since wee have neglected, or at least not frequented our Conventions and Assemblies, the adversaries of Christ Jesus his holy Evangel, have enterprised and boldned themselves, publickly & secretly to do many things odious in Gods presence, and most hurtfull to the true Religion, now of Gods great favour granted unto us. The holy sacraments are abused by profaine Papists; Masse have been and yet are said openly, and maintained; The blood of some of our dearest Ministers hath been shed without fear of punishment, or correction craved by us. [*Robert Pont a Minister was stricken in the head with a weapon by Captain Lawder.*] And now two of our dear brethren, Patrick Craufston and Andrew Armstrong are summoned to underly the iaw in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh the 24 day of this instant October as for a forethought felony; pretended murder, and for invading the Queens Majesties palace of Halyrud-house, with unlawfull convocation,

&c. These terrible summons are directed against our brethren, because that they with two or more, passed to the Abbey upon Sunday August 25. to behold and note, what persons repaired to the Masse. And because upon the Sunday before (the Queen being absent) there resorted to that idol a rascall multitude, having openly all, even to the least divelish ceremonies (yea, even the conjuring of their accursed water) that ever they had in the time of their greatest blindnes; But because (I say) our said Brethren past (and in that most quiet manner) to note such abusers, these fearfull summons are directed against them, to make (no doubt) a preparation upon a few; that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. And if so it come to passe, God (no doubt) hath justly recompenced our former negligence & ingratitude towards him & his benefits, in our own bosoms. God gave us a most notable victory of his & our enemies; he brak their strength, and confounded their counsells; he left us at freedom, and purged the realm, for the most part from open idolatry. But we (alas!) preferring the pleasure of flesh & blood, to the pleasure & commandment of God, have suffered that idol the Masse publickly to be erected again: and therefore justly suffers he us now to fall in that danger, That to look to an Idolater going to his idolatry shall be reputed a crime little inferiour to treason. God grant, that we fall not further. And now I, whom God of his mercy, hath made one among many, to travell in setting forward his true Religion within this realm, seeing the same in danger of ruine, cannot but in conscience crave of you, my Brethren of all states, that have professed the trueth, your presence, confort and assistance at the said day in the town of Edinburgh, even as yee tender the advancement of Gods glory, the safety of your Brethren, and your own assurance; together with the perservation of the Church, in these appearing dangers. It may be (perchance) that persuasions be made to the contrary, and that yee be informed, that either your assembly is not necessary, or that it will offend the upper powers, and my good hope is, that neither flattery nor fear shall make you, so far to decline from Christ Jesus, as that against your publick promise, and solemne band, yee will leave your Brethren in so just a cause; and albeit there were no great danger, yet can not our assembly be unprofitable, for many things requiring consultation, which can not be had, unless the wisest and godlyest convene. And thus doubting nothing of the assistance of our God, if we uniformly seek his glory, I cease farther to trouble you, committing you heartily to the protection of the Eternall. From Edinburgh October 8 1563. This Letter was directed, and many prepared themselves to convene. One copy came into the hands of Henry Sinclair (then entituled Bishop of Rosse, and) President of the Colledge of justice: he being a Papist sent it unto the Queen at Sterlin: who shewes it to the Counsell of the Cabinet; and they conclude, that it imports treason: wherefore the Queen thought to be avenged of that her great enemy. Some Courtiers endeavoure to persuade Jo. Knox to confesse a fault, and satisfy the Queen at her own will. He denieth a fault. In the midst of December the Queen comes to Edinburgh. John Knox was sent for, to appear before the Counsell: many went with him, so that the staires and inner-cloffe was full of people, Secretary Lethingtoun saith unto J. Knox, The Queen's Majesty is informed, that you have travelled to raise a tumult of her subjects against her: and for certification, there is presented unto her your Letter: yet because her Ma. will do nothing, without good advertisement, She hath

hath conveyen'd you before this part of the Nobility, that they may witness betwixt her and you. The Queen saith, Let him acknowledge his handwriting, and then shall we judge of the contents. He owneth the Letter. Then saith the Secretary, you have done more than I would have done. John answereth, Charity is not suspicious. He is commanded to read the Letter: he doth read it with a loud voice. The Queen's Advocate is commanded to accuse him; and the Queen said, Heard ye ever my Lords, a more despitefull and treasonable Letter? None did answer, untill the Secretary said to J. Knox, Art you not sorry from your heart, and do you not repent, that such a Letter hath passed your pen? John answereth, My Lord Secretary, before I repent, I must know my offense, Secretary, Offense? if ther were no more, but the convocation of the Queens lieges, the offense can not be denied. Knox, Remember yourself my Lord, there is difference betwixt a lawfull & an unlawfull convocation: if I be guilty in this, I have oft offended, since I came last into Scotland: for what convocation of Brethren hath been untill this day, unto which my pen hath not served? and before this, no man laid it to my charge. Secretary. Then was then, and now is now: we have no need of such convocation, as then. Knox, The time that hath been, is even now before my eyes: for I see the poor flock in no less danger, than it hath been at any time before, except that the devill hath got a vizard upon his face: before he came in his own face, discovered by open tyranny seeking the destruction of all, who refused idolatry; and then, I think, you will confess, the Brethren lawfully conveyen'd themselves for defense of their lives, And now the devill comes under the cloke of justice, to do that, which God would not suffer him to do by strength. The Queen, What is this? mee thinks, you trifle with him. Who gave you authority to make convocation of my lieges? is not that treason? The Lo. Ruthuen, No, Madam; for he makes convocation of the people, to hear praier and Sermon, almost dayly: and whatever your Ma. or others think of it, we think it no treason. The Queen, Hold your peace, let him answer for himself. Knox, I began to reason with the Secretary (whom I take to be a better Logician than your Ma. is) that all convocation is not unlawfull; and now my Lord Ruthuen hath given the instance: which if your Ma. will deny, I shall make myself ready to prove. The Queen, I will say nothing against your Religion, nor conveyen'g to your Sermons: but what authority have you, to convocate my subjects, when you will, without my commandement? Knox, I have no pleasure to decline from my former purpose: but to satisfy your two questions, Madam, I answer, that at my will I never conveyen'd four persons in Scotland; but at the Order, that the Brethren had appointed, I have given diverse advertisements, and great multitudes have assembled thereupon. And if your Ma. complains, that this was done without your Ma. command, So hath all that God hath blessed within this realm, from the beginning of this action: and therefore I must be convinced by a just law, that I have done against the duty of Gods Messenger, in writing this Letter, before that I be either sorry, or repent for the doing of it, as my Lord Secretary would persuade mee: for what I have done, it is at the commandement of the Generall Church within this realm: and therefore, I think, I have done no wrong. The Queen, you shall not escape so: is it not treason, my Lords, to accuse a Prince of cruelty? I think, Acts of Parliament may be found against such whisperers. Many do grant, that this is true. Knox, But where in can I be ac-

cused? *The Queen*, Read this part of your Letter, *This fearfull summons is, directed against them, to make (no doubt) a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. What say you to that? Knox, is it lawfull, Madam, to answer for myself? or shall I be condemned before I be heard? The Queen*, Say what you will: I think, you have enough to do. *Knox*, I will first desire of your Ma. and of this honourable audience, Whither your Ma. knoweth not, that the obstinate Papists are deadly enemies to all, that profess the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desire the extirpation of them all, and of the true doctrine, which is taught within this realme? The Queen held her peace: but all the Lords with common voice said, God forbid, that either the life of the faithfull, or the staying of the doctrine stood in the power of the Papists: for experience hath taught us, what cruelty is in their hearts. *Knox*, I proceed then, seeing I perceive, that all will grant, that it were a barbarous cruelty, to destroy such a multitude as profess the Evangell of Jesus Christ within this realm, which they have attempted to do by force once or twice, as things done of late dayes do testify: whereof they being (by Gods providence) disappointed, have invented more crafty & dangerous practises, to wit, to make the Prince party, under colour of law; and so, what they could not do by open force, they shall perform by crafty deceit: for who thinks, my Lords, that the insatiable cruelty of the Papists (within this realm, I meane) shall end in the murdering of these two, now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused? I think, no man of judgement can so esteem, but rather the direct contrary, that is, by this few number they intend to prepare a way to their bloody enterprise against all: and therefore, Madam, cast up when you list the Acts of your Parliaments, I have offended nothing against them: for in my Letter I accuse not your Majesty, nor yet your nature of cruelty; but I affirm yet again, that the pestilent Papists, which have enflamed your Ma. without cause against these poor men, are the sones of the devill, and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who hath been a murderer from the beginning. *One said*, you forget yourself; you are not in the pulpit. *Knox*, I am in the place, where I am commanded in my conscience to speak the truth: and the truth I speak; impugne it who so listeth: And heere unto I add, Madam, that honest, meek & gentle natures (in appearance) may be by wicked & corrupt counselors, changed & altered to the direct contrary: exempls wee have, of Nero, whom in the beginning of his empire, we find having naturall shame; but after his flatterers had encouraged him in all impiety, alledging that nothing was either dishonest or unlawfull in his person, who was Emperour above others; when he had drunk of this cup (I say) to what enormities he fell, the histories bear witness. And now, Madam, to speak plain, Papists have your ears patent at all times: assure your Ma. they are dangerous counselors; and that your Mother did find. *The Queen*. Well, you speak fair heere, before my Lords, but the last time I spake with you Secretly, you caused mee to weep many tears. And so was a rehearsing of what was spoken in the Cabinet, when John Erskin was present. After the Secretary had conferred with the Queen, he said, Mr. Knox, you may return to your house for this night: *Knox*, I thank God, and the Queen's Majesty: and, Madam, I pray God, to purge your heart from Papistry, and to preserve you from the Counsell of flatterers: for howsoever they seem pleasant to your ears and corrupt affections for the time, experience

hath

hath taught into what perplexity they have brought famous Princes. The Queen retereeth to her cabinet. John Knox went home. The Counsell voteth uniformly, that they could find no offense. The Queen is brought again, and commandeth to vote over again. All did refuse, to vote over again. The next day a new assault was made on J. Knox, to confesse an offence, and put himself in the Queen's will; with this assurance, that his greatest punishment should be, but to go within the castle of Edinburgh, and immediatly he shall return to his house. He said, God forbid, that by my confession I condemn these Noble men, who in their conscience, and in displeasure of their Queen have absolved mee: and further I am assured, ye will not in earnest desire mee, to confesse an offense, unless thereby ye would desire mee to cease from preaching: for how, can I exhort others to peace, if I confesse myself an authour of sedition. *Histo. of Reformation Lib. 4.* On December 25. the sixth Nationall Assembly convenes in Edinburgh, where were many Noble men, the Superintendents &c. John Willock Superintendent of the West is chosen Moderator. The petitions of the Ministers and Commissioners were despised by some Counsellors with these words, As Ministers will not follow our counsell; so will we suffer Ministers to labour for themselves, and see what speed they come. The Noble men said, if the Queen will not, wee must: for both thirds and two parts are rigorously taken from us and our tenants. One said, if others will follow my Counsell, the Guard and the Papists shall complain als long as the Ministers have done. Then the former sharpness was coloured, and the speaker alledgeth, that he meaneth not of all Ministers. Christopher goodman [an English] answereth, My Lord Secretary, if you can shew, what just tittle either the Queen hath to the third, or the Papists to the two parts, then I think, I could resolve, whither she be debtour to Ministers within burgh, or not. *The Secretary replieth, Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena Republica.* Goodman answereth, Albeit I be a stranger in your policy, yet I am not so in the Church of God: and therefore the care doth no less appertain unto mee here, than if I were in the midst of England. *The Hist. of Reformation Lib. cit.* This debate was because the Popish prelates were permitted to enjoy their tyths enduring their life, so that a competent stipend were provided unto the Ministers: and when the Queen returned home, at the demand of the Counsell the Prelats condescended to quite the third part of the tyths for entertainment of the Queen's family, and the provision of Ministers: but the Guard received the thirds, and gave nothing or little unto Ministers: and they had oft complained of their want. In all these quick reasonings I. Knox spoke not a word: but thereafter he said, I have traveled, Right honourable, and beloved Brethren, since my last returning into this realm, in an upright conscience before my God, seeking nothing more (as he is witnes) than the advancement of his glory, and the stablity of his Church within this realm; and of late dayes I have been accused as a seditious man, and as one that usurpeth to myself power that becomes mee not: true it is, I have given advertisement to the Brethren in diverse quarters, of the extremity intended against the faithfull, for looking to a priest going to Masse, and for observing those that transgresse against just laws: but that here in I have usurped further power than was given mee, till that by you I be condemned, I utterly deny: for I say, by you, that is, by the Generall Assembly I have all just power to advertise the brethren from time to time, of dangers appearing, as I have power to preach the word of God in the pulpit of Edinburgh

burgh: for by you was I appointed unto the one as unto the other: and therefore in the name of God I crave your judgements: the danger that appeared unto mee in my accusation was not so fearfull, as the words that came to my ears were dolorous to my heart: for these words were plainly spoken, and that by some Protestants, What can the Pope do more, than to send forth his letters, and require them to be obeyed? Let mee have your judgements therefore, whither I have usurped any power to myself, or If I have obeyed your commandement. *Ibid.* John Knox is removed: and then the Lord Lindsay, the Lairds of Kilwood, Abbotshall, Cuninghamhead, the Superintendents of Anguise, Fife, Lothian, West and Galloway, M^{rs} John Row, W. Christeson, Ro. Hamilton, Chri. goodman with the most part of the assembly did declare, that they remember very well, that Jo. Knox would have had himselfe exonered of the foresaid charge, and that the Church at that time would not suffer him to refuse it, but that he should continue, as before, to advertise from time to time, as occasion shall be given. *An extract of the Acts of the nationall assemblies.*

3. The Noble men and Barons present, do finally consent, that for their own parts, the tenants or labourers of the ground shall have their own tyths upon composition. 4. It was thought needfull for confirmation of the book of discipline, that certain commissioners or any three or four of them, shall revise it, and consider diligently the contents thereof, noting their judgements in write, and reporte the same unto the next assembly, or if any Parliament shall interveen, they shall report their judgements unto the Lords of the Articles. 5. All Ministers and Readers having Manfes at their Churches shall make residencethere. 6. Concerning Thomas duncanson, who was Schoolmaster and Reader in Sterlin, and having committed fornication, had made publick repentance, it was ordained, that he shall abstain from that office in the Church, untill the Church of Sterlin make request for him unto the Superintendents, and he shall marry the woman, if sherequire it. 7. Alexander Jardin Minister at Kilspindy having committed fornication, and therefore suspended by the Superintendent of Fife; and thereafter had made publick repentance, and married the same woman, Is again suspended from all function in the Ministry untill the next Assembly, and then to receive his answer. 8. Commission was given unto five Ministers to take cognition of a complaint given by the Superintendent of Fife against Ge. Lesly Minister at Straniglo, and to decide therein, and to notify their Sentence unto the Superintendent of Anguise. In this year by past was great death and dearth through all the Country, that the prices of corne and flesh was triple above the custome. The writer of *The Histo. of Reformation* saith, God did so according to the threatning in the law, punish our ingratitude, that suffered them to defile the Land with that abomination, that he had so potently purged by the power of his word; and for the riotous feasting both in City and country: but alas! who lookes to the true cause of our calamity! Likewise in the winter following fell great rain, which in the falling freezed so vehemently, that the earth was but a shot of ice; the fowls both great & small could not flee, but freezed and died; and some were layd by the fire that their feathers might dissolve. This frost is said to have been in January *An.* 1563. towit, according to the old account, which was not changed in Scotland, untill the year 1600. and then was changed; but continueth in England untill the year 1660.

C H A P.

Of COUNCELS.

IT hath been shewd with what difficulty the Council was called to Trents the History of it is most exquisitly penned by Petro Soave a Venetian and translated into sundry languages: here I add a compend faithfully and plainly in so far as concerneth the manning the Articles of doctrine for the most part. When Pope Paul could no longer decline the calling of this council, (as is before) in the beginning of the year 1545. he sent three Legats, John Maria de Monte a Card. Bishop of Palestina, Marcellus Cervinus a priest Cardinall de Sancta Cruce, and Reginald Pool a deacon Cardinal of S. Mary in Cosmedin; with a Breve of legation, but no particular instruction, being as yet uncertain, what commission to give them, and intending to dispose, as occasions, namely, the affairs of the Emperour shall require. When the Legates were gone, he consults the Cardinals, what faculty is expedient unto his See, to send unto the Legats: they consider the precedents of other faculties, and dare fallow none of them: at last a Bull was framed with this clause, He sends them as Angels of peace unto the council, and gives them full authority to preside there, to ordain whatsoever Decrees, to hear, propound, conclude and to execute whatsoever were necessary for the honor of God, and increase of the Catholick faith; to REFORM the estate of the Catholick Church in ALL her members ecclesiastical and Secular, of whatsoever preheminance though graced with Pontifical or Royal dignity; and to do anything fit for extirpation of heresies, and for reducing them who have departed from obedience of the Apostolicall See; for preservation and restoration of ecclesiastical liberty; with condition, that in all thing they proceed with consent of the Council. Then calling to mind, what encounters befell unto Pope John in Constance, when he sent his *Nuntij* unto the council of Pavia, he sent unto the Legats a privat Breve with authority to prolong, dissolve or transfer the council unto what place they shall please. This was a designe to cut off all contrary purposes unto him. The Legats arrive at Trent March 13. but found no Prelats there, except the Cardinal of Trent: after ten dayes Orators came from the Emperour and Venice, to assist the Synod: then came the Cardinal of Madruccio and three Bishops. On the first day of their arriving the Legats granted indulgence unto all there present, for three years and so many fourty dayes. Then they consider their Bull of faculties, and with resolution to keep it secret, they sent advice unto Rome, that the condition annexed in the end of it, did ty their hands, and made every petty Prelat equal unto them. Their reason is thought good, and another was sent giving them absolute authority. After this was seen, they profess to communicate their most inward thoughts unto the Ambassadors and Prelats: wherefore when Letters came from Germany or Rome, they all assembled together in the lodging of one. But the Legats advise the Pope, that upon every occasion one Letter should be written for common view, and the secret designes should be written apart. The first doubt was for precedency, whether Don Diego the Emperours Ambassador, or the Cardinal of Trent should have the first place? at last it was agreed, that their chaires be set so, that none may know, which of the two were preferred. The next scruple was for opening

ning the Council: on the one side it moved them, that no Prelats were come but four; and on the other side the fear of the Turkish warrs required hast. The Pope sent resolution to open the council on the first day of May without longer delay: on that day the Legats shew that they had received commission to open, but shew not the particular day: only They held a congregation, which was spent on ceremonies, that the three Legats should have alike apparel and ornaments; that the place of Session should be adorned with hangings of Arras; whether seats should be prepared for the Pope and the Emperour; whether Don Diego should have more honorable place then other Ambassadors; whether the Elector-Bishops (being Princes) should sit before other Bishops and archbishops; and it should preiudge no man, if they have not their own place at this time. Before May was ended, twenty Bishops were come, and five Generals of Monks: they were also soon wearied with expectation, and would have returned, but were entertained by the Legats with hope of opening the Council shortly. Don Diego would not stay longer, and upon pretence of indisposition he went to Venice. In the end of Juny some Prelats complained grievously, untill a supply of 40. Ducats was promised unto them. Some objected, that their staying was like to have no effect, because the Emperour was meddling with Religion, and to that end had appointed Colloquies: therefore sundryes withdrew themselves pretending several causes. The Pope considering that the Emperour held things in suspence, and affected not the council, if he might achieve his own designements in Germany, began to condemn himself, that he had proceeded so far; and yet it seemed scandalous to dissolve so small a convention; and on the other side he judged it clear, that a Synod was a fit remedy against the heresies (as he spake) and he feared that the Emperour would crave an half years fruits and vassalages of the monasteries in Spain, as also what might be the event of that Colloquy in time of the Council. While he thus is wavering, he resolves, and sends unto the Legats a Bull of faculty, to transfer the council; to the effect, he may drive off time at least; And also he sent the Bishop of Caserta unto the Emperour, craving either to begin the council; or suspend it, or to transfer it into Italy. The Emperour would yeeld to none of the three. In the end of October he yeelds to open the council, but so that they begin with Reformation of the Clergy, and medle not with points of doctrine, lest the Protestants be incensed. This course was thought at Rome to favour the hereticks, and to curb the Papal power. Nevertheless they will not seem to take it ill, and ordaines the first Session to be held December 13. and to handle principally matters of doctrine; and if a reason must be rendered, it should be answered, To entreat of Reformation of manners only, were contrary unto all former examples. On December 12. a congregation was held and the Prelats consulted, what is to be done in the Session. The Bishop of Estorga said, The Legats should read their Bull; and all the others consented. The Legat De Sant Cross considering that the publishing of their large authority; might breed danger of limitation; answered, In the Council all are one body, and therefore it were necessary to read the Bull of every bishop, to shew their institution from the Apostolick See; and this were tedious, seeing more are coming. So that motion was put off. When the 13. Day was come, the Pope published at Rome a Bull of Jubilee, declaring that the opening of the council was to cure the wounds of the Church done by hereticks; and exhorting every one to assist the assembled Fathers with their prayers; and for this effect they should

confess themselves, and fast three dayes, in which time they should go in processions, and receive the blessed sacrament; and he granted pardon of all sin, unto all that did so. The same day at Trent the Legats caused a large admonition to be read, shewing that it is the duty of every one, during the council, to advertise the Prelats, of all occurrents, and declaring the three ends of the councill, to wit, extirpation of hereby, reformation of Ecclesiastical disciplin, and regaining of common peace; whereof the first and last inconvenients were the effects of the second: for it can not be denyed, that the people (as saith the Prophet) have committed two evils; they have forsaken the fountain of living water, and have digged cisterns.... even such cisterns are all the counsels, that proceed from our wisdom, and not from the Spirit of God: justice requires of us Pastors, that we acknowledge ourselves guilty of all those evils, with which the flock of Christ is oppressed, and not only holily but justly transfer all their sins upon ourselves, because indeed we are for the most part the cause of all those evils; And it is the just judgement of God to visit the Church with Turkish and intestine wars: and therefore unless we acknowledge our sins, the Holy Ghost, on whom we call, will not come; And they shew, it is a happy occasion of Reformation, which God hath now offered in his singular mercy: And albeit calumniators will not be wanting, yet we must go on constantly, and as upright Judges avoid all passion, aiming only at the glory of God, seeing we are now upon this work before Him and his Angels and the whole Church; Lastly advising the Prelats who were sent by Princes, to do their Masters service faithfully and diligently, yet so that principally they look unto the honor of God. Then the Bull of intimation of the Council, and another of the free deputation of the Legats were read, and a third of opening the council. The commission of Don Diego was read, and his absence was excused by his Secretary Zorilla. Other ceremonies being ended, the next Session was appointed to be on January 7. 1546.

II. Now neither the Legats nor the Prelats knew what to do, or what order to observe. The Legats advertise the Pope, that the Synod *Seff. 11.* is opened, and they crave a light, how to order themselves, and *About* as particular instructions as may be; namely, whether they should *doubts &* treat first of heresies; whether they should speak generally only, or *ouvertures* particularly, whether they should first condemn the false doctrine, or the persons of the principal hereticks, or both together; If the Prelats shall propound articles of Reformation, whether those should be handled before or after or with the articles of doctrine; Whether they shall speak of the Conference in Germany, or neglect it; Whether they should proceed slowly or swiftly; Whether the suffrages should be reckoned according to the Nations, or persons. They sent their advice in this article, that it seemes most expedient unto the Apostolical See, to reckon them by persons, because the Italians may be more in number than all the other members. They crave also information, whether they should entreat of the Papal authority and of the councill, as some do intend. They represent also that the Prelats have demanded their commission: which they had artificially avoided. They advise to take order for the high-ways, that upon all occasions Letters may pass safely: they crave information concerning the order of Ambassadors, and provision for money, because that which was received, was spent upon poor Bishops. In the mean while the Prelats at Trent would proceed, and two congregation were employed about the habite of Bishops, and

and the age and habite and diet of their domesticks: much was spoken, and the result was, A good reformation of the mind is necessary, and let each one redress his own family. The Pope assembled the colledge of Cardinals, to Superintend the affaires of the Synod, and by their advice he writes unto the Legats, approving their opinion concerning the voices; as for matters to be propounded either by them, or unto them, things are not as yet ripe enough: for the present, be doing with preambulatory things; above all, let not the Prelats exceed the bounds of reverence unto the Apostolical See; For relief and sustentation of the Bishops in the Council, a Breve was sent exeeiming them from payment of tythes, and letting them enjoy all their fruits, notwithstanding their no-residence; and for the meaner sort he sent 2000. Crouns, which he would to be expounded as a loving courtly of the Head of the Council toward his members; The title of the Council should be, The most holy Oecumenical and general Council of Trent, the Apostolical Legats being Presidents. In a congregation January 5. the Breve of exemption was read, and a General of Monks craved the like, and he was appeased with fair words. The Legats propounded, that the matters to be handled should be distinguished, and particular congregations should be deputed to frame distinct articles, and after disputation, deputies shall frame decrees, to be propounded in a general congregation, where every Prelate may deliver his opinion; And to the end, the general congregations may be free, it seems expedient, that only the Legats should propound the matters, and not give suffrage but in Session. Then they propound unto consideration, whether the former Decree concerning their conversation, during the Synod, should be published in the Session. A difficulty arose concerning the Title of the Council. Three French Prelats [no more was of that Nation] craved this addition unto the former words, Representing the Church vniversal. The Legats considering that this title had been used only at Constance and Basile; and fearing that others would demand the addition of the words following, *which hath power immediatly from Christ*; and that were derogatory unto the Pop's authority; did oppose this motion, and dissembling their motives, they said, Those were but froathy words, and hereticks may make a bad construction of them. The Frenches and some others did press the addition: but the Legats would not, and fall upon another purpose. The second Session was held January 7: 300. Armed men were set to guard the fathers, who were three Legats, two titular archbishops, 28. Bishops, 3. abbots and 4. Generals of orders: this was all the number of the general Councell: the abovenamed Decree was read, and the next Session was appointed to be on February 4. the Frenches still pressing the addition.

Seff. III.
No doubts

III. In the congregation January 13. the Legats after new mention of that addition, complain, that any controversy should be heard in the Session, seing the same of union was most fit to encourage the Catholiks, and to daunt the hereticks. The Prelats crave to handle more substantial particulars, and the Legats demand, Of which principal Head will they handle first, towit, Heresy, Reformation, or Peace. Some prelates were deputed to view the excuses of the absents, and no more was done untill the 18 day. Then opinions were heard: some would begin at Reformation; some, at doctrine; some at both together, and some would begin at Peace. The Legats say, The matter was weighty, the opinions are various, and it is needfull to weigh what hath been spoken. In the next congregati-

on it was ordered that two congregations shall be weekly on moonday and friday without warning. Now the Legats sent unto their Head, shewing how they had drifted the time, and craving particular instructions, for the importunity and necessity of the Prelats will not admit longer delay. But because the Emperour looked not on the Synod, the Pope could not resolve what to do. The Prelats were instant to begin, and the most part condescend to treat of doctrine and Reformation jointly, so that also a Letter was sent unto the Pope, craving to further the Synod, and to sollicite the Princes for continuing peace among themselves; as also other Letters were written unto the Emperour, unto the French, Roman & Portugal Kings and other Princes, requiring them to conserve peace, to send Ambassadors, to secure the high-ways; and to cause their Prelats resort unto the Synod. Those Letters should have been read and sealed in the ensuing congregation, but they could not agree what seal to use. In a word, before the next Session they could agree only, that they should begin with heresy; and because they were informed of more prelats a coming, they delay the next Session untill Aprile 8. Again the Legats send for their oft demanded instructions, and they advise to begin at the controversies between them and the Lutherans concerning the holy Scriptures, and the abuses brought into the Church in that matter. About that time the Conference in Germany was dissolved: and the Pope thought it scandalous to delay any more: so he gave information to begin according to the advice, but so that they be slow in the Reformation. Accordingly on February 22. 1546. it was ordained to read Luthers books, and frame articles concerning the Scripture, to be censured by the Divines, and so matter to be prepared for Decrees. As for abuses, every one should call to mind, what he thought needfull to be Reformed, and what remedy is fittest. The articles of doctrine were propounded, of the sufficiency of the Scriptures. 2. Of the number of the books. 3. of the Latin Translation. 4. Of the perspicuity of the Scriptures. In the first article all did agree to make Traditions equal with the Scriptures, except Antonius Marinarus a Carmelite, whose discourse was called Lutheran. They all agree to canonize the Apocrypha: on these two they spend sixe congregations. In the third article was difference between them who were ignorant of the languages, and a few having a taste of Greek. Frier Aloisius de Catanea did prove by authority of Jerom and Cardi. Caietan, that the Hebrew edition of the old Test. and the Greek of the New are the pure fountains; and all Latine translations are but impure brooks, and so have been accounted in all time by past. The greater number said, This opinion openeth a door unto Lutherans: the doctrine of the Roman Church is by Popes and Divines founded upon the Latine Bible, and if it be lawfull to scan, whether it be rightly translated, the base Grammarians shall be preferred unto the Bishops and Cardinals; and the Inquisitors shall have no place, if they be ignorant of Hebrew and Greek. Do Isidorus Clarus a Brescian, and Benedict an Abbot discourse historically of the old and later Translations, and of their account at the first, and how at last that which is called *vulgata* was patched of them both. Andreas Vega a Franciscan commends that Latine, but preferreth the Hebrew and Greek. In the end sixe Divines were deputed to correct the *Vulgata*, to be printed by authority of the Council. There was no less difference concerning the expounding of Scripture: some alledging the authority of Car. Caietan, said, The Spirit of God is tied to no age, and all men should be encouraged unto the diligent and

Of the
Scriptures

sober study of Gods Worde. Others said, Vnbridled spirits must be curbed, or else can be no hope to see an end of the late pretences; neither do the Lutherans gain upon any but such who study the Scriptures: the study of Aristotle is safer, and the Word of God should be kept in due reverence: from it is much derogated, when it is too common. Dominicus Soto a Dominican said, In matter of faith every one should be tied to the exposition of the Church, but in manners let every one abound in his own sense, so that piety and charity be preserved; otherwise men may fall into inconveni-
 ents by contrariety of expositions among the antient Fathers, who never required, that they should be absolutely followed. The opinion prevailed, which held that the Scriptures are already so well expounded, that there is no hope of any more good: and if any man will not be content with the Antients, let him not trouble the world with his whimsies. The Divines had discoursed so irresolutely, that the Prelats (who scarcely understood the discourses, and yet have the power of suffrage) doubted what to say in the canons and anathemas: therefore overture was found to add anathema unto the Decree concerning the number and *species* of the books, but the other canons should have no anathema, lest they accuse their own Divines. They talk of many abuses, and a Decree was made against the pettiest, for haste, because the Session was approaching. There the Decrees were read, and the fifth Session was appointed to be Juny. 17. Five Cardinals were present, and 48. Bishops, and none of them (saith my author) remarkable for learning. The canons were sent to Rome. The Court after information how particulares were debated, began to think, they must attend the Synod more narrowly: therefore the Pope sendeth moe Cardinals, and admonishes the Legats, that the Decrees should not be published, before they be advised at Rome: he admonishes also to avoid too much slowness, but beware of celerity, lest there be not time to receive order from him what to propound, deliberate and conclude; and spend not time in points not controverted, as they had done now in some undoubted points; finally take heed that the Papal authority be not permitted unto disputation. At that time the Pope had deposed Herman Bishop of Colein for heresy (as was pretended) and ordained Adolph Count of Scavenburgh into his place; and he wrote unto the Emperour for this effect. Charles loved not Herman for the same heresy, yet fearing that he would joyn with the protestants, would not consent. Hence arose a new jealousy between the Pope and the Emperour. The Protestants complain, that they were condemned not only being not heard, but without the Council, by the Pope alone: and therefore it is needles for them to go unto Trent.

sess. v IV. In the first congregation the Prelats urge two points of Reformation, that were propounded and left-off in the former Session. The Legats would treat of original sin. Because they could not agree, Letters were sent to Rome; and in the mean while another order was prescribed for dispatching affaires, towit, there must be a congregation of Divines to treat of doctrine, and Canonists must be joyned with them, when they come to Reformation; yet so that Prelats might be present, if they please; And another Congregation of Prelats, to frame the Heads of doctrine and Reformation; which being examined and digested according to the most common opinion, should be brought unto the generall congregation, and there the voice of every one being known, decrees may be framed by the determination of the greater part, and then established in the Session. In this manner they debate of Lectures and Sermons: but no draught of article

tie could be devised to please them all: for the Prelats would curb the liberty of Friars, and have them to depend on the Bishops; but the Legats stood for the liberties granted by the Popes, especially unto the Mendicants. In this contention the Legats sent complaint unto Rome, namely, against Bracius Marcellus Bishop of Fivole, and against the Bishop of Chioza, craving that those two should be removed from Trent. The Pope answered, He will send order in convenient time concerning these two; as for matters, if they regard the petitions of Princes, the Synod shall be confused, and the resolutions shall be hard: therefore they should proceed in original sin: he forbids the Deputies to proceed in correcting the Vulgar Translation, untill those in Rome had determined of their course. The Legats obey the last point, but fearing that the Imperialists would leave the Synod, they treat in two congregations concerning the reforming of Sermons, and the philosophical part of them: decrees were framed, as giving way unto the Bishops, yet so cunningly that the Friars had liberty still. Then they come to original sin. The Imperialists said, The Synod was assembled principally to reduce Germany, and the articles of difference can not be known, but only unto him that sits at the stern of Germany: therefore it were expedient to crave by Letters the opinion of the principal Prelats of that Nation, or the Pop's Nuntio should speak of this with the Emperour. The Legats commend the advice, but intending to follow their instruction, say, They will inform the Nuntio, and in the mean while articles may be gathered out of their books, and debated, for gain of time. The Imperialists were satisfied hoping to put off the Sommer, ere any thing were concluded. So new articles were propounded, as drawn out of Lutheran books, but for the most part they were calumnies, as the contradictory canons do shew. The Divines would not speak of them in that order as they were propounded: but spake first of Adam's transgression, what sin it was: here how many heads, so many opinions. Then they enquired what is that sin derived from Adam? Some alledging the authority of Augustin, said, It is concupiscence: others following Anselm, said, It is the want of original righteousness: others conioyned them both: and those were again divided, some following Bonaventura, gave the first place to concupiscence, because it is positive: others after Aquinas held that concupiscence is but the material part. And because John Scotus had followed Anselm, the Franciscans stood for his opinion. They were more troubled about the propagation of it: but all agreed, that it is not by imitation only. In the fourth place they all held, that inclination to ill is not a sin. Yet here the Franciscans fell upon their cardinal controversy with the Dominicans: the Franciscans would have the blessed Virgin excepted expressly, and the Dominicans would not. Cardinal de Monte had much ado to divert them from this point. They all agree, in the remission of original sin, that it is taken away by baptism, and that the soul is restored into the estate of innocency by an infused quality (which they called original grace) albeit the punishment do remain for exercise of the just. Only Antonius Marinarus did oppose, saying, Concupiscence remaining in them who are baptized, is verily a sin in itself, but it is not accounted sin in them, because it is covered with the righteousness of Christ. So conjoyned with him: therefore others calling to minde, that lately in a Sermon he had condemned all trust in works, and had called the best works of the famous heathens, *splendida peccata*, he was suspected to be a Protestant. They held the punishment of this sin to be only the want of blessed-

Of Sermons

Of original sin

nes, except Gregorius Ariminensis; he alledged the authority of Augustin, and therefore was called a Tormenter of children. When the Bishops heard so many controversies among the Divines, they knew not what to decern: only they would condemn the articles as they were propounded. Marcus Viguerius Bishop of Sinigaglia, Jerom General of the Augustinians, and Vega a Franciscan said, They cannot condemn an opinion as heretical, unless they first declare what is truth. But the Prelats made no account of their words, and were out of all hope to determine those school-points to the contentment of all parties. So they frame five canons and so many anathema's: but the Dominicans and Franciscans could not be satisfied in the point of excepting the blessed Virgin, untill direction was brought from Rome, that they should not touch doctrines, which may foster schism amongst themselves. Then they were both stilled, so that opinions be not prejudged. Therefore it was added in the Decree, They have no mind to comprehend the blessed Virgine; and the Pope added, The constitution of Sixtus 4. should be observed. So whether, the Imperialists would or not, the fifth Session was held Juny 17: the five decrees of doctrine, and one having two parts concerning the reforming of Lectures and Sermons, were read, and the sixth Session was appointed to July 29.

Session 6. V. In the congregation it was propounded to speak first of justification. The Imperialists would delay it for the above named reasons: but three Bishops and three Divines were named to frame articles. In the congregation for reformation, the residence of Pastors and Prelats was set a foot. Concerning justification. 25. Articles were brought, some of works done before justification, some of works after it, and some of the essence of grace. At the first, none of the Divines knew what to say (because the School-men had not handled that matter, as the other of original sin) untill they had ghesed about; and then the Franciscans following Scotus, said, Works done by power of nature only, deserve before God by way of congruity, and God were uniuist, if he give not grace to the man who doth what he can. The Dominicans following Thomas, say, No kind of merit goeth before grace, and the very beginning of good works should be ascribed unto God, as indeed congruous merite was never heard in the Church, even when they had most to do against the Pelagians. Concerning the works of grace all held, that these are perfect, and do merite salvation. In the point of the essence of grace, it was a common consideration, that the word *Grace* in the first signification signifieth benevolence: which in him who hath power, brings forth necessarily a good effect, and that is the gift, which is also called grace. They say; The Protestants think so meanly of Gods Majesty, that they restrain the word *Grace* unto the first signification. And because some might say, God can bestow no gift greater then his Son, they said, That benefit is common unto all men, and it is fit, he should bestow a particular benefite on severall persons; and this is habituell grace or a spiritual quality created by God, and infused into the soul, whereby that man is made acceptable unto him. Here a new controversy is started, about the word *Justificare*: some said, It must be taken *effectivè*, to make just, and not *declarativè*. Amongst those was Soto: but the Carmelite Marinarus would prove from Rom. 8. by the judicall process of accusing and condemning, that justification must also be a judicall act. Hereupon was another sharp dispute, Whether the habite of grace be the same with the habite of charity, or a distinct one? The Scotists held the first part, and the Thomists the later. In this neither party

ry would yeeld into the other. Then they dispute, Whether beside that inherent justice the justice of Christ be imputed unto the justified person, as his own? All said, Christ did merite for us, and we are made partakers of his righteousness, but some loved not the word *Imputed*, because it is not among the Fathers, and for the bad consequences, which Lutherans draw from it, to wit, this only is sufficient without inherent righteousness; the sacraments confer not grace; punishment is abolished with the guilt; there remains no place for satisfaction, &c. These contentions were fostered by sundry persons upon several interests: the Imperialists would had them leave the doctrine, and the Papalines sought a way to divide the Council, and so avoid the apparent or aimed-at reformation: others sought to deliver themselves from appearing and heavier inconveniences in Germany, and they feared dearth, and others had little hope to do good. At that time the Emperour sent Letters unto the Pope, and unto the Council, representing a necessity of holding the Council on foot, for avoiding mis-reports, if it be dissolved; and he promised to bend up all his wit, to keep Trent secure; he earnestly entreated, that they would not handle controversies, lest the Protestants be provoked with contrary decrees: and therefore to treat of reformation only, or at most meddle with points of lesser weight. The Pope was desirous to be freed of the Synod; but to gratify the Emperour (in respect of the present confederacy) he wrote unto the Legats, to hold the Council a foot, but without any Session untill he give new advertisement, and to entertain the Prelats and Divines with congregations and such exercise, as seemed best. July. 25. a Jubilee was published at Trent, to pray for good success unto the German wars, and the Session was adjourned untill a new intimation, and the congregations were discharged for 15. dayes, nor did they sit untill the 20. day of August. Then the Legat de Monte judged it inconvenient, to suspend the Fathers any longer: but De Sancta Cruce a man of melancholy nature took it upon him. When they came to the congregation, this Legate and three Bishops and three Generals were deputed to frame the Decrees and anathematisms. So he set on edge the heads of the former opinions, shewing that the points were weighty; and should be sifted; and he gave place to other controversies, as, whether a man can be assured of grace? Some said, It is presumption, puts up, and makes a man negligent in doing good; and to doubt is more profitable and meritorious: to this purpose they cited Eccles. 9. 1. and 1. Pet. 1. 17. and some testimonies of the Fathers. Those were Vega, Soto, &c. On the other side Catharinus, Marinarus and others alledged other passages of the same Fathers; and they said, The Fathers had spoken occasionally, sometimes to comfort, and at other times to repress: but if we hold close to the Scripture, it shall be more certain, seeing Christ said often, Believe that thy sins are forgiven: but He would not give occasion of pride nor drowsiness, neither would he deprive men of merite, if doubting were usefull; The Scripture bids give God thanks for our justification, which we can not do, unless we know that we have obtained it; St. Paul confirms this, when he willet the Corinthians to know that they are in Christ, except they be reprobats; The Holy Spirit beares witness with our Spirit that we are the children of God; and to deny his testimony is no less then to accuse them of temerity, who believe the Holy Ghost speaking with them: for S. Ambrose saith, The Holy Ghost never speaks to us, but when he makes known that he speaks; then they added the words of Christ, The world can not

of assurance of grace.

receive the holy Ghost, because it knowes him not, but the disciples know him, because he dwelles in them; It is like a dream to say, A man hath received grace, and can not know whether he hath received or not. The other party shrunk a little with the force of these reasons, some granting a coniecture, and some confessing a certainty in the Apostles and Martyres, and them who have been lately baptized, and some by extraordinary revelation. Vega fearing conformity with the Lutherans, said, Certainty is not Divine faith, but humane and experimental, as he who is hore, is sure by sense, that he is hore. Then the defenders of certainty ask, Whether the testimony of the Holy Ghost can be called Divine? and whether every one be tied to believe what God reveeles? They went so far in sisting this question, (as who listeth may see in the large history) that the Legate willed them make an end of it. It was twice commanded to leave it as doubtful, but their affections led them to it again. Then the Legate propounded to speak again of preparatory works, and the observation of the law, whereupon depends the question of free-will. So sixe articles were framed as maintained by the Protestants. Of the first, God is the total cause of our works both good and bad; Some said, It was a fanatic doctrine, condemned antiently in the Manichees, Abelhard and Wicklif, and deserves not dispute but punishment. Marinarus said, As it is foolish to say, No action is in our power, so it is absurd to say, Every action is in our power, seing every man findes that he hath not his affections in his power. Catharinus said, A man hath no power to do moral good works without Gods special assistance. Vega spake a while with ambiguity, and concluded, there is no difference in this point. But it seemed unto some to be a prejudice, to reconcile different opinions, and composition is for Colloquies. Here arose that question, Whether it be in mans power to believe or not to believe? The Franciscans said, As knowledge necessarily followes demonstrations, so faith followes persuasions; and it is the understanding, which is naturally moved by the object, and experience teaches that no man believes what he willeth but what seemes true; and none could feel any displeasure, if he could believe what he pleases. The Dominicans said, Nothing is more in the power of the will then to believe and by the determination of the will only, a man may believe that the number of the stars is even. The second article was to the same purpose. On the third, Whether free-will be loosed by sin, many passages were brought from Augustin to the affirmative. Soto answered, There is a liberty of necessity, and another from servitude; and Augustin speaks of this. This difference was not understood, and so Luther was said not worthy of blame, in the title of his book, Of servile will. Many thought the fourth article absurd, Man hath free-will to do ill only: for (said they) free-will is a power to both contraries. But they were made to acknowledge their error, when they heard, that the good Angels have power to do good only. In examining the 5. and 6. articles, concerning the content of the free-will unto Divine inspirations or preventing grace; the Franciscans strove, that the will is able to prepare itself, and hath more power to accept the Divine prevention, when God gives assistance, then before when it acteth by strength of nature. The Dominicans denied, that works preceeding our calling are truly preparatory; and they gave the first place unto God. But these were at variance among themselves: Soto held, Albeit a man can not obtain grace without the special prevention of God, yet the will may ever someway refuse; and when the will accepts, it

it is because it gives assent; and if our assent were not required, there were no cause why we are not all converted: for God stands ever at the door, and gives grace unto every one who will have it: to say otherwise, were to take away the liberty of the will, and as if one would say, God useth violence. Aleisius a Catanea said, God worketh two sorts of preventing grace (as Aquinas teaches) one sufficient, and the other effectual: the will may refuse the first, but not the other: for it is a contradiction to say, Efficacy can be resisted. And he answered unto the contrary reasons; All are not converted, because they are not efficaciously prevented; The fear of everting free-will is removed, because things are violently moved by a contrary cause, but not by their own cause: but seeing God is the cause of the will, to say, The will is moved by God, is to say, The will is moved by itself; And God converts, albeit man will not, or spurn at him; and it is a contradiction, to say, The effect spurneth against the cause; It may happen, that God effectually converts one, who before had spurned against sufficient prevention, but afterwards he can not, because when gentleness is in the will, the efficacy of Divine motion must needs follow, yet so that the will followes not as a dead or unreasonable creature, but it is moved by its own cause as reasonable. and followes as reasonable. Soto replied, Every Divine inspiration is only sufficient, and that whereunto free-will hath assented, obtaines efficiency by that consent, without which it is not effectual, not by defect of itself, but by defect of the man; or else it would follow, that the separation of the elect from the reprobate were from man, and this is contrary unto the perpetual doctrine of the Church, that vessels of mercy are separated by grace from them of wrath. Each party thought their own reasons invincible, and admonished the other to take heed that they leap not beyond the mark, by too earnest desire to condemn Luther. Here the Legate had occasion to wave any conclusion by propounding the question, Whether Divine election bee by foreseen works? So it was ordained to collect articles of this matter. In the books of Luther they found nothing worthy of censure: out of the books of Zuinglius they drew 8. articles; 1. Predestination and reprobation are only in the will of God. The most part judge this to be Catholik, and agreeing with Thomas and Scotus; because before the creation God of his meer mercy hath out of the common masse elected some unto glory, for whom he hath prepared effectual means of obtaining it: their number is certain; and others, who are not chosen, can not complain: for God hath prepared for them sufficient means, albeit only the elect can or shall be saved: to this purpose they cited the examples of Jacob and Esau, and the similitude of the potter Rom. 9, and the conclusory words of the Apostle there, and 1. Cor. 3: 5, & 4, 7, & 2. Tim. 2: 19, &c. Others, called this hard and inhumane, as if God were partial, if without any motive he choose one and not another; or he were unjust, if of his only will, and not for mens fault, he created so great a multitude unto damnation; and it destroyes free-will, because the elect can not finally do evil, nor can the reprobate do good; it casts a man into despair; it gives occasion of bad thoughts, in not caring for perimance: for men think, if they be elected, they can not perish. They confessed, not only that works are not the cause of Gods election, because it is before them, but also that works foreseen can not move God to predestinat, because he is willing in his infinite mercy, that all should be saved, and for this cause he prepares sufficient assistance for all, and this grace man acceptes or refuses as he listeth: but

Of Election.

God in his eternity foreseeth both who will accept this help, and who will reject it, and He rejectes these, and chooseth those. The first opinion keeps the mind humble, and not relying on itself, but on God; and the other is more plausible, and being grounded on humane reason, prevailed more: but when the testimonies of Scripture were weighed, it was manifestly overcome. For resolving the passages of Scripture, Catarinus propounded a middle course; God of his goodness hath elected some few, whom he will save absolutely, and unto them he hath prepared infallible and effectual means: he also desireth for his part that all others be saved, and hath provided sufficient means for all, leaving it to their choice to accept or refuse: amongst those some few accept, and are saved, albeit they were not elected; and others will not cooperate with God, and are damned: it is the only good will of God, that the first are saved; and that the second sort are saved, it is their acceptation and cooperation with Divine assistance, as God has foreseen; and that the last sort are reprobated, it is their foreseen perverse will: the number of the first is determined, but not the second: and according to this distinction; the different places of Scripture are understood diversly. He said, he wondered at the stupidity of them, who think the number to be certain, and yet others may be saved; and also of them, who say, Reprobates have sufficient assistance for salvation, and yet a greater assistance is necessary to him who is saved: then (said he) the first is a sufficient insufficient, or an insufficient sufficiency. The second article was, The elect can not be condemned, nor the reprobate be saved. The different opinions of the first caused diverse censures of this. Catharinus held the first part true in respect of his first sort of men, and the other part false in regard of the second sort. Others ascribing predestination in all unto mans consent, condemned both parts. Who adhered unto Augustin, said, it was true in a compound sense, but damnable in a divided sense. This distinction was called dark, though it was declared thus, As he who moves, can not stand still, when he moves, but he may at another time. The 3 article, The elect only are justified: and the 6 article, Those who are called, and are not of the number of the elect, never receive grace. In these was admirable concord, saying, It hath been always the opinion of the Church, that many receive grace, and afterward loose it, and are damned, as Saul, Salomon, Luther. As for the 6. that calling were an ungodly derision, when those who are called, and nothing wanting on their side, are not admitted: Against the 5, The justified can not fall from grace; they brought the words of Ezekiel, *If he just leave his righteousnesses, &c.* and the example of David falling into adultery, and of Peter denying Christ: and they derided the folly of Zuinglius, who said, A just man can not fall from grace, and yet sinneth in every work. The other articles concerning the certainty of grace, were condemned of temerity, excepting extraordinary revelation. When they came to frame decrees of those three particulars, justification, free-will and predestination, it was hard to please all parties: from the beginning of September untill the end of November, scarcely passed one day, in which the Legate took not some paines in changing some words, as he was advised now by one party, and then by another, untill they were couched in this frame as they are, and then because of their ambiguity they pleased them all, and the Superintendent Court of Rome also. As for the Reformation, the residence of Bishops was the only purpose, and after much jangling an article was framed, as the prelates would, yet derogating nothing from non-residents, except the inferior sort.

V. In time of those disputes, the Emperour prevailed in his wars: then the Pope being jealous thought to provide for himself, before all Germany were subdued: he considered, the Emperour might be a long time busied there, and so not able to vex him with forces, unless he could induce the Protestants to come unto the Council: To dissolve the Council, it seemed too scandalous a remedy, seeing they had treated seven months, and nothing was done or published: Therefore he intends to publish the things that were already digested, and then the Protestants either will not come, or shall be forced to accept, and the chief controversies consisting in those points, The victory were his own; And it were sufficient to prove good for him, that the Emperour would have had no controversies decided. So as he directed, at Trent a congregation was held January 3. 1547: the Imperialists oppose the holding of a Session: nevertheless on the 13 day in the Session the Decrees were published, and the next Session is to be held March 3. The same year Soto the Dominican wrote three books *de Natura et gratia*, as a Commentary on these Decrees of doctrine. When these came abroad, Vega a Franciscan set forth 15 greater books as a Commentary on the same Decrees. They both allowed the anathematismes, but in expounding the canons they were directly contradictory: who reads them, will marvell, how those two leading men did not understand the sense of the Synod: and Catharinus writing differently from them both, gave (at least, occasionally) all men to understand, that the Synod agreed in words, but never in sense. Each party dedicates their books unto the Synod, and printed apologies and antapologies, making complaints that the adverse party did impute unto the Synod that which they never said, and bringing testimonies of the Fathers to confirm their own opinion. The Prelats were divided: some neutrals said, They knew no difference, but allow the Decrees. De Santa Cruce went with Vega and Catharinus; De Monte was for the third party. The Bishop of Biponto said in a Sermon, The Synod was a congregated body, and the Holy Ghost assisting them made them determine the truth, though not understood by them, as Caphas prophesied. Others said, God makes reprobates to prophecy without understanding, but believers prophecy by illumination of their mind. Others said, Divines say uniformly, Synodes do not deliberate of faith by Divine inspiration, but by humane disquisition, which the Spirit doth assist to keep them from errors, so that they can not determine without understanding of the matter. But truly they debating the contrary opinions, when they were framing the decrees, every one refused the words that were contrary unto his own mind, and were all contented with the words, which they thought applicable to his own opinion; and they were not so curious in condemning the Protestants, (where-in they all did agree) as what were said against themselves. But in all these broils behold the hand of God! The Pope and the Emperour had contrary interests; so had the Legates and the Prelats; and so had the Dominicans and Franciscans (even from their first beginning, and could never agree, so that the old phrase, *vatanium odium*, was turned into, *Theologorum bellum*, when men would express an irreconcilable difference). At that time all those parties professed an unity, and yet were clashing one against another like flint-stones, and God made the truth to spark out from among them, even against all their wills; yea and to flash upon them, when they were busied to smother it.

VI. After that Session, a general congregation was assembled the next day to advise of the matter for the 7 Session: In doctrine they resolve

*Variance
concer-
ning & in
the Synod*

Session 7.

to follow the order of the Augustan Confession, where the next point is of Ecclesiastical Ministry, containing the authority of preaching and administering the sacraments. Hence arises a controversy, which of the two to debate first, or both jointly. The Legates fearing that in speaking of the first, they might fall upon the authority of Councils and of the Pope, enclined unto the reasons for beginning with the sacraments. Concerning Reformation, the chief points of not-residence were yet remaining, here the Spanish Bishops and some others hoping to recover episcopal authority in their own Diocies, as when the reservation of Benefices, of Cases, absolutions, dispensations and the like were not known; these (I say) brought many reasons to prove that residence of Bishops is *de jure Divino*: and therefore the Pope can not call them from their charge, neither dispencc nor restrain their authority. On the other side the Legates and others did cunningly shun that purpose, and said, His Holiness understanding to his great grief their former debates, craves this question to be handled before himself at Rome, and to assist the Synod with his counsel: and because such is the Popes will, no more speech should be of that particular, but look to the Reformation of inconvenients, which have caused the abuses of not-residence, especially the plurality of Benefices, seeing it is impossible to reside in many places. Concerning the sacraments generally, 14 articles were given, 17. of baptisme, and 4 of confirmation. On the

The number of Sacraments. number of sacraments all agree, that they be seven: but to say, There be neither more nor fewer, it was questioned. Some said, It is sufficient to determine the general, but to decide the proper sacraments, presupponeth the definition and essence of a sacrament, which is difficult, seeing neither the Scholasticks, nor the Fathers can be reconciled among themselves: for some take the word largely, and make more; and some take it strictly, and make fewer; and Augustin sometimes calleth every rite whereby God is honoured, a sacrament, and in other places he taking the word strictly, reckoneth but two sacraments of the New Test. Others said, It is necessary to say, There are neither more nor fewer, because some hereticks reckon more, and some fewer; and if they be not named particularly, some may thrust out a true sacrament, and put in a false one. And here hold your laughter at their reasons for the number, to wit, There be 7 natural things whereby mans life is preserved, 7 vertues, 7 capital vices, 7 defects coming from original sin, 7 dayes of the week, 7 regions of Egypt, 7 Planets, &c. Then they talk of the Author of the sacraments: Some

The author of Sacraments. said, The Lutherans hold, that only Christ is the author of them under the New Testament. Others said, They should not go so far on; for the Master of Sentences gives sundry authors unto sundry sacraments, as unto S. James; confirmation is of a later invention, and many attribute marriage unto God in paradise, &c. The Dominicans said, The Fathers may be saved by distinctions, especially, they would have submitted unto the Church, but the Lutherans will not. The second article, of the necessity of the sacraments, Some thought it not to be condemned, because all sacraments are not absolutely necessary. Others said, The necessity of one infringes the general article, Sacraments are not absolutely necessary. Others said, All the sacraments are necessary, some absolutely, some by conveniency, and some for utility. In the last words of the 2 article it was said, Men may attain grace without sacraments. Some approve these words by examples of Cornelius. the saved thief, and many Martyres. Others said. These received the sacrament *voto*. Others said, Sub-

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rite distinctions should not be brought into articles of faith, neither can it be known but by divination, whether many Martyres had a desire of a sacrament, or knew of them. It was replied, There is a twofold desire, habitual, and actual, that is, howbeit they had it not actually, yet they would have had it, if they had been informed. The difficulties were referred unto the general congregation. The 3 article, One sacrament is not of more worth then another; all did condemn, because some do excell in utility, some in signification, and some in regarde of the Minister. Some would have those niceties and school-fooleries (as they spake) omitted; others said, The particulare respects must be expressed: and others said, It is enough to say generally, For diverse respects. The 4 article, The sacraments of the New Testament do not confer grace unto those who do not resist. This was universally condemned; as also they agreed in the manner how sacraments confer grace; towit, grace (said they) is gained by all actions that excite devotion; and this proceeds not from the work itself, but from the virtue of devotion in the worker, or *ex opere operantis*, whereas some other actions work grace not by devotion of the doer nor receiver, but by virtue of the work itself, or *ex opere operato*: and of this kind are Christian sacraments, seeing by them grace is conferred, though no devotion be in the persons, if there be not a bar of mortal sin either habitual or actually persevering; and such men can not receive grace, not because the sacrament hath not vertue to produce it, but because the receiver is not capable, being possessed with a contrary quality. Though they all did agree so far, yet the Dominicans said, Albeit grace be a spiritual quality created immediatly by God, yet it is an affective and instrumental vertue or work of the sacraments; which causeth a disposition in the soul to receive it; not that grace is in them as in a vessel, but as a chissel is active in giving form unto a statue or stone, and not only in scabbling the stone. The Franciscans said, It can not be conceived, how God (being a spiritual cause) doth use a bodily instrument for a spirituall effect: and therefore the sacraments have no effective or dispositive vertue, but only by the promise of God: when they are administered, he gives grace unto them, as signes; and therefore they contain grace as an efficacious signe, not by any vertue in them, but by Divine promise of infallible assistance unto the Ministry; and that ministry is a cause of grace, because the effect followes by the promise of God to give grace at that time, as a merite is a cause of a reward without any activity of the merite. They confirmed this by the authority of Scotus, Bonaventura and Bernard, who all say, that grace is received by a sacrament, as a Chanon is invested by a book, and a Bishop by a ring. The Dominicans reply, This opinion is neer unto Lutheranism. The Franciscans answer, The other opinion being impossible gave occasion unto hereticks, to calumniat the Church. Some (as neutrals) said, It is sufficient, if all agree in the general, that sacraments contain grace. The Legats considering the multiplication of controversies, called for the Generals of the Orders, and entreated them to cause their Friars speak with more modesty and charity, seeing their purpose is to condemn heresies; and not to multiply controversies. And they wrote again unto the Pope, that more moderation is necessary. It was thought fit, to omit the 5 article, Not the sacraments, but faith of the sacrament hath grace or remission of sins: But Frier Barth. Miranda said, By this paradoxe Luther drew another conclusion, that the sacraments of the old and new law are of equal vertue; and now it is granted, that the sacraments of the New Law

*The effect
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confer grace; but those of the old law were only signes. None contradicted him; but the Franciscans said, In place of the old law, it should be said, the law of Moses, in respect of circumcision, which wrought grace, albeit Paul call it a signe. Then said Frier Gregory de Padua, It is a clear rule in Logik, Things of the same kind have both difference and identity among themselves: If the old sacraments and ours had difference only, they were not sacraments but equivocally; and if they had only identity, they were the same things: therefore put not difficulty in plain things for diversity in words; and S. Austin saith, These are different in signe, but equal in the thing signified, or diverse in visible signes, and the same in the intelligible signification: those were promissory, and these are demonstrative; or as others speak, the old were prenuntiative, and the new are contestative. Therefore it is not expedient to put that in a Decree. Others said, The opinion of the Lutherans and Zuinglians must be condemned without descending into particulars, seeing they say, there is no difference but in rites, and no other difference hath been shewed. Article 6; Immediately after the sin of Adam the sacraments were instituted by God, and by means of them grace was given. The Dominicans would have this absolutely condemned. The Scotists said, It is probable, because of the sacrifices and circumcision: and if (as Thomas saith) children were saved before Christ by faith of their parents, children now are in a worse estate, seeing the faith of parents avails not their children without baptism: for Augustin holds, if a parent were carrying his child to be baptised, and the infant to die on the way, this infant were condemned. They all condemned the 7. and 8. articles; In the sacrament grace is given unto him only who believes that his sins are remitted; Grace is not alwayes given in the sacraments, nor unto all, in respect of the sacrament itself, but when and where and to whom it pleaseth God. The 9. article denying a character in a sacrament, gave occasion of more talking. Soto said, It is grounded on holy Scripture, and was ever held as an Apostolical tradition. albeit the word *character* was not used by the Fathers. Others said, Gratian makes no mention of it, and Scotus saith, It is not necessary by the words of Scripture nor Fathers, but only by authority of the Church: this is usual unto that Doctor by a kind of courtly. Then it was questioned, What is a character? where is it? Some called it a quality: and those were of four several opinions, as there be so many sorts of qualities. Some called it a spiritual power, some, an habite; others, a spiritual figure; and others called it a metaphorical quality. Others called it a relation: Some said, It is ensationis. No less variety was for the subject of it: some placed it in the essence of the soul; some in the understanding; some in the will; and some in the tongue or hands. Then how many sacraments have a character? Some said, Only three, which are not iterated. Others said, That is probable, but not necessary. Others said, It is a necessary article of faith, because Innocentius 3. mentioneth it, and it was so defined by the councill of Florence. Article 10. All Christians of what soever sexe have equal power in the ministration of word and sacraments. Albeit none hold this article so much as the Romish Church doth, especially in baptism, yet they condemned it as contrary unto Scripture, to tradition, and the use of the Church. As also they condemned article 11. A bad Minister conferreth not a sacrament. Article 10. Every pastor hath power at his pleasure to protract or contract or change the forms of the sacraments. It was distinguished as having a double sense: by formes may be understood the

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the essential words, as it is said, A sacrament hath a sensible element for the matter, and a word for form; or may be understood the rites, which include some things not necessary, but decent. In the first sense they made a canon, condemning the article; and for the other they made another canon, that albeit accidental things admit mutation, yet when a rite is received by publick authority, or confirmed by common custom, it should not be in every mans power to change it, except the Pope only. Concerning article. 3. of the Minister's intention, they would not change from the council of Florence, holding the Minister's intention necessary. But what intention? The common opinion was, Intention to do as the Church doth, is sufficient. Here arose a difficulty; Because mens opinions are different in that, What the Church is, their intention to do as the Church doth, might also be different. Some said, It might rather be said, It is not different, when one hath the same aime to do what was instituted by Christ, and observed by the Church, though a false Church be taken for the true, if the rite be the same. The Bishop of Minorci said, It is no difficulty among the Lutherans for the Minister's intention; but it is otherwise amongst us, holding that the sacrament gives grace, and it seldom happeneth that grace is obtained by any other means: surely little babes and many having but small understanding are saved no other way; If a priest having the charge of 4. or 5000. souls, were an infidel or hid hypocrite, and had intention not to do as the Church doth, it must follow, that the children are damned, and all penitents and communicants were without fruit; Neither is it sufficient to say, Faith suppleeth the defect: because faith suppleeth nothing to the children according to our doctrine; neither availeth it unto others so much as the sacrament: and to attribute so much unto faith, were to take it from the sacraments, as the Lutherans do. *He nameth other inconvenients, and then said,* He who saith, God suppleeth by his omnipotency, will sooner make one believe, that God hath provided, that such accidents should not happen, by ordaining that to be a sacrament, which is administred according to the instituted rite, albeit the Minister hath another intention; This doth not cross the common doctrine or Florentin counsel, because that intention is only to be understood which is manifested by external work, tho inwardly it may be contrary. He confirmed this by example of Athanasius being a child, and the censure of his fact by the famous Alexander Bishop of Alexandria. The Divines, abode still for the intention either actual or virtual, as if without it a sacrament can be of no force. And (to speak by anticipation) this Bishop wrote a little book of this question the year following, and said, The determination of the Synod is understood, and should be expounded in this his sense. The 14. article was readily condemned, Sacraments were ordained only to cherish faith. There was not much debate of baptism, or confirmation: some of them were calumnies, and others were contradictory to all their Divines. They agreed easily in framing the anathematismes; but no way could they agree in the positives of doctrine nor of reformation. In the doctrine every sect was stieve for their own opinions; wherefore some said, Positive articles are not necessary, lest one party be condemned. Others said, The order that is begun, can not be left, and diligence may be used to satisfy all parties. Some said, Albeit the factions were contentious in delivering their opinions, yet all submit unto the determination of the Synod. Others said, Such protestations of submission are terms of reverence, and should be answered with no less respect.

Of the ministers intention . . .

diffently in framing the decrees.

*Doubts at
Rome.*

Here was mentioned the example of Luther, who having to do with the German Friars, and Doctors of Rome, did submit himself unto the Pope, and when Leo took the words as real, and did against the mans mind, Luther was more invective against the Pope, then he was before against the pardon-mongers. Neither could the Legats and the Italian Prelats accord with the Imperialist and Spanish Bishops in the articles of Reformation, the one party striving to recover their antient liberty, and to curb the Roman Cardinals; and the other being zealous of the prerogatives of the Court. The Pope is advertised of all these, and by advice of the Super-Synod framed the articles of doctrine: and judged it hard to deny all the articles of re or nation, or to grant them all: at last he directed the Legats to yeeld in some, and to caule so many as they could, to be delayd unto the next Session. In the mean while he consulteth, what may ensue upon such difficulties, both from the Prelats and Divines: he feareth worse a coming: he knew, the Emperour had temporized with him, and now when he prevails in Germany, he will by all meanes use the Council for subduing Italy, and Rome. The nearest remedy (thinks the Pope) is to secure himself against the Synod. But how? to dissolve it, is not seasonable, so many things being as yet not spoken of; To suspend it, will require some weighty caule, and were to little purpose: for they would immediatly remove that cause; To transfer it into another place, where himself had absolute power, seemes fittest: He could not judge Rome a fit place, because the Germans would talk of it: Bologna seemes fittest, because it is nigh the Alpes, and in a fertile soil. Then for the manner, he will not be named in it, but let the Legats do it by authority of their former Bull of the date Febr. 22. 1545: in so doing, the blame might be imputed unto them, and yet he uphold them; or if by any emergent occasion he shall change his mind, he may do it without dishonour. This he directeth a cousin of Car. De Monte unto the Legats with Letters of credit. At the first, the Legats were amazed, not knowing what shew to pretend: but then they talk of the intemperatnes of the aire, as appeares (said they) by the infirmiry of some Prelats, and the testimony of Fracastorius Physicion of the Synod (and the Pop's pensionary). So the Session VII. was held on March. 3. *An* 1547.

*The Council is re-
moved.*

VII. The next day in a General congregation they begin to talk of removing the Council. The Imperialists said, There is not so epidemik a disease, as was pretended. Nevertheless the Legats will have it voiced, and by degrees prevailed to leap into Bologna. A Session was held March 13: a decree was read for removing, and to keep the ninth Session at Bologna Aprile 21. Thirty and five Bishops, and three Generals did assent: Card Paccoco and 17 Bishops were for the negative. The Imperial Ambassadour required that these remove not, untill his Ma. were informed, and gave order. Those Newes were offensive unto the Emperour, taking it as a contempt of him, and judging that a weapon was wrested from him, by managing of which he had the fairer opportunity to have brought all Germany into obedience. He wrote unto the Fathers at Trent, commending their constancy, and requiring that they remove not. Those consult, Whether they should do any Synodal Act. but all did judge, it would turn to a schism. Letters were sent mutually between them at Trent and them at Bologna, and both vsed the name of the Synod. The Pope sent more Prelats unto Bologna: where in many congregations nothing was handled, but how their removing might be defended. The

Empe-

Emperour directeth his Letters unto Bologna and unto Rome, representing some inconvenients of removing the Synod, and profering some advantages, if it be set on foot at Trent again. The Bolonians answer, They can do nothing without order from the Head of the Church. The Pope answered, He had already committed his full power unto the Council. The Ambassadors called those answers ascoffing of their Master, and according to their Order they made Protestation, that the Translation is unlawfull, and that all things are void, which have followed or shall follow thereupon, seeing the authority of those few can not give lawes unto all Christendom; and because the Pope and those Fathers are deficient, the Emperour will not fail to provide for the Church, as it becomes unto him by antient lawes, and consent both of holy Fathers and of the whole world. Nevertheless the Council was not restored, untill Car. De Monte became P. Julius February 2. in the year 1551. The Emperour sent to congratulate his coronation, and to reduce the Synod. This P. is now put to his thoughts: on the one side he considereth, that he was not only called the chief Agent of Transferring it, but he had also hitherto maintained it; and the same motives of Pope Paul were as yet pressing, to wit, the designs of the Emperour, and of the Prelats, aiming at their own interests, to the prejudice of the Papal See. On the other hand, if he called not the Council again, it were scandalous to the world, and beget a bad conceit of him in the beginning of his Papacy, it would provoke the Emperour, to use National Councils, yea and forces against him. As for the dissuading reasons, he thought, It could not be called levity in him, because before he was a Servant, and obedient unto his Lord, but now he is Lord; and the present dangers must be shunned. So he calleth a Congregation of the Cardinals, especially the Imperialists, that they may fall upon that advice, where unto he was inclining. They judge it fittest to restore the Council, because before the election in the Conclave he had sworn to do it, and again at his coronation, besides other reasons. He objecteth principally the danger of the Papal authority. Some answered, God, who had founded the Roman Church, and advanced it above others, will dissipate all contrary counsel. Some in simplicity think so, and others knew not what to say. Car. Crescentius said, Greatest exploits are difficult, because of some causes unknown or lightly accounted of: for the present, there is more fear, that the Princes and world will depart *defacto*, than in the Synod by disputes or decrees: there is danger both wayes, but the most honourable and least dangerous must be chosen; The appearing dangers in the Synod may be prevented, by holding the Fathers upon other purposes; many, especially the Italians may be persuaded with hope; Princes may be counterpoised; differences may be fomented, and a wise man will find remedies upon emergent occasions. This opinion was embraced, and Nuntij were dispatched into Germany and France, to represent the ingenuous applause of the Pope unto their common desire. Unto the Emperour it was propounded, that in respect of the vast charges of the Papal Chamber upon the Legats, the poor Italian Bishops, and other extraordinaries, it were expedient to calculate the time of beginning and proceeding, and that no hour be spent idly; As also it is necessary, that before hand his Ma. were assured of the Germans, both Catholiks and Protestants, and bind themselves unto the Decrees, especially what things are already established should not be called into question; As he had condescended to further the affairs of his Ma. by holding the Synod in that place, so he craves

Consultation about the restoring of it.

ves that his sincerity be not abused unto a burdening of himself; and hopeth, if any shall attempt against him by cavillations or calumnies, his Majesty will not marvel, if he use the remedies, that shall occur for defense of the authority which he hath received immediately from God. The Emperour returns answer, extolling his wisdom both in remitting the Synod and in his considerations; As for himself and Germany, in a Decree at Ausburgh a year ago, they all, even Protestants had submitted themselves, as the Copy (which he sent) shewes: but of the particulars that are determined, it will be expedient to speak of them, when parties are brought together; And he promiseth to be a Protector of his Holiness and of his life, if occasion require. About that time the Emperour propounded in another Diet at Ausburgh, that now the Synod was to be opened at Trent. It pleased the Popish; but the Reformed submitted themselves conditionally, 1. that the Pope should not preside, but himself be subject unto the Synod. 2. the things that were asked against them should be reexamined. 3. The Divines of the Augustan Confession should have decisive voices. Now the Emperour gives unto the Pope account of the absolute submission of the one party, and of the conditions required by the other; and he demandeth a copy of the Bull of convocation, before it be published, to the end, he may make a Decree concerning it in the Diet, and cause it be received by them all. Those things did not please the Court of Rome; and a Bull was sent conform to the late one: for the Pope said, If the Germans will refuse, he is delivered from his fears of the Synod, as also from the scandal for the want of it; or if they accept it, they shall not be able to practise any thing against him. All both Papists and Protestants spoke against the Pop's pride appearing in that Bull: but the Emperour calmed their animosities by fair promises. He sent unto the Pope for more smooth words in the Bull; but all in vain. The opening of the Synod was appointed to be May. 1. *An. 1551.* In the beginning of the year the Pope consulteth, how to have trusty Presidents, and to save great charges: many Legats must have much moneys, and he dareth not trust one alone: wherefore he sent Marcellus Crescentius Car. de S. Marcello Legat, and two Nuntij Sebastianus Pighinus archBishop of Siponto, and Aloisius Lipomanus Bishop of Verona, all of equal authority, and as large as the Letters of his predecessor did bear: he commanded them to open the Synod at the day appointed, even though there were no other Prelats present.

The Council is opened.

A protestation of France against it.

VIII. Very few Prelats came: nevertheless a Session was held, and a Decree was published, to wit, The Synod is open, and the next Session shall be September 1. At that day another Decree was made, The third Session shall be October 2. In this second Session Letters were presented from Henry King of France: the Inscription was offensive, because he called them not a Synod, but a Convent: they refuse to open the Letter, as not directed unto them. Then said the Bishop of Mentz, If yee will not receive Letters from the King of France, calling you a holy Convent, how will yee hearken unto the Protestants calling you a malignant Convent? Then the Legate said, The word may be taken in good part, and otherwise wee protest, that it shall not be prejudiciall. The Contents of the Letter was, to shew the equity (on his part) of the present wars against the Emperour and Pope, in protecting Octavius Farnes. Duke of Parma; he was devore unto the Apostolical See, albeit he be compelled to take Arms against Pope Julius; he had sent unto Rome, and there had protested, that if the Pope do judge the protection of Parma (which he had so

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lawfully undertaken, even by the Pop's permission) to be a just cause of stirring up all Europ into warr, he was fory, but it can not be imputed unto him, who is most willing to accept the Decrees, if due order be observed in making them: If the Pope will continue in warring, he can not send his Prelats unto Trent, where they have not secure access; nor can France betied unto their Decrees; but he will use the remedies of his Ancestors by National Councils. When the Letters were read, the Orator makes protestation to the same purpose. The Speaker of the Synod; after some private conference with the Legate, said, The Kings modesty is acceptable, but they can not accept the person of the French Abbot, who had made the protestation, and according to Law they summon him *apud acta* to be present October 2, to receive answer and they forbid to make any note of these actions. There was variety of opinions concerning this protestation. The Imperialists said, It is null, because an Act of the greater part of any Vniversality is esteemed lawfull, when the lesser, being called, will not be present, and the French Bishops might have come without passing thorow any of the Pop's territories. Others said, To call in word, and exclude indeed, is not to envite; and albeit one may come from France to Trent, not passing thorow the Pop's territories, yet he must come through the Emperours Lands, which is all one in respect of the time; The Major part hath full authority, when the lesser part can not or will not appear, and is silent, because silence presupposeth consent: but when it protests, it hath it's place, especially if the hinderance be from him who calleth. The French Orator said, This can not be a lawfull Synod, because the Presidents confer privately with the Emperours Embassador, nor communicat with any other, and yet the Speaker saith, The holy Synod receives the Letters; and when the Letters were read, the answer of the Presidents only was given in name of the Synod: They can not say, these are matters of smal importance, seing It is a matter of dividing the Church. But truly those and other delaying answers were devised, untill they were informed from Rome. In the mean while the French King was the more bitter against the Reformed, lest he be suspected of Lutheranism. The Prelats at trent held congregations now, and treated of the Eucharist, but after another manner than they had done before: because the Prelats understood not the subtilities of the Divines, the Presidents gave articles collected (as they said) out of the books of Zuinglius and Luther, and they commanded the Divines to confirm their opinions by holy Scripture, by Apostolicall traditions and approved Councils, by authorities of the holy Fathers, to use brevity, and avoid superfluous questions; they who were sent by the Pope should speak first, then they who were sent by the Emperour, and in the third place the Secular Divines after the order of their promotion, and lastly the Regulars after the precedence of their Orders. This method pleased not the Italian Divines, and they said, It is a novelty, condemning all School-Divinity, which in all difficulties useth reasoning in the first place, as Thomas and others have done; and the collecting of Sentences out of the Fathers and Scriptures, is a faculty of the memory, and full of toil in writing: it was used in old times, but it is known to be insufficient and unprofitable, as appears by those Doctors, who in these 350. years have defended the Church; yea it is to grant the victory unto the Lutherans, who do alwayes overcome by those weapons: for they know many tongues, and read many Authors. But those reasons had no place.

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IX. In sundry congregations they censured ten articles of the Eucharist:

Of a Safe-conduct.

Contention for transubstantiation

little is noted worthy of memory, untill they came to the framing of the Decrees. Some would had anathematisms only, condemning the contrary doctrine, as they had done in the other sacraments. Others said, The first order was better, decerning the positives with the anathematisms, as was done in Justification. The Italians cherished this opinion, because they thought it to be some mean of regaining their former reputation. The Count of Montfort Ambassade of the Emperour, and the Orator of King Ferdinand dissuade to make any Decree concerning the communion with both kindes, because it would offend the Protestants, who certainly shall not be brought unto the Synod, if that be put in Decree, and so both the Emperour and Council have laboured in vain. These shew also that the Emperour had given a safe-conduct unto the Protestants, and they are not content with it, alledging that it was decreed in the Council at Constance, and also executed, that a Council is not tied to the Safe-conduct of any man: and therefore they demand a Safe-conduct from the Synod, and the Emperour hath promised it unto them, as also he hath commanded them to crave and purchase it. The Presidents referred the answer unto the next Session [or rather unto the Pope] and the Ambassade said, It is not fit, that the points of the Eucharist be debated before their coming, especially seing they want not matter of reformation, where is no controversy. The Legate answered, This method is already decerned. An account of all those is sent to Rome, where the Safe-conduct found variety of opinions. Some said, It should not be granted, because the like was never done but at Basile, and that should not be followed, because it is a prejudice unto the Synod, to tie themselves unto rebels, especially when there is no hope to gain them. Others said, Not for hope to gain them, but to take from them all excuse, it were not amiss to give them all probable satisfaction, seing the Emperour is so earnest for it: As for prejudices, it may be so framed, that it shall tie little or nothing: for if it be conceived generally of Ecclesiastical and Secular persons in the German Nation, and of every condition; it may be said afterward, that the Protestants are not comprehended, or that it is meant only of the Catholiks, and a special mention is necessary for the Protestants; Or the Synod may give a Safe-conduct, and the Pop's authority shall be safe. According to this opinion a form of a Safe-conduct was sent to Trent, and a direction to omit the question of the cup, and to expect the Protestants, but not beyond three months; neither to be idle in the mean while, but hold a Session within 40. dayes, and treat of penance. While this consultation was at Rome, they were proceeding at Trent, as is before: but when they came to declare the manner, how Christ is in the sacrament, and of transubstantiation, a contention arose between the Dominicans and Franciscans. The Dominicans said, All the substance of the bread is turned into Christs body, and the body is in the place, where the bread was: and because the whole bread is turned, that is, the matter of the bread is turned into the matter of his body, and the form of the bread into the form of his body, therefore it is called transubstantiation: and so there be two sorts of Christs existence, both real and substantial; the one natural, as he conversed on earth, or is now in heaven; and the other as he is in the sacrament, which is a proper manner of his existence, and can not be called natural nor sacramental, as if yee would say, He is not there really but as in a signe, seing a sacrament is but a signe; Unless by sacramental, yee understand a real existence proper unto this sacrament. The Franciscans would have it said, One body by Gods omni-

potency may be truly and substantially in many places at once, and when it comes into a new place, it is in it, because it goeth thither, not by a successive mutation, as leaving the first place, but in an instant it getteth the second without losing the first; and God hath so ordained, that where the body of Christ is, no other substance shall abide there, but by annihilation, because the body of Christ succeeds in stead of it: so it is truly called transubstantiation, not because the one substance is made of the other, but because the one succeeds unto the other; The manner of Christs being in heaven and in the sacrament, differ not in substance, but in quantity only, because in heaven the magnitude of the body possesseth a place proportionable unto it, and it is substantially in the sacrament, not possessing a place: therefore both sorts are substantial and natural in regard of the substance, but in respect of the quantity, the existence in heaven is natural, and in the sacrament is miraculous, differing only in that in heaven the quantity is truly a quantity, and in the sacrament it hath the condition of substance. Much dispute was for hearing and understanding this matter, but none could give satisfaction, namely, unto the Nuntio de Verona, who for the time had the place of moderating. October 11. was the Session: the decrees of faith with the anathematisms, and of reformation were read; with express reserving some points of faith untill the coming of the Protestants; and the Safe-conduct was framed according to the direction from Rome; yet so that the Presidents caused all the same things be first concluded in the congregations. The French Orators appeared not to receive answer to their protestation: for they had received order, not to contest: nevertheless the Council framed an answer, denying that they were assembled for private ends; beseeching the King, to send his Prelats unto the Synod, where they shall have all liberty: adding, albeit those shall not come, the Synod shall not want it's own reputation: and requiring that he assemble not Nationall Synods, which his Ancestors have abrogated, and that he be not unthankfull unto God and the Church his mother, but rather he should pardon personal offences for the publick good. When the Protestants received that Safe-conduct (to speak by anticipation) they perceived the meaning of the Court, and demanded one conforme to that which was granted at Basile unto the Bohemians, without alteration of any word, except persons, place and time. The Pope would never grant that: therefore the Protestants would never come unto the Synod, except some few, as followes. After the Session was a publick congregation: it was resolved to treat of penance and extrem unction, and to proceed in the Reformation. The former Act of their manner in discussing the articles was confirmed, because the Divines had contentiously transgressed it. Order is taken to hold congregations twice a day, that the more things may be dispatched before the coming of the Protestants. Before, the School-men were curious, and scarcely intelligible; but then they became impertinent and ridiculous: for they speaking of penance, for confirming their opinions brought all the places of Scripture, where the Latine Translation hath *confiteor* or *confessio*: they alledge, it was prefigured in the old Testament, and he was called the most learned, who brought manyest types of it: they alledge all the signes of humility, and out of the Fathers they report many miracles, and the prosperous successes of them who were given much unto confession, and the bad success of them who had despised it &c. After such discourses the Presidents with such Deputies, as they pleased to name, framed the Decrees, and

Of pen-
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sent them to Rome; and when they were canvassed there, they were propounded in the general congregation. Sundry Divines spake against sundry parts of them, as for example, The Divines of Lovan and Colein spake against the reservation of some sins unto the Pope. Those of Colein said, The words, *Whose sins yee forgive*, &c. are not meant of the sacrament: and they were not satisfied, that publick confession was omitted, albeit so much mentioned by the Antients, and so necessary. The Franciscans said, Contrition, confession and satisfaction are not the parts of the sacrament, because they are the acts of the receiver, and not applied by the Minister: They complained also, that it is called heresy, to say, Sacramental absolution is declarative, seeing Jerom, Gratian and all the School-Divines have taught, absolution is a declaration. Many Fathers judged those remonstrances considerable. But Car. Crescentius said, Those things were maturely established, and may not be altered for satisfying the fancies of particular persons: but if all be not satisfied, it may be propounded generally in the congregation, Whether the Decrees may be altered? and then they may come to particulars. And in privat he shew his mind unto some friends, that they should not suffer men to speak so freely, which were dangerous, if the Protestants were come: It is sufficient for the liberty of the Synod, that men deliver their opinions, when the articles are disputed, but when all men are heard, and the decrees are framed by the Deputies, allowed by the Presidents, examined and authorized at Rome, it is too great licence to call them into question. In the article of Reformation concerning episcopal jurisdiction, the old contention was renewed, the Prelats still aiming to recover their antient power, and the Presidents striving to yeeld as little as they could: but one thing moved them give way to many articles, to wit, the Canonists have a law, Whatsoever is spoken generally, touches not the Pope nor his Court, unless they be named. Therefore the Presidents would never suffer the Pop's name be expressed; and the prelates were satisfied, hoping that the decrees being framed generally, might (at least) make way for after-times. So the Session was held November 25, and the next appointed to January 25.

*A mystery
in forming
the Decrees*

*New
projects.*

X. November 26. a general congregation gave order to discuss the Masse, and the communication of the cup, as if nothing had been spoken thereof: nevertheless in the ensuing Session nothing was spoken of that matter. At Christmes the pope hearing that the Orator of the Duke of Witteberg and of Strawsburg were suing at Trent for a Safe-conduct, and the Emperour was soliciting the Council for the same; created 14. Cardinals, under pretence of enmity of the French King, and so he might counterpoise the French Cardinals, who were many; but truly it was to strengthen his own party in the Synod, as he wrote unto the Legate: he sent thanks unto the Nuntij for their former fidelity, and promises if they shall continue: for he feared, they would take it ill, that they had not also received red hats. Much adoe was at Trent for purchasing the Safe-conduct: but the Pope wrote unto the Presidents, to entertain the Protestants with all possible courtesy, knowing that it is necessary at some times to suffer indignity, and patience brings honor in the end; They should abstain from all publick colloquie in matters of Religion either by writ or mouth; that they should endeavour to gain some Protestant Doctors, and spare no cost. But the Pope being peremptory, whatsoever might happen, not to yeeld; and hearing that the Emperour had promised unto the Protestants, that he will endeavour to attemper the papal authority, and that

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he sought to advance his own honor by debasing Papacy; Vpon those motives the Pope enclineth unto the French King, and hearkned unto Car. Tournon dealing for a Treaty with him; and he considered, that if that Treaty shall hold, the dissolution of the Synod may follow without any shew of his desire. In the mean while the Session was held January. 25. *An. 1552*: but the decrees were deferred untill the next Session March 6. and they determined to treat of Marriage, and prosecute the reformation, and publish the definitions of both Sessions together. Concerning matrimony, 34. articles were propounded in a congregation, and after sundry debates, 6 canons were framed. Wherefore the protestant Orators complained: but the papalins would proceed the faster, Vntill the Emperour gave command unto his followers that they proceed not, but rather protest against the Papalins, if persuasions can not prevail. When those things were known at Trent, in a generall congregation it was resolved to surceale from all Synodall act, during the pleasure of the Synod. This was displeasing unto the Pope, and he wrote unto the Presidents, to suspend the Synod as few dayes as they could, and for reputation of the Council, they should resume their Actions without all other respect. At this time the Elector Bishop left Trent, fearing what was like to befall: so did the Orator of Maurice Duke of Saxony. But four Divines of Witteberg, and two of Strawsburgh came to Trent: they would not address themselves unto the Legat (as others had done before) lest it were called an acknowledging of the Pop's Presidency: but they went unto the Emperours Ambassador, and craved to begin the Conference. He persuades the Divines to yield in some niceties. Nevertheless nothing could be done; the Legate opposing alwayes, either concerning the manner of the Treaty, or the matter at which to begin, or pretending his own infirmity of body; and at last he was so passionat, that many thought, he was not right in his wits, and departed (as also the Protestants) pretending difficulty of abiding because of new warrs in Germany. Then the Nuntij fearing to be left alone, sent to Rome, for information in those straits. After advice from Court, a Session was held Aprile 28, and the Synod was suspended for two years. The Spanish Prelats being 12. in number, protested against this decree: but the Pope had now accorded with France, and therefore he made no account of the Imperialists.

XI. The suspension for two years continued ten, because the motives were changed. The Pope was out of all hope to regain Germany. And Cesar was so earnest before for the Synod, because he intended to erect a fifth Monarchy, and by means of Religion to immortalize his fame: for he thought to subdue all Germany by treaties or Arms, and then to make a new purchase of Italy; and perhaps of France. But when he saw Gods hand for the Protestants, and a division of his own family, he layd aside all thought of the Council, and the Romans cared as little for it. But after the death of Pope Marcel *An. 1555.* it was one of the Capitulations in the Conclave, that the future Pope should by advice of the colledge call a Synod within two years, to finish the begun Reformation, to determine the other controversies of Religion, and to endeavour the acceptation of the Tridentin Canons in Germany. But when this was motioned unto Pope Paul III. he said with much indignation, I have no need of a Synod; I am above all. Cardinall Bellai replied, A Councel is necessary, not to add authority unto the Pope, but to find meanes of procuring an uniformity in all places. He answered, If it were necessary, it must be held

A Spanish Protestation against the adjourning of the Synode

Various thoughts concerning the Synode.

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at Rome, and nowhere else: I never consented to hold a Synod at Trent, because it is among the Lutherans: and a Synod should consist of Bishops only, and no others should be admitted, no not for advice, unless Turks also be admitted: it is a foolish thing, to send unto the mountains 60 or the least able Bishops, and 40 of the most insufficient Divines (as hath been done twice) and to believe that the world can be regulated by such, better then by the Vicar of Christ and the colledge of Cardinals, who are the pillars of Christendom, and by the counsel of Prelats and Divines, who are more in number at Rome then can be brought to Trent. Nevertheless *An.* 1557. when he heard, that the King of France had made Acts in Parliament concerning Religion, he would have called a Synod: but he was so perplexed with difficulties in Rome, that he could not. After his death the same Capitulation was renewed in the Conclave *An.* 1559, to restore a Synod upon account of the necessity in France and Belgio, and the open defection of Germany and England. So Pius 4. began to advise privately with his trustiest friends, whether a Synod were expedient for the Apostolical See? if not, whether it be safer to deny it absolutely, or to make shew of readines, and to hinder it by impediments? Or if it be expedient, whether he shall wait, untill he be entreated, or call it as by his own motion? It was resolved, Because he can not eschue it, he should prevent the perions of others, and so he might have the fairer occasion to cover his own purpose in crossing the designs of others. So far he goeth, and no more: he shewes unto the Cardinals and all Ambassadors, that he is desirous of a Synod, and he willet them to advise what things have need to be reformed, and of the place and time, and of other preparations: but he intended it not, untill the Parliament of France had decreed to hold a Nationall Synod. Then the Pope was advised by the Cardinals, that it is safer to hasten the Generall then to permit a National Synod. But then comes into consideration, Where it must be, seing a Synod is much after the mind of him who is strongest in the place. Bolonia was named, but Trent was judged fittest. Both the Emperour, and Francis King of France except against the place; and they craved also that the former canons be reëxamined; and moreover the Emperour demanded other things to be granted, towit, the communion of the cup, the marriage of the clergy, &c. The Pope answered, he was content where it may be, if the Italians shall have free access and recess: he will sooner quite his life, then grant the second; and the third can not be granted but in the Council. In his heart he was glad of those difficulties, except that the affaires of France require hast: for he had hope of France, but despaired of the others. The mean while was the Counsel at Fountainbleaw, [as is above Pag. 154. When the Pope understood of the discourses there, he resolves to call a generall Council: but then he questioneth, Whether it shall be termed a new Council, or a resumption of the former? The Emperour and Frances will have it called a new one, because the Protestants will not accept that which hath condemned them. The Pope and Philip King of Spain will not have the canons to be called into question, that have been decided. The Cardinals propound a middle course, to terme it neither a new one, nor a resumption; and November 24. it was decreed in consistory to call it, *Indictio Concily Tridentini*, and to begin at Easter next. But the words of the Bull gave satisfaction to no party. The Pope said, None should except against the word *Continuare* in the Bull, because it hindereth not to examine former decrees. And he sent his Breves to all the Princes of Germany as-
sent.

sembled then in the Diet at Neumburgh, with this inscription, Vnto his beloved son, the Duke, or Count &c. None of those Princes would open any of them, but sent them back unto the Legat's lodging. On the last day of their assembly this answer was given unto the Legates; The most honourable Electors, Princes, Ambassadors and Counselors of the most sacred Empire of Rome, acknowledge, that the Church hath need of Reformation: and for this cause many godly, learned and wise men of all ages and conditions have for a long time wished that the Church may be in a better estate; and have prayd that the pure doctrine of the Gospell might be restored, and impious errors be put away: of which matter the Bishops of Rome should have a special care, because of a long time they have assumed the title, Pastor of the Church: but experience shewes, that they have more care in establishing their tyranny, and introducing errors, then of seeking the glory of God: this is so notoriously manifest, that the Pop's dearest friends can not but confess it, if there be any shame in them. Also they said, They marveled, what moved the Pope, and what hope hath he, in calling them to his Synod, seeing he can not be ignorant, that they do not acknowledge his jurisdiction; neither is it needfull to shew, that (according to their mind) he hath no power by law of God or man to call a Synod; and the rather that he is the author of the dissensions in the Church, and most tyrannously warreth against the Truth; We acknowledge no other jurisdiction, but of the most renowned the Emperour Ferdinand; As for them who are Legates, they would honour them as Noble men, and would have shewd them more honor, if they had not come in name of the Pope. Thus the Legates with their Interpreter Gaspar Schoneich a Noble Silesian went to Lubek and sent to Frederik King of Denmark, craving access to shew him their commission. He returned answer, that neither his father nor himself had any meddling with the Popes, nor now will he accept any mandats from him. The Pope sent also Jerom Martineng unto Elisabeth Queen of England: when she understood of it, she sent into Flanders, and discharged him. All these Commissions were especially, that those Princes would send unto the Synod: but experience had taught them, that no good did accompany Papal Synods. In his Breve unto the King of France he demanded also his consent unto a league, which the Pope intended, but never was publicly propounded in Trent, towit, for taking Arms against the Turk and all hereticks: meaning, the Protestants.

XI. At Easter the Pope sent unto Trent two Legats Hercules Gonzaga Car. of Mantua and Frier Jerulam Car. Scripando: they arrived on the third day of the feast of the resurrection, and found none but nine Bishops before them. Wherefore the Pope dispatches more Italians; and they all thought their journey vain, because the Emperour had not as yet sent his Commissions. When those were brought, the Pope sent three Legats more, Stanislaus Osius Car. of Varnia, Lewes Simoneta a Canonist who had passed thorow all the Offices of the Court, and Mark de Altamps his sisters-son. The first was sent in July *An. 1561.* and Simoneta was commanded in September to go quickly, and at his first arriving, to cause say the Masse of the holy Ghost for opening the Synod, and delay no time with suspensions nor translations as they had done before, but to bring it to an end quickly, because they had not need to spend many months, seeing the weightiest points were already defined, and others were disputed and set in order, that little was remaining, but the publication. Simoneta

A new or-
der in the
Synod.

arrived at Trent December 6: besides the Cardinals were present 92 Bishops in all, and before him was a Letter from Rome, directing him, to wait another Commission to open the Synod, because the Emperours Ambassadors were not come. The Pope is informed, that the Spanish Bishops, and more eagerly those of France aimed to retrench the Papal authority. Then he sent De Alempis in the end of December with commission to open the Synod January 15. without any delay. On that day a Congregation sat: after arguing on both sides, whether it should be called a new Synod, or continuation of the former, a decree was framed, The Council beginneth to be celebrated in January, all suspensions being removed. It was also decreed, that no Sermon should be delivered, before it be censured by Egidius Foscarar Bishop of Modena as Master of the holy palace of Rome; and that none should propound any purpose, except the Legates. These last words were added under pretext of keeping order, and they carried them so artificially, that few espied the craft, and only four did oppose, Peter Guerrero Archb. of Granata, Francis Bionco Bishop Orensis, Andrew de la uesta Bishop of Leon, and Antonio Collermero Bishop of Almeria. Those decrees were read, and the next Session appointed to February 26. In the congregation January 27. the Legats propound three things, 1. to examine the books written since the heresies began, and the censures of the Romanists against them; to the end, the Synod may make a decree concerning them both. 2. All having interest in them should be cited, lest they say, that they are condemned, before they be heard. 3. A Safe-conduct should be granted unto all them that are fallen into heresy, with a liberal promise of singular clemency, if they will repent and acknowledge the authority of the Catholick Church. After reasoning to and fro in sundry congregations, concerning the books, it seemed sufficient for the present to depute some few for reading the Index of Paul 4, and to let them that are interested, understand by some little part of the decree, that they shall be heard, if they come; and to invite all men unto the Synod: But they would not grant a Safe-conduct (lest it were prejudicial to the Inquisitions, seeing every man might say, I am a Protestant, and upon my journey) but referred it unto more consideration. February 13. the Emperours Ambassadors went to the Legates; and petitioned five things; 1. that the word *Continuare* should not be used, because it makes the Protestants refuse the Synod. 2. The Session might be adjourned, or matters of less importance be handled. 3. That the Confessionists be not exasperated in the beginning, by condemning their books. 4. That an ample Safe-conduct be granted unto the Protestants. 5. Whatsoever was handled in the congregations should be concealed. The Legats answer February 17, Seeing it is necessary to give satisfaction unto all (as they may) as they will not name the word *Continuation*, so it is necessary to abstain from the contrary, lest they provoke the Spaniards; they promise to spend the ensuing Session on light matters, and to give a large time for others; they will not condemn the Confession of Ausburgh; they will speak of the Index in the end of the Synod; a Safe-conduct can not be penned before this Session, but in the decree they will add a clause granting power unto the Congregation to give a Safe-conduct. The Pope was offended, that they had granted so much: nevertheless they proceed (but slowly) because it was so determined in the congregation. In the Session February 26. a decree was read according to these premises, and the next Session was appointed to May 14.

Of a Safe
conduct.

XII. March 2. information came from Rome unto the Legats, that hereticks should not be envited unto repentance with promise of pardon, because when it was done by Paul and Julius, no good came of it: hereticks in a place of liberty will not accept it; and who are under fear of Inquisition, will accept it feignedly, to secure them of what hath past, and intend to do worse more warily; The Pope is content to give a Safe-conduct unto all who are not under Inquisition, but so that this exception be not expressed, because the like in the pardon of Julius passed with small reputation, as if the Pope had not power over the Inquisition, as over others; but he referred the manner of expressing it, unto the Synod; The manner of the Safe-conduct should be like to that of the year 1552; He ordereth that the Depuries shall not touch the Index, untill occasion be offered to make a publick decree without opposition by any Prince. March 3. the congregations began to be held, and the Legats propound things according to their commission: as they saw amongst the variety of opinions any man inclining unto the Pop's mind (and some Italians were informed how to speak) the Legats took the opportunity, and bring that to a decree, never mentioning any direction from Rome. March 11. they propounded 12 articles to be studied and disputed, concerning the residence of Bishops and Curats, concerning ordination unto titles, receiving of money or gift for ordination either by Ordinaries or their servants and Notaries in way of gratitude; concerning prices of writing, distribution of the revenues of Chanons, prebends, commendas, distinction of parishes, plurality of Benefices, &c. The same Letters were brought unto the Councell, and unto the Pope from the Emperour, willing that the Councell might surcease, because the German Protestants were treating of a league, and levying souldiers. Nevertheless after Aprile 7. they treated of these articles. They all spake partialy, regarding their own interest, and not the publick good: some pretending to speak according to conscience, dispraise residence, but intending to empair the grandure of the Roman Court, and to advance their liberties or jurisdictions; and others eying their own preferment in the Court. So they could agree in little or nothing. The Legats gave account of these things by Post. Then the Spaniards complained, that they saw a beginning of intolerable grievance, seeing every particulare was not only sent unto, but consulted and decreed at Rome; The Synod had been dissolved twice without fruit, yea with scandall: for nothing was resolved by the Synod, but all at Rome, so that a Blasphemous proverb is generally talked, *The Synod of Trent is ruled by the Holy Ghost sent thither from time to time in a clock-bagge from Rome.* All hope of good by a Synod is extinguisht, if it be subservient only unto the interest of that Court, and move or stand at their pleasure. Wherefore the Legats were necessitated to let them speak of residence; but they would not permit any conclusion. The Pope and his Court knew not what to do: for they knew certainly, that the Ultramontanes envied the prosperity of Italy and of the Apostolical See; and seeing they are so tenacious of directions from their Princes, he will have recourse unto heaven: he hath a million of gold, and knowes whence to have another, to employ in this cause. Also the Court was sensible, that these novelties of the Prelats aimed to make many Popes, or none at all, and to stop the gain of the Chancery: they complain, that the Legats suffered such things to be propounded, and they advise the Pope to send other Legats, in whom he may confide more, and who should do as other Prelats that stick fast unto the commissions from

their Princes, and the Ambassadors by missives and persuasives compel the Prelats to follow the dictates of their Masters. About May 9. plausible missives were directed unto Trent; and the Pope dealt with the Orators (lying at Rome) of Venice and Florence, that their Masters would command that the Prelats of their Jurisdiction should not countenance the discourses against the Apostolical See, nor be so eager in the point of residence. He sent more Court-bishops, to augment his number at Trent, and loaded them with money and promises, because more French Bishops were expected, and he feared those. And to the effect, the King of France be not his opposite, he resolved to give him 100000 crowns; and to lend him as many, upon assurance that he will undertake wars for Religion, and with this money hyre Swisers and Germans under the conduct of an Apostolical Legat and colors of the Church; and upon condition, that no Hugonotes shall be pardoned without Apostolical consent, and such shall be imprisoned whom the Pope will name, namely, the Chancellor, the Bishop of Valentia, &c. And that in the Synod nothing shall be treated against the Apostolical authority. But the opposition waxed still, and May 14 the Session fate, and a decree was read, that the promulgation of the decrees is adjourned unto June 14. Then the Fathers at Trent receive Letters from Rome, every one from his patron-Cardinal, full of exhortations, and exhortations; and they return their complaints mutually. So complaints are multiplied. The Pope was full of wrath against the Cardinal of Mantua, that when the Spaniard pressed, that the Synod should be termed a Continuation, he had let that occasion slip, seeing this would have caused the Emperour and Germans to forsake the Synod, and so it might have been dissolved. On the other side the Prelats, especially of Spain did complain, that nothing was propounded but what pleased the Legates, and these do nothing but as they are commanded from Rome: when any thing is propounded, though 70 Bishops agree, yet no conclusion follows; There be above 40 stipendiaries of the Pope, some receiving 30 Crowns a month, and some, 60; and others are terrified by Letters of Courtiers; The Court of Rome not enduring reformation, hold it lawfull to calumniate, reprove and condemn what is intended for the service of God; Seeing so necessary Reformation in lighter things is so taken, what commotion may be expected, when they shall touch to the quick? The contention waxed yet hotter, when the French Ambassadors arriving, did demand a declaration that the Council is a new one, and the Spaniards fell afresh upon the point of residence. The Session was held June 4. with one decree, that the next Session should be July 10. Reserving power unto a general congregation, to prolong or abbreviate the time.

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XIII. After this, the French Ambassadors according to their instructions did present 20 articles unto the Legates, 1. that the Pope would be content to make just Reformation of himself and Court of Rome. 2. the number of Cardinals should be reduced to the number of 12, or not exceed 26. 3. no scandalous dispensation should be granted. The others were concerning plurality of Benefices; residence of Prelats; yearly Synods; excommunication should not be used but for mortal sin; against simony; for Divine Service in the vulgar language; the correcting of Breviaries and Missals by taking away what is not warranted by Scripture, &c. The Legats answer, Those things can not be propounded in a Session; and they advertise the Pope by Post. Then the Pope was in a fury: but returning to himself, he began to consider the present difficulties of all the Popish Princes; and to

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the end, he might engage them all, he resolves to propound a League defensive of all the Catholiks against the plots of Protestants in every place; and he judgeth it easy, to make them to condescend, if for no other cause, yet to free themselves of suspicion. He thought the Duke of Florence is wholly his own; the Duke of Savoy is in danger, and hath received subsidy from him; the Venetians were desirous to hold the Ultramontanes out of Italy; Spain had need of him for defending Millan and Naples; France had present necessity, and the Emperour had more then his hands full in Germany. But his hope failed him: for the Emperour would in no way condescend to any thing, that might give suspicion unto the Protestants. The French Counsel was so far from hindering the Protestants to make incursion into Italy, that they wished the kingdom rid of them all. Spain was more afraid of an vnion of the Italiaus, then of any harm the Protestants could do unto him. Venice and Florence thought that such an vnion might disturb their present peace in Italy. And they all did alledge one common reason, that this league would hinder the progress of the Synod. The pope being so far disappointed bended all his wits to shift the final concluding of any thing in the Council, as he brought it to pass untill February 27. in the year 1563. Then the Car. of Mantua wrote a Letter (for secrecy with his own hand) that he had not a face to appear any more in a congregation, nor can he give them words as he had done those two years: all the Ministers of Princes say, Howbeit his Holines promiseth reformation, yet because they see no action, they can not think, that he hath any inclination thereunto; and if he had performed his promises, the Legats could not be so deficient to satisfy the instant petitions of so many princes. And within five dayes this Cardinal died. Then Seripando sent speedily unto the Pope, and with the common Letter he wrote a privy one, that he would be glad, if his Holiness would send another supream Legate, or remove him: but if would have him to be prime Legat, he told him, he will proceed as God shall inspire him. The Bishop of Varnia craved licence to go home, for his Church had need of his presence. The third Legate was more ambitious, and wrote, that there is no need of mo Legats, and promised a good issue with satisfactiō. The Pope after privy consultation with his dearest friends, thought it necessary to send moe Cardinals, who being engaged with gifts and promises, wold follow his instructions close. So in a consistory (not being intimated, as he was wont, but) when the Card. were assembled on a Sunday in a chamber, where they put on their Robes before their going to chappell, consulteth them not (lest he were solicited with more requests) but abruptly he createth Legats the Card. John Moron and Bernard Navagger. At that time he received Letters from the Emperour, shewing that now having dispatched his weighty affaires with the Electors and States of Germany, nothing was so dear unto him the Aduocat of the Church, then to promote the affaires of the Synod; he hath come to Ispruc within thee dayes journey to Trent for that end; he had heard with much grief, that the affairs proceed not there as he had expected, and as the publick tranquillity requires, and that there is a fame, his holiness intendeth to suspend or dissolve the Synod; which if it be done, will be scandalous to the whole world, and laughter unto them who have forsaken obedience unto the Roman See, and will hold their opinions with more obstinacy; it will redound to the contempt of his Holiness, and of the Clergy, and of all Councils hereafter; He obiecteth also, that the Synod is not free, because every thing is first consulted at Rome, and nothing can be propounded, but as it pleaseth the

and a designe of the Pope is disappointed

The Emperours objections are yet more offensive.

Legats; and the Prelats who have interest in that Court, can not be impeded from their practices; he craves that the demands that were exhibited by his Ambassador and other Princes, concerning the Reformation, especially of the Roman Court, may have place of hearing; lastly he profereth to assist the Council personally, and entreats his Holiness, to do the like. It seemed unto the Pope, that the Emperour had gone beyond his sphere; and it was offensive, that he had sent coppies of this Letter unto Trent and other Princes: the Pope thought, this could be done for no other end, but to justify himself, and provoke them against Rome. For this cause the Pope sent about also to justify himself: and he wrote unto the Emperour, that he had called the Synod with his advice and of other Princes, not that the Apostolical See had need of any authority from them, seeing he hath fullness of power from Christ; All antient Councils were called by the Bishop of Rome, and the Princes were executors of his will; he had likewise intended a compleet end of the Synod for the service of God; The consulting at Rome is not prejudicial unto the liberty of the Synod, because none was ever celebrated in absence of the Pope, but have ever received instructions from Rome, and followed them, as he alledged some instances: And when the Pope was present, he only did propound the particulars, yea he only did conclude, and the Synod did only approve, &c. Finally he was desirous to assist the Synod for rectifying the disorders thereof, but in respect of his old age and weighty affaires it is impossible, that he can go unto Trent. Likewise the Pope considered that the Emperour and King of France did not mind the Synod, but upon account of their several interests and the satisfaction of their subjects; and thought that those could not unite, but Spain were all catholiks: wherefore he resolves to deal with that King by promises. Mean while Seripando dieth March 17, and the two Legats were sent away with a common Letter of fair words unto the Synod, and a commission to bring nothing unto a conclusion: And Moron had his instructions apart.

The confusions of the Synod are plained by the Cardinal of Lor-rain.

XIV. In all those sixe or seven months the difficulties at Trent were seven principally; 1. that decree of propounding matters by the Legats only. 2. whether the residence of Prelats be *de jure Divino*? 3. whether Bishops were instituted by Christ? 4. concerning the authority of the Pope. 5. to augment the number of the Synod's Secretaries, and keeping an exact account of the suffrages. 6. concerning the general Reformation. 7. and the communion of both kinds. When the Pope and Princes saw, that they could not compass their particular designs by this Council, each one began to search other means. And first the Pope sent Cardinal Moron unto Ispruc with propositions, that the Emperour would not go unto Trent, and consent to transfer the Synod unto Bologna, &c. And he promised concurrence in effectuating his designs. But Ferdinand trusting to obtain his desires in the Council in respect of his vicinity, and partly hoping to prevail with other Princes, would not consent, and yet refused not absolutely. Charles King of France sent one Ambassador to Spain, another to Trent, a third to Germany, and fourth unto the Pope, to make proposition of removing the Council unto Constance, or Worms; or some other place of Germany, because respect must be had unto the Germans, England, Scotland and a part of France, and other Nations, who will never accept that of Trent. The Legates permitted many Prelats to depart, especially them who were for residence, and all the Frenches went away, except one or two Benedictines, who lived (for the time) in the Mo-

Monaſtry of Trent. Charles Cardinal of Lorrain ſhew unto Ferdinand and his Son King of the Romans, that ſeing the Princes and Prelats had different deſignes, it is impoſſible, the Synod can ſatiffy all their deſires; in matters of the Chalice, uſe of the vulgare language, marriage of prieſts and ſuch propounded by his Maſteſty and the French King, the King of Spain nor the Princes of Italy will never conſent; in the Reformation, every one would reform others, and himſelf be untouched; and each would have the glory of Reformation, and continue in the abuſes, laying the blame upon the Pope alone: Therefore ſeing the Synod can do no good, it is neceſſary to diſſolve it the beſt way they can. Thus the Princes layd aſide all hope, and they reſolve, not to oppoſe the diſſolution, yet ſo that they will not make a ſuddain reſtrait. The Cardinal of Lorrain was the chief Actor in all that followes. The Pope hearing how ſo many Princes and Biſhops hearkened unto his words, envited him to come unto Rome, and made liberal promiſes unto him. After the 19 day of May all doctrines were ſlipped-over lightly with little or no reſiſtance, except that the Venetians ſtrove for, and obtained a correction of a decree, that was framed againſt the lawfullneſs of marriage after divorce, becauſe their Republick hath the Iſles of Cyprus, Candy, Corſu, Zante and Cephalonia, where the inhabitants are Greeks, and from all antiquity have put away their wiſes for fornication, and taken another wiſe, neither were ever condemned for this cauſe by any Synod. Some difficulty was for reformation: for the Ambaſſadors urge the Reformation of the clergy, becauſe their corruptions had been the fountain of all the hereſies. The Ultramontans imputed all the corruptions unto the Roman Court. The Courtiers willing to ſatiffy the Pope, and do no prejudice to themſelves, did conſult how to divert that purpoſe: and to this end they propound the Reformation of Princes. The Orators give notice of this unto the Princes; and in the Synod they ſay; The Fathers were aſſembled at firſt for extirpation of hereſies, and Reformation of the clergy, and not for any Secular cauſe. The Legats reply, The Reformation of the Church in all her members, appertaines unto the Synod: And they advertiſe the Pope. Then the Pope haſtened to finiſh more then ever before; and of this he wrote unto his Nuntij in Germany, Spain and France; and ſpake of it unto the Ambaſſadors lying at Rome. With the Oratours of the Italians he uſed this conceit: he ſaid, he would think him more obliged unto them in this particular, then if they had aided him with Arms in a great neceſſity. Then he inſtruſteth the Legats, that they ſhould aim at the finiſhing of the Synod, and grant whatſoever is neceſſary thereunto, yet admitting ſo few things prejudicial, as is poſſible: all which he referres unto their prudence. They did ſo; gaining prelats by private colloquies; ſatiffying Orators with promiſes according to their ſeveral intereſts, and making ſhew to pleaſe all parties by plauſible and ambiguous canons. Theſe were amaſſed privately, and (the prelats being preoccupied) were propounded publickly for conſent only. But the moſt prudent did ſufficiently underſtand, that there was no purpoſe to remove nor moderate the former abuſes: ſome ſmal errors of the remote Churches were noted only, ſo that it was verified, They ſtrain out gnats, and remove not beams. Some ſhewes were made of reforming ſome greater abuſes, but with reſervation of the Pop's intereſt. Before the Cardinal of Lorrain returned from Rome, De Ferriers the French Ambaſſador (according to his inſtruſtions) proteſted againſt their proceeding in Reformation of Princes:

Nota.

Acceleration to an end.

and so did the Spaniard. But Ferdinand was fully persuaded by his Son to give way off finishing the Synod, because there is no hope of any quietnes unto Germany by it, and it hindereth other courses, that may be had at home. The Pope was glad of his consent, but those protestations vexed him, untill the Car. of Lorrain said, De Ferriers had done so, not by new instruction from the King Charles, but an older from the King of Navar; and he undertook to procure the Kings consent. Then the Pope sent this Cardinall with order to finish, albeit with distast of the Spaniard: for he knew how to appease him. As for Reformation of princes in patronages, presentations, power over the clergy and subiects. . . . They should not descend to any particulare, but renew the antient canons without anathematism; If any difficulty shall arise in other particulars, reserve that unto him, and he will provide sufficiently. When he was gone, the pope sent a form of finishing the Council; to wit, All things that were defined under Paul and Julius should be confirmed, and it should be declared that all those were done in this one Council; and in all thing the authority of the Apostolical See should be preserved; confirmation of the decrees should be demanded of the pope; All the Fathers should subscribe, and after them the Ambassadors; and leaving in the power of the Legats and the Car. of Lorrain, to ad, diminish or change according to opportunity. All those were done so: but this information was kept secret, untill the Council was dismissed.

Precipitation of the decrees.

X V. In Session 24. November 11. the decrees were read, of marriage, and of Reformation. Because some opposition was made, some canons of marriage were omitted, and some of Reformation, as if these had been precipitated: it was appointed to correct them in the congregation; and the next Session was appointed to December 9. with power of anticipation. November 14. Lorrain in a privat conference with the Legats; and some Bishop of every Nation, propounded the ending of the Council: they all (except the Spaniards) upon the above-named motives do consent. Then the matter of indulgences, purgatory, images, and Reformation of Monasteries was quickly dispatched, without debating or dispute, but only by suffrages. The lude, the Missal, Ritual, Breviary and Agends were reserved unto the Pope; and the Session by anticipation was held December 3. and 4. When the decrees from the beginning untill this time were read, a Secretary going in the midst, asked, Whether the Fathers were pleased to make an end of the Synod? and, Whether the Presidents in name of the Council should crave confirmation of the decrees from the Pope? They answered not one by one, but all together, *places*. Then the prime Legate gave unto every one there present, and who had assisted in the Council, a plenary indulgence: then blessing the Council, he dismissed the Fathers. Car. Lorrain (as if he had been a deacon) roaring, and the Fathers answering, wished eternal felicity unto the PP. Paul and Julius, all happiness unto Pius 4; eternal memory unto Charles 5. Emperour, and long life unto Ferdinand and all Princes and protectors of the Council: then they gave thanks unto the Legats and Cardinals; they wished long life and safe return unto the Bishops; they commended the faith of this Synod as the faith of Saint Peter; they denounced anathema against all hereticks, without particular mention of any; and they commanded the Fathers to subscribe the decrees.

Consultation at Rome

XVI. The Legats return to Rome before Christmes. There was a dispute about the confirmation of the decrees. The Pope would have sub.

subscribed simply: but some Courtiers said, It hath been decreed against plurality of Benefices, and against No-residence of prelates; and if they shall henceforth practise contrarily, the people, who are not capable of expressed exceptions and reservations, will be ready to calumniat. For this reason some who had bought their places, and feared the losse of them, demanded restitution. Some advised to confirm the decrees of faith presently, and to proceed in maturity with the others; for some of them deserve consideration in respect of their confusion, and the impossibility of some that have need of dispensation; It is better to moderate them in time, then first to strengthen them by confirmation, and afterwards to moderate them. Car. Amulius said, Those forty years bypast the world was crying for a general Council, as the only and soverain remedy of the present maladies of Christendom; but if so soon as it is ended, question be made of moderating, correcting or leaving it in suspense without confirmation, it will be a manifestation, that necessary provision hath not been found at Trent; and then other means will be sought by National Synods or other ways: but if the decrees be approved as a perfect Reformation, and giving as far execution as is possible, many will believe that nothing is wanting; and nothing is more necessary, then to spread a fame of the Council, that it hath prescribed a perfect Reformation; not suffering it to be known, that any Cardinal doubteth, but that it hath performed all, for which it was called; By so doing, the humours of men will be quieted by degrees, and his Holiness may provide for his Ministers by dispensations: for his Apostolical authority is reserved in the decrees; and in time things will insensibly (the world not observing it) return to their own posture: yea, and if this course be not taken, the world (which alwayes makes the worst interpretation) will nullify all the decrees, if there be any alteration, or the confirmation be delayd; yea, they will say, The Legates approve this oration: but it was opposed by all the Offices of Court almost, representing their own losses, and that it will turn to the diminution of his Holiness revenues. Hugo Boncompagne Bishop of Vesta (afterwards a Cardinal) said, He could not but marvel at their vain fears, seeing greater authority can not be given unto these decrees, then unto former Councils and Decretals, and nevertheless the Pope may dispence with them: and a law consists not in words, but in the sense, neither in that which the vulgares and Grammarians give unto it, but which custom and authority do confirm; Lawes have not power but what is given them by him who governeth and hath the charge to execute them: he may give them a more ample or stricter sense, yea and contrary unto that which they do import; and to withstand the temerity of Doctors, who, the more ignorant they are of government, presume the more to interpret lawes, whereby authority is confounded; therefore all men should be forbidden to write upon the decrees; And if his Holiness would ordain, that Judges in all their doubts should resort unto the Apostolical See, none shall be able to make use of the Council in prejudice of the Court. And as there is a Congregation, that with good fruit is set over the Inquisition, so his Holiness may appoint another for expounding the decrees of this Council, unto whom all doubts may be referred from all parts of the world; This being done, (said he) he foresawe, that by the decrees of the Council, the authority of the Apostolical See, the prerogatives and liberties of the Roman Church, will not only not be diminished, but enlarged, if they know how to make use of those means. All were persuaded with those reasons, and this Over-

ture was followed. January 26. *An.* 1564. a decree was enacted, conform to this oration in all points, to wit, confirmation, monition, inhibition and reservation: and the Acts of the Council were published with a Bull containing this decree.

How the
Decrees
were ac-
cepted
by others

XVII. Behold now, how those decrees were accepted by others. It was said every where, One party had taken notice of the cause, and another had pronounced the Sentence, seeing the decrees had not authority from the Synod, but from the confirmation of the Pope, who in his decree saith, that he had seen the decree of craving his confirmation, and speakes not of his seeing any other decree; but it is more reasonable, that the decrees should have their authority from such who had examined and voiced unto them, then from him, who had not seen them. Vnto this it was replied, It was not necessary, the Pope should read them, seeing nothing was concluded at Trent, but what he had defined before. More particularly; the King of Spain disssembled not, that the Council did not please him; and he called the Bishops and clergy together, to consider what was to be done with the decrees: and at command of the King and his Counsell, Synods were that year, and Presidents were sent to every one of them, and these did propound what decrees seemed good unto the King. This was offensive unto the Pope, but he disssembled for a time. In France many particulars were objected by the Parliament against the Car. of Lorrain as permitting them to pass in prejudice of that kingdom; namely, those words, *The Pope hath the care of the whole Church*, by which he had forsaken a main Fort, for which both the King and the French Bishops had foughten a long time, *The Council's authority is above the Pope*; and he might have helped it easily, if he had vied the phrase of the Apostle, *The care of all the Churches*, 2 in prejudice of the Councils authority he had permitted in all the decrees a reservation of the authority of the Apostolical See, and the craving of confirmation of the decrees, And sundry other particulars; As also the Centumviral Court of Paris objected other particulars; but all concerning those which were called The articles of Reformation. His defense was, ^What could he and sixe Prelats do against 200. and there was a special Act, that nothing was done in prejudice of the liberties of France. Vidus Faber replied, that he and his Colleague had diligently sought that Act, but could not find it; and in humane affaires not to appear is not to bee. But all those objections were nothing to what the Bishops and Divines and their servants told scurrilously, of the contentions and factions of the Fathers, and their particular designes; and generally, This Council was of more authority then the Council of the Apostles, seeing these defined nothing but what seemed good unto the Holy Ghost; and this Synod layd the foundation of their decrees, *visum est nobis*. In Germany both Papists and Protestants objected more against the canons of doctrine; as, they command the Bishop to teach wholesom doctrine of purgatory; without any declaration what that doctrine is; The Council was assembled especially for the grievances against indulgences, and they had defined nothing, but wish moderation according to the antient and approved custom of the Church; albeit in the Eastern Churches was never use of those indulgences, nor in the Western before Urban 2. or the year 1095. so far as any man can find; and after that untill the year 1300. was little use of them, or but for freedom of the Confessor's iniunctions. Likewise the Emperour and the Duke of Bavier sent Letters severally unto Rome, craving liberty of the cup, and of marriage unto the Priests. And the clergy of Germany sent
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third remonstrance, shewing a necessity of granting liberty of marriage, by authority of the old and new Testament, and the practise of the primitive Church, and of the Eastern Church unto this day; as it was never more necessary then at this time, when amongst fifty priests one scarcely can be found, who is not a notorious whoor-monger; and it is absurd to permitt whoorish priests, and exclude the married; and to exclude them both were as if you would have none. The Pope referred these Letters unto the consideration of the Cardinals: and they would not yeeld. March 12. the Pope promoted 19 Cardinals in reward of their service in the Council unto the Apostolicall See; and he would not promote any who had spoken for residence of Bishops, or that their institution is *De Jure Divino*. So *far. Te. Soave in Hist. Conti. Trident.* Likewise Ge. Abbot writing against *Hill. in Reas.* 9. shewes out of *Declarat. du Roy de Navarr.* that Charles I X. sent his Ambassadors and Bishops unto Trent with large instructions for reformation of the clergy; but when nothing could be obtained, he caused his Ambassadors protest against the Council, and return home. So they did, and those Bishops came also away; and nevertheless amongst the subscribers is mention of 26 French Prelats, as if they had subscribed: There it is also, that after the Massacre in the year 1572. some thinking that to be an opportunity of seeking confirmation of the Synod, did propound it: but it was refused in all the Chambers. The like motion was made *An.* 1585. and with the same happ. The Reformed wrot against the decrees, namely, Calvin wrote his *Antidotum* against the Acts under Pope Paul; and Chemnitius wrote against them all, and calleth them a horrible chaos of monstrous errors. Here by anticipation it may be added, that the Jesuits were employd [as stout champions] at Rhems, Doway and Lovan, to maintain the decrees; who carried themselves so happily, that for defense of these errors they vented many others, that were scarcely heard before: lastly Card. Beliarmin as the chief champion, and others of that colledge at Rome were commanded by Pope Gregory XIII. to bring all the controversies into one body or system. That work brought forth (by the providence of God) a threefold benefit unto posterity; 1. A more perfect body of Popish errors then ever was published before. 2. A manifest proof of the jarrings and divisions of the Doctors in the Roman Church: for albeit they glory of Unity among themselves, yet in every controversy (almost, yea very few excepted) the contrary judgement of their Doctors is brought expressly. 3. Albeit all the errors of Trent are maintained there *expressso*; and many errors are falsly imputed unto Luther, Calvin and others, yet there the reformed Church is fairly cleared from many errors, which other Papists impute falsly unto us: and more over sometimes in sisting and stating a question, he maintaines what we hold and refutes another, and maintaines what he denied in the proper place, and by those two meanes he gives testimony unto the truth in all the chief controversies, as Jo. Ernest Gerhard hath collected in his Book *Bellarminus ORTHODOXIAS testis*. And about that time came forth another edition of the Decrees at Trent with references upon the margine of each canon unto other books of the Schoolmen, where to find those points handled: and those references being published by authority of the Court, might serve for a commentary, without any change of the decrees; if it should be challenged, even though the reference be contrary to the decree.

CENTURY XVJ.

PART IIJ.

C H A P. J.

Of P O P E S.

I. **P**IUS V. Was not inferiour unto any Pope in dissembling, in some outward things he made a shew of godlines. When he was crowned, he said unto the Cardd. that they should ask nothing from him, that were contrary to equity, or to the Councell of Trent. He brought some of the Court, namely, the Penitentiaries and procurators of the Chancelery (but not the Cardd.) into some moderation: he most severely discharged all selling of Benefices: he restrained the wickednes of priests some what: he would have all the Jewes dwell at Rome or Ancona: he would have expelled all the professed whoores out of Rome, but when the Romanes shew him, what a part of his revenues he would want, he suffered them in a corner by themselves, and appointed unto them their own preachers, and thereafter some bordellers were married. But in the articles of Religion and idolatrous worship, he made no Reformation. He gave licence unto Charles an archduke of Austria to marry his sisters-daughter: and when Joachim-Frederik son of the Electour of Brandenburg married the daughter of his uncle, the Pope rageth, partly because he was (in the Popes judgement) an heretick, and partly because he was chosen Primate of Germany and administrator of the episcopall Colledge of Magdeburg, without licence of the Pope and then had married his own cousine without dispensation: therefore he consulted, how to de-throne him: but the puissance of his father and father in law seemed to withstand all the power, that the Pope could make against him. *Ofian. cent. 16. Lib. 3. c. 62. 66. 67. ex Beuth. & Nigrin.* In his Bull against Queen Elisabet he saith, Christ hath made the Pope the only Prince over all Nations and kingdoms, and applieth unto himselfe properly, what was said figuratiuely to the prophet, *Jere. 1. I have set thee over nations, &c.* In his bull before the Breviary he complains of the multitude of Missales and Breviaries vsed in his time, and he commandeth that one for all, except those that had been in use above 200 years. So that as yet there is not an uniformity among them, as some would make the simple folk believe. He did confirm all the liberties that were granted by any of his predecessours unto all and every sort of begging friers, and did discharge all Bishops from restraining them in any way. Before his time were some footsteps of antient truth to be seen in the Canon-law; but this Pope commanded *Thomas Maurig.* Master of the Apostolicall palace, to review both the decrees and the decretales, and blot out of them what was offensive (as they spoke) and so in the year 1572. the Canon-law came forth with many defects, as I did touch before, when I spoke of Gratian: here I add one or two examples. Dist. 1. C. 1. the glosse saith, Apocrypha, that is, without a certain authour, as, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit and the book of Maccabees: these are called *apocryphi*, and yet are read,

but perhaps not generally. *De pœnit. dist. in princi. utrum*, the glosse saith, Sines are forgiven neither by contrition of the heart, nor by confession of the mouth, but only by the grace of God. *Ibid dist. 3. c. 25.* the glosse saith, in baptisme originall sin is washed away, that it shall not hurt, but not, that it is not: He did the like with many others Writers, namely, with the work of Cardinal Cajetan, as appeares by comparing the lately printed Commentary on Tho. Aquin. with the edition at Venice *An. 1523.* This Impius was a most cruell enemy of them, who would not embrace the Canons at Trent: and therefore he caused burn many at Rome, as Julius Zoanetus, Pet. Carnesius, Bart. Bartoccius, Aonius Palearius, &c. He attempted many things against Elisabeth Queen of England (whom he did excommunicate) and against the Neither-Landes: he stirred up the civill wars of France, and was the prime plotter of the massacre *An. 1572*, but sawe it not, for he died in May preceeding. In the election of the Pope it was then an appointment of the Colledge, that none should be chosen without consent of the two parts: the King of Spain knowing this appointment, hath by pensions and preferments assured a third part of them, to be at his devotion in the election: and so he hath exclusive power, that without him a Pope can not be chosen. He proceeds also by his Oratour, to propound and name four or five, of whom if they chuse one, he is satisfied. The colledge distastes this course: but there is no remedy: therefore next discretion is to chuse one whom they do judge least able or willing to follow him. At that time they were mightily enflamed, and banded themselves against him: nevertheless in end the publick necessity and their own particulares made them yeeld unto one of his nomination. But because the means of attaining and maintaining the Papall crown are clean contrary (in the one fashioning themselves unto all mens humours, and in the other, looking that all men should accommodate themselves unto the Papall honor) the King is often disappointed of his aim. *Sande's Relation.*

II. GREGORY XIII. did use many meanes to restore Popery, and to confirm the power of the Pope every where: for this cause he erected two colledges of Jesuits or Seminaries at Rome in favours of Germanes and Englishes, and gave unto them large revenues, but such as had before appertained unto other Societies, as the English Jesuites in their apologic *ch. 2. sect. 6.* (which was answered by *Tho. Bilson*) say, that the foundation of their colledge was instituted long before to an hospitall of their Nation. The Popes aim was, that so many Germanes and Englishes being Jesuited there, might be employed to bring back Germany and England under the yoke of Rome: and the Jesuites did vant, that this Pope had gifted them with large revenues. He also did foment the wars in France and Low-Countries; and he pressed the Emperour to expell all Protestants out of his own inheritance, if not out of the Empire. By his Bull *An. 1572.* he did annull all power given by other Popes concerning the *Index expurgatorius* and forbidden books, as not being done sufficiently, and gave another order with command to be only acknowledged. Where as Pope Pius V. had ordained many passages to be blotted out of the Canon-law, Gregory caused restore some of these passages, but added another glosse contrary unto the text. He kept the Jubilee *An. 1575*, and on March 31. he caused publish his Bull, excommunicating all Hussites, Wickelevists, Lutheranes, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Hugonots, Anabaptists, Trinitarianes, and all others dissenting from the Church of

(nbbb)

Rome,

Rome, and all their abettours, and all that have or print or sell any of their books . . . and ordaining that this Bull shall be published by all Patriarches & Ordinaries in every place, at least once every year in all Churches, After that year he sent Indulgences unto the Bishops of Germany without money, but only for saying so many *Pater nosters*, and so many *Ave Maryas* and for so many almes. In the year 1577. he confirmed the Fraternity of the Virgine Mary, and by Bull he gave Indulgences for a year unto all who would say a Rosen crown unto the Virgine, that is, if they would say five *Pater nosters*, and fifty *Ave Maryas*. Under pretence of planting Christian Religion, he planted the Jesuits in Poland, Transylvania, Livonia, East and West Indies, &c. Whence it is, that the Jesuites do write so much of their miracles in remote Countries, and that they have baptised so many thousands, which were paganes: but they may the more boldly say so, because few in Europe can controle them in the particulars. He made his base son Charles boncompagno Marques of Vincola, and then Duke of Sora; and he was so liberall of Peters revenues unto his friends, that Papirius Masson the writer of his life is faine to apologize him for it. He published a Bull dated *Tusculi An. 1581. 6. cal. Marti.* wherein he writs thus; Seing the Fathers of the Councell at Trent were interrupted by time, that they could not finish the Breviary as they intended, and they had by decree referred all that matter unto the judgement and authority of the Romane Pope; and in the Breviary are two things principally, towit, one containes prayers & hymnes, that should be said on holy and unholy daies; and the other belongeth unto the yearly recourses of Easter and other movable feasts; and Pope Pius had perfected and published the former, and the other had been oft attempted by Pope Pius but could not be effectuat, untill Anton. Lilius a Doctor of Medecin brought now unto the Pope a book written by his brother Aloisius, wherein is a new Calendary, which the Pope had caused to examin, and found it to be perfect; Therefore the Pope by his authority dischargeth all men from using the old calendare any more, Under pain of Gods indignation, and of bl. Peter and Paul, &c. This Bull is prefixed unto that Calendare. Hence began the difference of *Stylo vetere & novo* or *Gregoriano*, which do differ in this age in ten daies; for example, the eleventh day of January in *stylo novo*, is the first day in the old style; and so forth of all other dayes, and ther is more uncertain difference in the movable feasts. Hence many contentions arose, and different opinions: for some find faults in both: Some said, The Pope had no warrant from God, to charge men to forsake the old, and accept the new, Vnder pain of Gods wrath: some said, the change would make many confusions in civill contracts and negotiatiōs. Especially when the Emperour Rodulph at command of the Pope did commend this calendare unto the Princes and Estates of the Empire, they of the Reformed Church refused it, not that they would disobey Cæsar, but because of the Popes Bull, which they would not acknowledge. He died Anno 1585.

III. SIXTUS V, as if he had a purpose to reform the Romane Church, enjoynes residence to Bishops, and he ordaines that adulterers shall be beheaded, and gave hope in other particulars, to reduce the Church into antient purity. But he had been Generall of the Franciscanes, and Head of the Inquisition in Spain: and in the year 1587. he caused renewe the *Liga sancta* or ungodly and bloody league, wherein he and his confederates did engage themselves to destroy all Protestants. VV hereupon

upon the King of Spain by aid of the Pope made that attempt against England & Scotland in the year 1588. The Pope did blesse that Navy, and God did curse it. The Councell of Trent had declared the old Translation of the Bible to be only authentick; and albeit there were many different editions of it, yet it was not declared what edition they did approve. Before the Councell many had published the old Latine with severall alterations: after the Councell the Vniversity of Lovan corrected it, by adding many words on the margine, whereof some are noted by W. Whitaker, *de Scriptura, controver.* 1. qu. 2. c. 10, and he calleth that the latest edition of the Bible. Then Pope Sixtus taking into consideration, that there were abroad above 60 sundry editiones of it, each differing from other, therefore by advice of his Colledge he causeth compare severall copies, and out of them publisheth one, which he straitly commandeth to be received as the only true Vulgare Translation, and by his bull abolishes all others, that did not exactly agree with that Edition *ad literam*, Under pain of his curse. He died *An.* 1590. *August* 26.

IV. URBAN VII. was elected Septemb. 15, and died on the 27 day of the same month.

V. GREGORIE XIV. was crowned Decemb. 5, and died October 15 in the year 1591.

VI. INNOCENTIUS IX. Sat two months, and died Decemb. 29. These were so soon taken away not without suspicion of poison: for many were ambitious of the triple mitre.

VIII. CLEMENS VIII. Observes many defects and faults in the Edition of the Bible, that was authorized by Sixtus V: therefore he publisheth another edition with a new declaration, whereby he authorizeth his own edition. So that now all Papists ly under the curse of the one Pope or the other, and are involued into a pitifull necessity, either to use no Bible, or then to ly under one Popes curse. I have seen an edition at Antwerp whereunto is added a catalogue of the differences betwixt these editions of the two Popes to the number of some hundreds: the author professes to have collected them for the use of Printers; and to discern what book shall afterward be corrupt: but he clearly demonstrats the opposition of the two Popes, and how they both condemned the canon of Trêr in establishing the edition that was then in use. In clemens time Alfonso Count d'Este died without Children, and left the Dutchy of Ferrara unto his brothers bastard sonne Cæsar a Cardinal: but clemens (as supreme Lord of the same) would not consent: wherefore these two took armes *An.* 1598: but the Cardinal was faine to yeeld and a peace was concluded, that the Pope shall have Ferrara, and give the other the lands of Mutina, Regium Lepidi, &c. With the title Duke of Mutina. About Marfiles great whales troubled the sailers, that they durst not go to the sea: the Chanons of that City sent unto Clemens, and craved, that all the whailes may be excommunicated. The Pope grants the petition, and sendeth unto the Bishop of Marfiles a power to excommunicate the whales: but whither the fishes understood of this overture, it is not great matter: yet they were seen no more. In the beginning of the year 1660. Tibris did overflow, and did much harm unto the City: wherefore the Pope sent Monforius a priest, to say some prayers, and cast a hostie into the river; but the inundation was not so obedient. He kept the Jubilee the same year, and received into the hospitall of Rome 1400. men and women coming to buy indulgences: some Cardinals and others of good quality, and noble

ble matrones served the strangers: but they excommunicate all which will not worship the Beast. Among others Pet. Mendoza a Master of Malta come to kisse the Popes foot. When the year was ended, the Pope commanded to shut the golden porte, where he had given the Indulgences: he said the last Masse of that yeare, and layd the first stone at the shutting of the porte; and *die Concordia* he gave his blessing unto all who sought the grace of the Jubilee: many came from that place creeping on their knees. Hee fate 13 yeares.

CHAP. II.

Of EMPERORS.

I. **M**AXIMILIAN II. before his election was thought to be alienated from the See of Rome: therefore Cardinal Marcus attemp's Pope Pauls nephew was directed to persuade him unto obedience with tender of honor, especially of the Empire after his father, which else he could not attain. He answered, His souls savety was dearer unto him than all the world. This was called a Lutheran answer. *De Sove in hist. Conc. Tride. Lib. 5.* Again when he was crowned King of the Romanes An. 1563, the Pope demanded, that he should swear obedience, as other Emperours had done before. He answered, other Emperours had their own difficulties, for which they did swear what the Popes did require, but he would consent to nothing in prejudice of his successours, and to swear obedience were to confesse himself a vassall. This treaty continued a year, and in end it was concluded, that the Pope shall confirm the election, without saying, that obedience was demanded or not demanded, promised or not promised. *Ibid.* He lamented, when he considered the renting of the Church with so many different opinions: nevertheless he maintained peace, and no way hindered the gospel, and he maintained a Protestant Minister Phauserus in his Court for a space: he was oft at Masse, nor did abrogate papistry. He said once to William Bishop Olovincensis, There is no greater sin, than to domineer over mens consciences. At another time he said, Who take on them to command mens consciences, they climbe into the castle of heaven. In the beginning of his reigne he refused to pay unto Solyman the acknowledgement which his father had covenanted to pay for the peaceable possession of his part of Hungary: and in the year 1566. he had his first Diet at Ausburgh, where he sought subsidy against the Turk. The Protestants sought a confirmation of the peace in the cause of Religion, and then it was established not only by universal consent, but confirmed also by oath, that the Catholicks should not trouble the Protestants in the exercise of their Religion, nor in the possession of their goods moveable nor vnmmoveable; and that the Protestants should permit the like liberty unto the Papists within their dominions; Under pain of Outlawry to the transgressors, on both sides; As also it should be free unto any person to turn from the one Religion unto the other, if they do hold their lands of the Emperour immediately, but if any Archb. or other Prelat will embrace the Reformed Religion, he should renounce his Benefice with all its reveaues to be conferred on a Papist; excepting those goods or Monasteries, which belonged

ged not unto them that are immediatly subject unto the Emperour, and have been possessed by the Reformed since the year 1552, so that no plea of law should have any power against them, &c. This agreement is word for word in *Geo. Schonbor. Politic. Lib. 4. c. 6.* After this Diet Maximilian invaded Transylvania, and took Wesperin and Dosis. Wherefore Solyman came with a hudge army to aid John Vaivoda Prince of Transylvania, and took some towns from the Emperour. In the mean time Solymandierth: but his Captain Mahumet a Bassa concealed his death, untill Selim was created successor unto his father: then they took no towns, that Maximilian sought peace, and obtained it upon harder conditions than before. The same year 1567. William a Grumbach a Nobleman, but a vassall of the Bishop of Wirtzburg took armes in the aid of the Marques of Brandeburg, against his superior: where the Bishop outlawed him, and brought him to poverty: yet he found favour with John-Frederik Duke of Saxony and some others: he with some horsemen invades Wirtzburg; and surpriseth it: ere the Bishop raised an army, the surprisers were gone hither and thither. They began another plot: the Emperour sent Augustus Elector of Saxony against them: he prevailed: John-Frederik was sent prisoner into lower Austria: Grumbach and his Chancelor Duke Bruck were quartered: Baron Baumgartner and some others were beheaded, and the castle of Grimmenstain was made levell with the ground. Such was the end of proud rebels. Maximilian lived the rest of his dayes in peace. *An. 1470.* the Turks wanne Nicosia a chief town of Cyprus, and Famaugusta or Salamys, after a years seige, and contrary to the conditions of rendring, Bragadin Governour of the town was excoriat quick, at command of the Bassa, Mustapha; and others were most cruelly murdered. So all Cyprus was taken from Christians. Then the Venetians (who had possessed it 200 years) made a league with the Pope and King of Spain; John Duke of Austria a sone of Charles V. was Generall of the Navy: the battell was fought in the firth of Corinth, aliàs, Golfo de Lepanto: 25000. Turks were slain, 1000. captive, and almost all their Navy with rich spoile came into the handes of Christians: 14000. captive Christians were delivered. *An. 1575.* Maximilian fought by many meanes to have been chosen King of Poland, and when Steven Prince of Transylvania was preferred, he was never seen to be joviall again. He caused his son Rodulph be chosen King of the Romanes in a Diet at Ratisbon, and died in time of the Diet in Octob. 1576. *Tet. Mexia.*

II RODULPH II. immediatly after his coronation sent to Rome, and sought not only confirmation, but to be declared the eldest sonne of the Church. He held his first Diet at Ausburg, *An. 1582;* where was no talk of Religion, but only he urged the Gregorian Calendare, and sought aid against the Turks. He took armes against Gebhard Bishop of Colein, because he forsook the Pope as followes. *An. 1584.* Rodolph and Amurath III. Emperour of Turks made truce for 93 years: but the same year in October 10000 Turks invade the landes of Carniola: they burnt and wasted sundry towns and villages, and carried away Christians of both sexes in captivity: within two dayes a company of Christians meet them in Croatia: they deliver the Christians, and routed the Turks. *Osfand.* In the year 1592. Amurath thought to have made conquest of all Hungary, and entred into Croatia: then followed continuall wars untill the year 1606, victory enclining now to the one hand, and then to the other. Rodulph had a league with the Duke of Muscove, and received

supplied both of men and money against Amurath. Rodulph reigned 36. years.

C H A P. IIJ.

Of Diverse COUNTRIES.

*Consultatio
Cassanderi.*

J. BY the preambulatory pieces before Ge. Cassanders consultation, it is cleare, 1. from the testimony of Ja. Thuan, that the Emperour Ferdinand was not satisfied with the Council of Trent, and though too late, he perceived, that he was deceived by Cardinal Moron: wherefore he took another course, to compose the controversies in Religion: when he could not find remedy abroad, he would do his best at home. So with the advice of his son Maximilian, he sent for George Cassander (living then in Duisburg) to shew some way of conciliating the controversies of the Augustan Confession. His Letters were dated May 22. 1564. 2. The Emperours purpose, was that if by the advice of prudent men he could effectuat no more, yet he might have a settled form of Religion in Hungary, Bohem and his other hereditary Dominions. Cassander was not able to make travell, because he was goutish. But after another Letter from the Emperour, and from King Ferdinand, he wrot his *Consultation* for that effect: before he sent it, Ferdinand was gone, and it was delivered unto Maximilian. None hath written against the *Consultatio*: it seemes, Papists would not write against it, because he holdeth that the Roman Church is a true Church, albeit corrupt, and it is a schism to depart from it. The Reformed writ not against it, because he maintaines the most and main articles of their doctrine. The book is scarce to be had but in a big volume with other his works: I therefore subjoyn a taste of it: and because some poison is in it, I add a litle antidot, which may be usefull unto some. In his preface unto the Emperour he shewes his Rule of judging; the evangelical and Apostolical Scripture, which being Divine and a most sure rule, the antients had used in judging of controversies after the departure of the Apostles: and because in such contentions ariseth controversy about the interpretation and sense of some passages of the Scriptures, it is necessary to have recourse unto the Universall consent of Writers, chiefly of those who lived in the time of the Emperour Constantin untill the time of Leo I. or of Gregory; yet so that it is not necessary, to produce the testimonies of them all, nor of the most part (which were an infinite work) but it is sufficient to bring one or two, by whom the judgement of the whol Church may be known; and with this caution, that every testimony of those Fathers may not be rashly received, seeing in many places they speak according to their privat judgement, and whereina even the most learned and best maintainers of the Apostolical and Catholick doctrine have not agreed with the safe unity of faith, but only such things as belong unto the confirmation of the Apostolical and Catholick tradition and have the weight of irrefragable and undoubted testimony, wherein they declare constantly the publick and common faith of the whole Church. His method is conform unto the Articles of the Augustan Confession. His principal scope seemes to be contained in the seventh Article *de vera Ecclesia*, where he holdes, that the true Church is always manifest; and though the

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present Roman Church hath departed from the primitive not a little in integrity of manners and discipline, yea and in sincerity of doctrine, yet she standes on the same foundation, and professeth communion with the antient Church, and therefore is one and the same, albeit different in many particulars; Neither should we separate from her, as Christ did not separat from the Jewish Church, albeit corrupt, neither did the Prophets nor Apostles violate the union, but only spake against her, and came out of her but by dissenting from the errors; neither did Cyprian and some others violat the union with the Roman Church, howbeit they did complain of the envy of the Roman clergy, and the pride of the Pope. This may be called his privat judgement, as he spake of others in his preface; and not the constant faith of the whole Church: that the Church should be manifest always, was not the judgement of Eliah 1. King. 19. 14.; nor of John, who prophecied of the woman fleeing into the wilderness *Revel.* 12; and it is without all doubt in the general, that in the dayes of the Antichrist the Church shall not be manifest. 2. he grantes that the Roman Church hath departed not a litle in manners and doctrine; but how far she hath departed, may be in some measure known by the history. 3. his advice, that we should not have departed from her, is a main question; but certainly his reason is not sufficient: for though our Saviour made not separation from the Jewish Church, yet he foretold, that when these labourers of the vine-yard shall have killed the heir, the vineyard shall be taken from them, and not a stone of their temple should be left upon another: Where was their Church then, if they had no place for their Religion? As for the Pophets and Apostles, distinguish the times: before the time was come, which God had appointed, they had no reason to depart: but when the appointed time was come, then they departed, and for this very point Steeven was Martyred *Act. 6. 14.* The same distinction serveth for the Roman Church: Cyprian and Paulin had no reason to violat the vnion, when she had not departed from the true faith; but when she became the whoore, and all nations had drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, then was the time to obey the commande, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. Gods people was with her and in her, and they must not only protest against their adulterous mother, but come out from her. Then for reconciliation of the Church, he seemes to despair, that ever they will accept of his Overture, towit, that those, who have given the cause of distraction; that is (saith he) the governors of the Church, would remit some what of their too much rigor, and yeeld a little for the peace of the Church, and following the wishes and admonitions of many good people, would reform the manifest abuses, according to the rule of Divine Scripture, and of the antient Church, from which they have departed; And next, that those who eschuing those vices, have fallen into the other extremity, would confess their faults, and return into the right way. In other Articles that differ from the Popish Church, he puts often a blame upon the Reformed; if not for their Tenet, yet for their practise. For example, of justification he saith, What is said in the fourth article, that men can not be justified before God by their own strength, merits or works, but are justified freely by faith, it was evermore allowed by the Church, and untill this day it is approved by all the writers of the Church; So that I wonder, why the Apology saith, that they are condemned in this article, as if it were taught, that men obtain remission of

sins for their own merits, and not freely for Christ's sake. Afterwards he cites the testimony of Bernard, saying, I consider three things, whereupon all my hopes stand, the love of adoption, the truth of the promise, and the power of performing: And (saith he) the Doctors of this age say not, that they teach doubting, whereby men should doubt of Gods mercy, and mistrust, but such fear of God, whereby a diligence of living well, and of keeping the received grace, may be stirred up and increased in us, as the Apostle saith, Work forth your salvation with fear and trembling: And they call this fear chaste and filial, which perfect love casts not forth, but retains and cherishes: Which fear hath always adjoynd confidence and hope of Gods fatherly good-pleasure; And seeing those things are taught to day in the Catholick Church, the Protestants do not rightly in accusing the present Church, that she bids and teaches to doubt of Gods favor, and of eternal life, and put this blasphemous doctrine (as they speak) among the chief causes, for which they should depart from her. *Of free will he saith on the 18. Article*, The sum of this controversy, which had been formerly and now is, consists in this, What the will of man can do to attain righteousness by which we are justified before God, is not to be ascribed unto the power of free-will corrupted by sin, but unto the singular grace of God; which we have not by nature, wherein we were created, and which is common unto us with the unbelievers and ungodly; but that grace which is by faith in JESUS CHRIST, which is given unto those only who have faith, by which grace a new will is not created, nor is will compelled unwillingly, but being infirm, it is healed; being corrupt, it is amended; and of bad is turned into good, and is drawn by a certain internal motion, that of unwilling it is made willing, and gladly consents unto the Divine call If any of the Schoolmen hath spoken inconveniently of this liberty of will, that should be reckoned among the opinions of privat persons, and the more wholesom writings of others should be opposed unto them, &c. It is to be marked, that he wrote this *Consultation* after the Council at Trent; and yet he takes not notice of their decrees, but accounteth them as the opinions of private persons; and under that name would bury them all; and as if the Reformed speaking against those errors did unjustly accuse the Church of Rome. On the 22. Article he saith, Concerning the administration of the Holy Eucharist, it is most sure, that the universal Church untill this day, and the Western or Romane for a thousand years, or more [*Marke, heer he distinguisheth between Vniuersal and the Roman Church*] in the solem dispensation of this Sacrament did give unto all members of Christ both the Kinds of bread and wine: which is manifest by innumerable testimonies of antient both Greek and Latine Authors; and this they did because Christ had so ordained, and practized, in giving both unto his Disciples representing the person of believing communicants. But those antients thought it not so necessary, as if upon necessity or any weighry cause the one could not be given without the other, or that it was not a true Sacrament, if the one only were taken. . . . and therefore they call not the dispensation of one Kind, wicked and sacrilegious for whatsoever cause it be done. . . . Nevertheless I think, there is none, if he consider this more diligently, but if the antient custom of the Church were restored . . . he would rather have the vvhole and entire Sacrament, then one part only. And on the 10. Article he saith, This article of the Lords Supper, is set down severall wayes in the confession: for in the first Latine

edition it's written thus, In the Supper of the Lord they teach, that the body and blood of Christ are verily there, and given unto them who eat in the Lords Supper: But the Dutch edition being translated word for word faith thus, Concerning the Lords supper it is taught so, that the very body and blood of Christ is verily present in the Supper under the kinds of bread & wine, and is given and taken there. But in another edition this way, Of the Lords supper they teach, that with the bread and wine the body & blood of Christ are truly given unto them who eat in the Lords Supper. In the Apology this article is expressed in those words, They teach that in the Lords supper the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present, and truly given with those things that are seen, the bread and wine, unto those who receive the sacrament; and the Apology witnesseth that this Article, being propounded in this manner, was not disproved by his Cæsarean Majesty. But although they who follow the opinion different from the followers of this confession, and is set up by Calvin, do contend that they agree well with this expression, because they think, that thereby no carnal or substantial presence of Christs body & blood with the signes of bread & wine (which may be received equally by the bad & good men) is concluded, yet afterwards the followers of this confession have in their writings declared their mind plainly enough, to wit, the body and blood of Christ in the bread & wine are received, not by faith only, but even by the mouth of the Body, by the unworthy as well as by the worthy. But in all these expressions of that Augustan confession, the controversy yet remains, Whether the body and blood of Christ be present in the very eating only? This is now taught plainly by them all, and expressly declared in the confession of Saxony, where they say, Men are taught, that the Sacraments are actions instituted by God, and without the the appointed use those things have not the nature of a sacrament, but in the appointed use in this communion Christ is truly and substantially present, and truly tendered unto the receivers of the body & blood of Christ, seeing not only the present Church, but also the antient and Catholick did ever think and teach, that this sacrament stands not in the action and use only, but after the consecration (which is done by the Lords words, and invocation of the Divine name) the body and blood of Christ is made of the substances of the bread & wine, and the virtue of the blessing is not lost; especially if it be reserved for the use of the sick: to which purpose are many testimonies..... Those are madd therefore, who say, that the mystical benediction ceaseth after the sanctification, if any part remain untill the next day: for the holy body of Christ is not changed, &c. *The faithfulness* of the author in this article, will be best known by inspection of the quoted places. Certainly there were alterations of this article in sundry editions of the Augustan confession: but who will read the Saxons confession, will soon find, that he wrongeth them; for they say expressly, Without the use whereunto they were ordained, the things themselves are not to be accounted for a sacrament, but in the use appointed, &c. Neither do they add one word of the remaining of Christs body after the use, as neither do they alledge any testimony to that purpose. So that his weakness appears in nothing more than in this article, and specially in that madd conclusion, which followes no way upon those testimonies: for though Irenæus saith, *That which is from earth, after it hath received the calling of God, is not now common bread, but the Eucharist consisting of two things, an earthly, and a heavenly;* and others speak in

that manner, will it therefore follow, that they are mad, who say, that the Elements are not the Sacrament without the use? And again that the doctrine of Calvin concerning the Sacrament was set up or begun by him; the author shewes his weakness, seeing an egg is not liker unto another, than that which Calvin taught, is like unto thole testimonies of the antients quoted in the same place. Of the Roman Highpriest, he saith on the 7. Article, Whereas for unity of the Church they require the obedience unto a chief Rector, who hath succeeded to Peter in ruling the Church of Christ, and in feeding his sheep, it is not different from the consent of the antient Church: Truly Ambrose calleth the Roman Bishop in his time the Rector of the whole Church of Christ: it is also certain, that of old, so far as the memory of the Church is extant, that the chief authority in the whole Church was given unto the Roman Bishop as the Successor of Peter and possessor of his chaire; which may be demonstred by innumerable testimonies of the most antient and grave men both Greek and Latine; as Irenæus, Tertullian, Opratus, Jerom, Ambrose, Basile, Chrysostom, Augustin, unto whom the Ecclesiastical Histories and Decrees of Councils agree: and I think, there had never been controversy among us for this point, unless the Roman Highpriests had abused this authority unto some kind of domineering, and had stretched it through ambition and covetousness, beyond the bounds, that were prescribed by Christ and the Church: but this abuse of the Pontifician power, which the flatterers did at first enlarge beyond measure, gave occasion to think amiss of, yea and to fall off altogether from that Pontifician power, which he had by universal consent of the whole church; which I think, may be recovered if he would return unto the bounds, that were prescribed by Christ and the antient church, &c. Here are fair pretences, but no less untrue: for the Augstian Confession requires no such obedience, nor did Christ prescribe it, no nor the vniuersal Church, as the preceding part of this history shew clearly: was not this the main strife betwixt the Greek and the Latines? and did not the African church oppose it? neither do any of those named antients avouch it, as is cleared in many polemical treatises. In some articles he neither blameth the Confession, nor can excuse the Roman Church; as on the 12. article he saith, From the custom of canonical punishments, which were publickly enjoined unto the penitents for a prescribed time, indulgences were hatched: for when the Bishops saw the diligence or weakness of repentants, they might deal the more courteously & meekly with them, and diminish some thing of the time, or of the rigor of the punishments: which abating of the canonical punishments, was called Indulgence, and now it is brought into privat satisfactions, and from the Bishops it is turned unto the Roman highpriest only, that he hath the full power of indulgences: concerning the use and exercise of which, every one of the best sort hath wished that there were a moderation and correction, because they have been the main cause of this renting of the Church: here (saith he) it were to be wished, that the Roman highpriests would yeeld somewhat for common peace. On the 16 article he saith, What is spoken of the Magistrat and civill things, is every way to be allowed; that lawfull civil ordinances are the good works of God; that it is lawfull unto Christians to be Magistrats. to ordain punishment by law, to warre righteously; &c. The doubt only remaines, of the Office & power of the Magistrat in Ecclesiastical things: here is excess on both hands, some ascribing too little, and some too much unto Civil power: for some exclude Princes and Magistrats from all meddling

ling with Ecclesiastical things, and others make all ecclesiastical administration subject unto the power of the Magistrat. But in this question that should be without controversy, that the power of the Emperour and other Christian Princes is no less or inferior in a Christian Republick, then was in old times the power of Kings in the commonwealth of Israel: and it is manifest by the Divine Scriptures, what was their Office in preserving the Divine law, and promoting the Divine worship: for by a Divine law the reading of Deuteronomy is commended unto them, not only that thereby they should order their privat life rightly and holily, but likewise to preserve the Divine lawes in vigor and without violation; and the examples of the godly Kings, who are recommended in the Scriptures declare this clearly, who finding the will of God in his law, commanded the priests and Levites to restore Divine worship as it is prescribed in Divine law, &c. Of the processions (as they are called) on the 22 article he saith. The custom of carrying the bread of the Eucharist conspicuously in publick pompe, is besides the mind and manner of the antients, and seemes to have been begun but lately: for those had this mystery in such Religion, that they would admit none either to the receiving, or beholding it, but the believers, whom they judged to be members of Christ and worthy of the partaking so great a mystery: therefore before the consecration, *Catechumeni, enervement, the penitents and all who did not communicate*, were set forth by the voice of a deacon, and ministry of the door-keepers. Wherefore it seemes, the custom of *Circumgestation* may well be omitted, &c. On the 24 article he saith, Whereas they complain of privy Masses, it is not without reason, if thereby they understand, the Masses, wherein the priest only takes the sacrament, and there is no distribution of the mysteries; which when it began in some monasteries, was forbidden, as is clear in a canon of the Nanneten. council, &c. The Belgick *Index expurgatorius* hath not spared other of this mans works; as his Scholia on the hymns: on that which beginneth, *Noſeſurgentes*, in the edition at Colen An. 1556. it is in page 48, and in the edition at Paris 1616. in Fol. it is Page 179, it is said, *Cum suis sanctis mereamur aulam Ingressi calis*: the Scholia say, The word *mereri* is one almost among the Ecclesiastical Writers, with *consequi seu aptum idoneumve fieri ad consequendum*: which appears by one passage of Cyprian, besides many more: for where Paul saith 1. Tim. 1. *I have obtained mercy*, and it is usually read, *miserecordiam consecutus sum*, or as Erasmus translates it, *miserecordiam adeptus sum*, Cyprian in *epist. ad Iulian.* reads it, *miserecordiam merui*: and there be many passages in the Offices and prayers of the Church, where this word should be taken in this sense: if this notion of that word were held, many places, which seem harsh, would appeare more pleasant and usefull. In the next Scholi or anotation he saith, These words, *super hanc petram*, we should understand Peters confession, saying, *Thou art Christ the sonne of the living God*. This was the exposition of Augustin, and Ambrose followes it elsewhere, confessing that it is not the person of Peter, but his faith on which the Church is builded, and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail: for faith (saith he) is the foundation of the Church, seing it is said not of the flesh of Peter, but of his faith, The gates of death shall not prevail against it: but his confession overcomes hell. Hereunto agreeth that of Cyrill, I think that the Rock is no other but the unmovable and most sure faith of the disciple, on which the Church of Christ is so founded and fastened, that it can not fail, and abides for ever unvincible

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by the gates of hell. And therefore when Ambrose calles Peter the rock of the Church, it may be understood to be spoken figuratively, that the name, which is proper unto the faith and confession of Peter, is spoken of Peter for his faith and confession: truly the same Ambrose *Lib. de incarnation. sacramento* calleth Peter the foundation, but instantly he addeth, The faith and confession of Peter is the foundation of the Church. Among the *Ecclesiast. Hymni.* he hath one *de circumcissione Christi*, which saith.

<i>Hoc nomen est potentia,</i>	<i>Tu Christe non effabilis</i>
<i>Novaeque signum gloriae</i>	<i>Imago caelestis Patris,</i>
<i>Et per quod unum calitus</i>	<i>Danil colatur quam tuum</i>
<i>Datur salus mortalibus.</i>	<i>In omne nomen seculum.</i>

Those and many other passages are ordained to be blotted out by the Belgick *Index expurgatorius*, as also it prohibites to print his books *de baptismo infantium*, his *Liturgica*, and *preces Ecclesiasticae*. It is observable, that in a hymne *de beata virgine* which is now usually song in the Romish *Officia* whereit is said,

<i>Maria mater gratiae,</i>	<i>Tu nos ab hoste protege,</i>
<i>Mater misericordiae,</i>	<i>Et hora mortis suscipe.</i>

Ge. Cassander, page 255 *edit. in Fol.* addeth on the margin, This clause is not in the old books. By those passages and many more, which might be added, it appears, that some continue in the Romane Church, who know the errors thereof: as I could bring such passages from *Johannes Ferus* about that time preacher in the cathedral of Mentz, and others: and else where I have hinted at others.

The Netherlands are oppressed; and endeavor their liberty.

II. When the Netherlands saw, that their Supplication unto the King, had no place, and so the Reformation going to ruin: their goods layd open as a prey unto the Inquisitors, and their persons in danger; they consulted to defend themselves against the Inquisitors, so far as the dignity and authority of the King and antient laws could permit them. They entred into a league, and confirmed it by oath, and sought what way to resist that calamity: three hundred Noble men consented unto this league of defence, at Brussels Aprile 3. *An. 1566.* and by a Noble man Brederod they tendred a Supplication unto the Dutchess: wherein they protest their reverence, obedience and love unto the King and Her his Vicegerent: then they made their petition to take off the Inquisition, and that the Kings edicts concerning Religion might be suspended, untill the king and States of the Provinces had determined of them; or else great inconvenients may follow. *French Comment Lib. 7.* Briefly so long as that Dutchess, was Governor, the Reformed were sometimes persecuted, when She was pressed by authority of Edicts; sometimes they had intermissions for five or six months by the ardent supplications of the Nobles: at such times they had their open meetings and preachings: they threw down images and ornaments of the Masse out of the churches, and they were multiplied exceedingly. Wherefore the Bishops raged, and raised persecution again: especially in the end of the same year many of the Reformed were burnt and slain. Norcam Marques of Berga in name of the Dutchess raised an Army, took the town Santman, and committed most cruel tyranny, rapine, murder, defiling of women, and most horrible kinds of torment. He besieged Valencia three months: though the Reformed were many in number, and the Noble men favoured the good cause, yet they stood as beholders, neither defending nor resisting; yea few of them went to the preachings: sundry companies lyke scattered men went to Valencia, but without Com-

man-

manders, and returned to their houses. In the end of March. *An.* 1567. upon assurance of the Dutchess's Letters promising all favor and clemency the town was rendred: but it can not be shewd what cruelty was done against those people. By those cruelties the people were warned to provide for themselves. *Ibid.* At the report of Ferdinand Alvares Duke d'Alva's coming into the Netherlands many fled; some into England, some to Wesel, Frankford, Heidelberg, and Frankendal. Whethersoever they went, they followed (as they could) one and the same order in the Churches, which is named before. In those sad times they were confident, that God would pity his afflicted people, to the glory of His name; and because they could not have a Synode in their native land, they assembled in Wesel *An.* 1568. where the Ministers and some others agreed, that wheresoever they were scattered for a time, they should hold fast the confession of faith that was published *An.* 1563. and the Church-order of Catechism, administration of Sacraments, and disciplin by Ministers, Elders and Deacons. This agreement was subscribed by fifty Ministers, and others. *Triglandius contra Vyttenbog. Part. 3.* hath their names out of an authentick Copy. In the year 1571. they having more esperance of liberty, did assemble at Embden from the Provinces and other parts in a greater number: There they did resume the Confession of faith, and ordain that in all time coming every Minister at his admission should subscribe it and the French Confession for observing Unity of Doctrine; and trusting that the Ministers of France would mutually subscribe their Confession. There also it was ordained, that no Church shall have dominion over another Church, nor any preacher of the Word should have power over another preacher, nor any Elder over another, nor any Deacon over another. They did ordain thus, because experience had taught, how out of this humane invention of the Superiority of Bishops over Bishops and Preachers, had sprong the pride and power of the Romane Pope, and the cruelty of other Bishops for maintaining their own interests; and to declare how solicitous they were to eschue all thing, that might tend thereunto afterwards. It's worthy the marking that they ordered and entreated the Lord of S. Altegonde, to writ the History of what had been done in those bypast years, in the forsaking of idolatry, the beginning of Reformation, the persecutions and constancy of the Martyres, the visible judgements of God upon the persecutors, the alteration of the Civill Government, &c. And they appointed certain persons in severall towns to gather all Notes and memorials of those things, and send them unto him. This assembly was called, and afterwards reputed the first Nationall Synod of the Netherlands. Duke d'Alba dissembled his cruelty at his first coming into Belgio, and made the people believe, that whatever was done for religion, should be pardoned: and to this effect an edict was proclaimed: but shortly after, without respect of former government he appoints a new Counsel, consisting of twelve Persons, (commonly called *The bloody Senate*) to sit on all causes of life and death. Unto them who had fled, he appointed a certain day to return, and before that day he decerned all their goods to be confiscated. He called a Parliament of all the Provinces, and promised safety unto all who had interest. The Count of Nassaw or Prince of Orange suspecting deceitfulness fled into high Germany: so did many others. Lamoral Count of Egmont (who was a Papist, but serious for their antient liberties, and therefore was hated by the Duke) and Philip Montmerency Count of Horn (a zealous Reformer) compeared in the Parliament, trusting to the proclaimed safeconduct, and both were beheaded at Brussels,

without any regard of their former services to the King. *French. Common. Lib. 7.* It were long to repeat what cruelties d'Alva shewd in spoiling, burning, hanging, heading, hacking, racking, and most horribly torturing without respect of age, sexe or condition. In the space of sixe years he is said to have put to death 18600. persons by the hands of hangmen; besides all other his Barbarity: He despised all ordinary Judges and jurisdictions, even howbeit many and earnest solicitations were put up in that behalf: He and his Spanish Shouldiers abused women young and old, some to death: He pulled the skins off some being alive, and headed the drums with them: He caused some bodies be taken out of their graves, and caused bury them under gibets, because (as he said) they had died without shriving; to the end, he might pretend right unto their goods: he compelled the wives of them who were fled, to marry his Souldiers: In a word, what is there under heaven so holy or honest, which he desired not? what barbarous cruelty practized he not? as afterwards was published in a Supplication unto the King, and is extant, being printed at London *An. 1576.* with the French Commentaries. For those causes the States of the Netherlands began to take Arms against that Duke in the year 1568. and they choosed William Prince of Orange to be their General: he levied an Army of Germanes and Netherlanders: Monsr. Genly brought unto him some Companies of Frenches out of Picardy: then passing the River at Mentz, he lingred some months, only skirmishing now and then with the Dukes souldiers, yet taking some smal towns: In November he passed by the way of Liege to join with the Prince of Condee in Picardy, with little success. *Ibid. Lib. 8.* Then d'Alva raised a great Army, boasting to extinguish all the Reformed. Lewes Count of Nassaw and Brother of William gaue battell unto the Spaniards near Groning in Friseland; dispersed them, and slew their Commander John Count of Arnebergh. Adolph a third Brother died in another fight. Then d'Alva raged the more against the Reformers, and most cruelly put to death Gisebert and Theodor Battemburgs two Brothers of an antient family, and other sixtten Gentle men with them: he layd new tributes on the people: he devised new torments, and every where horrible murders were seen, especially at Torna and Valentia. Wherefore the people did flock unto the Prince of Orange: Albeit at the first he had hard luck; yet when d'Alva required of every Master of a family within the Provinces the tenth penny, from each merchant the twenty penny, and of all the landes and houses (when they were sold) the hundred penny, towit, in the year 1570. the warts seemed but to begin, and more people joyned with the Prince, especially all Holland and Zeeland; and the Flissiners took the Spanish Navy coming from the West-Indies in the year 1572. d'Alva accuseth them of rebellion against the King, and of blasphemy against God, and did write so unto the King. When the Reformed knew of that Letter, they wrote the Supplication (whereof I spake before) *An. 1573.* wherein they protest, that whatsoever was done, they had not attempted it for any disloyalty unto the King their lawfull Superior, but to defend themselves against the cruell oppression of the bloody Tyrant d'Alva; and they humbly beseech the King, to call to minde, how those Countries were formerly divided among so many Lords and Rulers, and afterwards by marriages, mutuall treaties, and lawfull successions they came under one house of Burgundy, and now they are come under Spain; yet always with expresse condition, that each of those Provinces and Republicks should still enjoy their former liberties,

and

and none of them should be 'burdened with the dominion of another; but live joyntly together under one Prince, as so many children in their fathers house under one father: for verification of this, they put him in mind of his own entrance (among others) how his Father Charles V. caused him (according to the accustomed solemnization) repeat and confirm by oath the same priviledges: which he had also renewed in a common Assembly, when he received the government: but now (say they) they are robbed of their rights and liberties, yea horribly oppressed by a stranger, a Tyrant, an Herod, a Nero, &c. and they name many of his oppressions: in the end they humbly beseech him for Gods sake to bowe his ears unto their just complaint, and they profess that they desire not to be dissolved from the obedience of his Majesty, but only that they may have consciences free unto God, to hear his worde, as they must give account at the day of judgement; and to suffer the Countries enjoy their former liberties & customs, as he had promised by oath: and if he will be so gracious unto them, they promise to lay down their weapons, and to hazard their lives and goods in his service by sea or lande, &c. This their Supplication they caused to be printed in Latine, Dutch and English. The same year Philip called home Duke d'Alva, either because he did not allow his cruelty, or because he did not prosper in the warres; but he despised their supplication, and made no account of their power nor confederat help, saying, VVhat can those mice do? So the States obtaining neither civil liberty, nor of Religion, did refuse all obedience unto the King of Spain: they put down all the power of the Bishops, and resolve to defend themselves. At the first they stamped their coin with a leash about a lions neck, and a mouse between his feet, with this circumscription, *Ross leonem loris mus liberat*, meaning, that their poor power would set religion of the Tribe of Judah at liberty; and alluding unto that contemptuous word of King Philip. The first Union of the Provinces for government, was between Holland and Zeeland in the year 1576. Aprile 15. and concerning Religion the Article was thus; His Excellency shall admit and maintain the exercise of the Reformed Euangelical Religion; and shal cause the exercise of all other Religions, that are contrary unto the Gospell, to successe and leave off; except that his Excellency should not permit any inquisition upon any mans belieff or conscience, or that therefore any trouble, injury or impediment should be done unto any. Afterwards five other Provinces joyned with them, and in the year 1579. at Utrecht was the Generall Union of the seven, in which the Article concerning Religion is thus; As for the permitting or not permitting the exercise of Religion unto them, who are different from the Reformed, let every Jurisdiction decern according to their own pleasure and custom; but all should grant liberty of Religion and of conscience unto every man, and for that cause persecute and trouble none. So the Reformed Religion only hath place in the Churches. The Provinces of Holland and Zeeland held their first Synod at Dort An 1574. and all the seven had their first Synod at Middelburgh An. 1578. in which they did agree on the order in the Churches: Concerning which two Synods I shall subjoyn the words of the Provincial Synod of South and North Holland, held at Harlem in the year 1582. as a summary of them both and of other particulars. These are; The almighty and mercifull God had in the year 1566. under the sad affliction, which was then prepared for the Netherlands, graciously shew'd a blink of the truth of his Gospell untill this time here and therein privat preaching:

but the world's unthankfulness and sin did the turn away that grace of God, and many honest persons when others fled the Land, did readily suffer the Spanish tyranny over the Land through the just judgement of God, whereby not only the publick exercise of the true Religion was no way permitted, but also it was most strictly forbidden in privat, and punished with intolerable edicts and torments; Nevertheless our good God, according to his wisdom and goodness, hath contrary to all the power of Satan and his instruments, in the time of that cruell persecution, discovered (by many) more and more, the idolatry, superstitions and errors of Popery, and did enlighten them with the knowledge of his truth, with great hazart of their goods, bodies and lives, and they prayd zealously unto God, that he would look upon their affliction, and deliver them, as at last it is come to pass without the Counsel and wit of any men: for when the persecution was come to the highest, those who had seen with their eyes the persecution of the Christian Church and truth of the Holy Gospell, yea who in their ignorance (as we many certainly think, at least, of many) had willingly suffered themselves to be abused as instruments thereunto; that those (I say) have resisted the Spanish government, and refusing those unreasonable exactions, have begun to consider of their priviledges and former liberties, seeing it was intended not only to root out the true Religion, but likewise to bring into perpetuall slavery all the indwellers of the Netherlands, both spirituall (as they were wont to speak) and Politicks, of high and low degree, citizens and merchants, tradesmen and others with wives and children; And the matter was so far brought, after that our just supplications were not accept nor heard, that some both without and within the Land, though with a smal beginning, did gainstand the tyranny; By those hath the Lord God, who heard the prayers of the faithfull, and in this age of the world, of his mercy gathered unto himself a Church within these Lands, and wrought another work, in setting up by them in the midst of those troubles his Gospell, and causing it to be preached again first in Holland and Zeeland; Which when many, who hethertils knew nothing of the Gospell, saw with pleasure, and untill that time had been silent (for they were slack in the just cause, to fight for the priviledges and freedom of the Land, and to defend them, and did find themselves unable to resist them who loved the Gospell) for this cause those people were willing to apply themselves with all faithfulness to defend the liberties of their native Land, seeing that also they might serve God with a pure conscience, when God had opened a way thereunto. What other motives were to joyn unto this cause, is needles to repeat; Yea God hath given the grace, that by those foresaid meanes, he hath not only made a beginning of maintaining our Civil liberty against the Spanish government over all the Netherlands (howbeit the matter was weak and miserable, to the end, the glory of our deliverance should be given unto God only) but he hath also more and more promoted the preaching of the Gospell in Holland and Zeeland, by adjoyning the Lords the States of the Land, and his Princely Excellency, to delight therein; and as some had adjoynded themselves unto the Christian Church, so have they also (seeing that the Land might heerby by the better defended from the enemy) received and sufficiently established the publick exercise of the Reformed religion, by publick edicts and other furtherances; and so Popery is set off here and there by degrees, and at last the exercise thereof is forbidden; Therefore necessarily the ordinances of the Church, that were privatly

used under the persecution, must be made known unto other preachers, who are accepted out of Popery or otherwise, because the Churches are numerous; to the end, there may be an unity in pure doctrine: and uniformity of Service; and the Church and their leaders may increase and be persited in godlinets of conversation; For which end a Synod or assembly of Ministers and Elders out of all the Churches in the Provinces of Holland and Zeeland, by the knowledge and approbation of his Princely Excellency, and of the high States of Holland & Zeeland was called to Dort: Where after conference in the affaires of the Church, and amending of some enormities that had fallen out, a form of administration and government of the Churches was appointed, so far as they could in time of the grievous wars, where with these Lands were then burdened; But after that it is remarkable, that some persons being driven either through their weakness or through dregs of Popery or of any other sect, which have retarded the Gospell, thought it not good, that in the Church should be such ordinances, and a Consistory, that is, an assembly of Ministers, Elders and deacons, but would rather, that Ministers should only preach, and administrate the sacraments, admitting every man without difference, &c. and that the Magistrats should set off and on the Ministers, and rule the Churches, as they shall find usefull & expedient; And this was done under the shew of liberty of conscience; And it was also said, that the Ministers were beginning a new Monckery, whereby in progress of time they would become Masters over the Magistrats, as it was in Popery; By these words plausible and acceptable unto the world, other thoughts were brought upon the Gospell, and the advancement of it was hindred; But these had not considered that the offices of the Magistrats and of the Ministers were distinct; and as unto the Magistracy, which is a service of God, belongs the government of life, and the protection of both the Tables of Gods law; under which is comprehended, that they should advance Gods trueth by their defence and maintainance. So unto the Ministers, who in other causes are subject with body and goods unto the Magistrats, belongeth their proper office, which they have from God, to inform, teach, stir up, exhort and move the consciences of men unto holiness, not according to the mind or will of any men, but after the direction of the Gospell, to do their best endeavours; And that the Church of Jesus Christ, in the administration of the worde and sacraments and other things belonging thereunto, doth acknowledge neither Pope, nor any humane Magistracy, nor the Preachers themselves, for Head and Lord, but only Jesus Christ, after whose lawes, will and commandements the Church should be ruled, and unto whom both Preachers and Elders and deacons, and also the whol Christian Church of whatever rank, should be obedient; But it were longsom now to declare this: it is sufficient to hint it in a worde; If the liberty and ministry of the Churches should absolutely, depend upon the Magistrats and their commandes, a great confusion would follow, the purity of doctrine might soon decay, all enormities abound, and piety would fail; as by the grace of God the greatest part of the Magistrats do well understand, and may know yet better, when they shall duly hear the answer of the Churches against the unjust complaint of some who seem to stand for Libertinisme more then for Christian liberty: for when there is no end of their complaints, and (as it shall be found true) they with their written and printed Remonstrances will not be directed by the High States themselves, so the Church must apologize for the cause of

Christ and his Gospell, howbeit wee do it not unwillingly, and would rather plead it by word of mouth, But to return unto the purpose, it hath so far come, that it hath been propounded unto his Princely Excellency and the high States, as reasonable, that in no town or willage should be any convention or consistory, but with advice of the Magistrates of the towns, or of the States, by which the meetings and Ministry of the Church should be brought into great danger: but his Excellency and the States understanding the cause better, have established the former ordinances and administration, whereby it may be seen, that the Churches have increased and multiplied; Afterwards by the pacification of Ghent, and by the death of those great Commanders, then Governors of the other Netherlands, it came to pass, that not only in Holland and Zeeland was Popery forsaken, and the preaching of the Gospell accept, but also the good subjects in Brabant, Flanders, Gelderland, Friseland, the bishoprick of Utrecht, the land of Overisel, &c. have begun to embrace the truth: whereby in some places publickly, in other places howbeit privily in houses, yet in great assemblies of people, and also with the knowledge and consent of the Magistrats Gods worde is preached, &c. *Sofar there.* Before that time Gaspar Colhaes a Minister at Leiden (who had been a priest in time of Popery, and yet had professed the Reformed Religion in time of the persecution) had made no small sturre for the government of the Church, as he had also retained other dregs of Popery, and other preachers likewise; So that the Churches of the Netherlands was seldom free of one stichler or other; yet alwise maintained and kept pure by the vigilancy of Synods, and by protection of Magistrats, from the corruption of such subdalous Ministers. In time of the troubles moved by Colhaes, the States of Holland called for one Minister out of each Classis, and sent two Commissioners Gerhard van Wingaerd and Leonard Caesenbrood unto them, requiring them to shew the form of the Church-government, and to shew the distinction between the Civil and ecclesiastical government. Those answered, The Church-discipline was considered and penned by the Synod at Dort in the year 1578. which was authorized by the High States; And they had been traduced unjustly, that they would have usurped dominion over the Magistrates: for they acknowledge themselves to be subject unto the Magistrats, as any other subjects are, both for body and goods, except only that according to Gods worde, they may exercise the Office committed by God unto them, conform unto the writings of the Prophets & Apostles; As for the distinction of the Offices, they gave it in write; whereof the authentick copy Triglandius *Lib. cit.* saith, he hath not seen; but he gives the summa of it from another, to wit, Both Offices are ordained by God: both are preservers of godly righteousness: both should be revered for conscience sake; The Magistrate should not only preserve godly righteousness, but provide for the commonweel-fare, in which respect Church-men as well as others are subject unto them in body & goods; the Magistrats Office is to establish and promote by their authority and example, so far as concerneth the outward man, that Gods Worde be obey'd: but the Office of Ministers is, to set that Worde before the people, with faithfull teaching and godly conversation; The Office of the Magistrate is to compell the despisers and falsifiers of Gods word, that they hinder not the outward peace of the Church, and if any do disturbe it, to punish them with imprisonment or other punishment in body or goods And the ministers should exhort the people in Christ's name, to serve

The distinction of
Magistracy & Ministry.

serve God peaceably, and to shew forth their dutifull regarde of Gods worde, and should call unto repentance the inward man, that is, the spirit or soul, with spirituall weapens, that is, by preaching eternall life, and threatning everlasting death; The Magistrats office is to ordain punishment in body and goods, and according to circumstances of occasions, to mitigate or straiten them; And the Ministers should prudently exercise the exhortations and menaces that are prescribed in Gods Word, and the excommunication. The Magistrate should provide, that the external peace of the Church [as the Civil peace] be kept safe, and as occasion requires to punish the transgressions of the disturbers; And Ministers should endeavour out of love, that according to the rule of discipline in Gods Word the souls of offenders may be brought unto salvation; The Magistrate should preside when punishments of life or goods are handled: And Ministers govern in the Church-counsell when matters of conscience are judged; The Ministers and Church-counsel should appoint the discipline of the Church, according to the rule of Gods Word: and the Magistrate hath power by himself, whether present or absent, to examine it; and if he disallow any thing therein, he may command the Church-men to reform it according to Gods Word; The Magistrate (as also the Church) hath power to seek, and to use their authority, if need shall be, that Ministers of the Word be called, and the Church be provided with them; and also to punish the faults even in the pulpit, that deserve Civil punishment, and it is the office of Ministers and Elders to choose persons sufficient for the office, and then to present those before the Magistrate, that he may approve them, if there be no lawfull impediment, which then should be confirmed by the Ministers, When the Church shall be troubled with any division, it is the office of the Magistrate, to call together a Church-assembly, and to rule it as concerning the external action: But when the Church is in peace, it belongs unto the Ministers, to call the Ecclesiasticall assemblies, and to preside in them; Seeing Ministers have no commandes of their own, but only the commandes of Christ, they may not domineer over the consciences of the people: but the Magistrates have power to command the Bodies and goods of their subjects; The Church-ministry is more like a fatherly, then a Kingly power, and therefore their estimation is preserved according to their reverent teaching, and by honest entertainment which the Magistrate procures & provides. But the Magistrate hath Civil compulsion over all his subjects, as well Ministers as others, and must be honoured by them all with obedience, subjection, and payment of tribute *So far he.*

III. When the Queen-mother had gotten the whole government of France, then her rage and the pride of the Guises was not against particulare assemblies & persons only, but they sought the destruction of all the Nobility and people, who followed not the superstition of Rome: whence arose intestine wars in France once and again and the third time within nine years: for when the Queen sawe the loss of her excellentest Captains, or that faction sawe no appearance to prevail, they could feign peace, to the end, the reformed may lay their weapons aside, and then be taken unaworse. The Apostate King of Navar was killed by a small pellet at the siege of Roan: he being deadly wounded, was carryed to Paris, and through vehemency of pain died desperately. *French. Commentar. Lib. 5.* The Reformed had but a few Cities; Lions fell from them by the craft of their Governor, and the Reformed within it were robbed and murdered,

*Troubles
of France
under
Charles 9.*

red, their churches were burnt, but some escaped into the castle of S. Sebastian, and from thence took their refuge into other places, namely unto Geneve. In Dolseny the Cities Valentia, Vienna, Roman and Mantill took part with the Nobles of the Reformed Religion: So in Languedoc did Nemeaux, Montpelier, Caster-albien, and some cities of the Rhodes, of Sevenas, and of Vivaretz: they had also Montalban, and all the circumiacent places; Orleance and the cities there adioyning, and Rochell. In all parts of the realm were some Protestants, but they were exiled out of the Popish towns: whereby the Army of the Prince of Condee was the greater. The cruelty used in Lions moved the Protestants to arise in others places: so many were slain in every Province: for the Papists burnt the Reformed Churches, and on the other side they cried, Places of idolatry should be demolished. So they burnt the Popish churches. *Ibid. Lib. 8.* In the second warrs Pultrotz Meræ (a souldier of Lions being sent with Letters of Monf. Soubize unto the Admiral Caspar Coligny warring for the Reformed in Normandy) did insinuat himself into creaitre with the Duke of Guise, and killed him with a pistoll. Whereupon the Queen consented into a peace, and Pultrotz was drawn a sunder by four horses at Paris. This peace continued in some manner, for five years: but hote was the persecution in the year 1570: the persecutors rushing into the houses of the Reformed, and without pittie murdered man, wife and children: they choaked some with smoke, and threw others unto doggs. They did easily obtain edicts from the King, and dispensations from the Bishops, against the Hugonots, as they contemptuously called them. But the most horrible murthering was in the year 1572 for that barbarous and infamous massacre. When the King and his mother could not prevail by open violence, they went about by slight and falshood; towit, they contracted Margarit the Kings Sister unto Henry King of Navar, being scarcely twenty years old: the marriage was solemnized August 17. by the Cardinal of Bourbon: hether were all the chief Protestants of France invited by the Kings Letters full of love. Before the appointed day, Joanna the widow Queen of Navar had a paire of gloves sent unto her from the Court at Paris, wherewith she was killed. On the 24 day of August certain souldiers were appointed in sundry places of the city to be ready at a watch-word: and when the Reformed were secure, they were barbarously murdered in their chambers: when they had killed the Admiral, they threw him out at a window: then they cutted off his head, and sent it unto the Pope: they cutted off his hands & privy members, and rolled his body three dayes from street to street and at last drew it into the place of execution without the city, and hang'd it by the feet. this bloody execution continued many dayes: how many were murdered within that City, may be guessed by what Ja. Thuan *Lib. 52.* writs, that he heard a goldsmith Cruciarius (very worthy of the gallows) vaunt, that at that time he had slain with his own hand 400. persons: and afterwards being troubled in conscience, removed himself from the company of men and became an Anachorite. When the hottest of their fury was over, the King commanded the King of Navar and Prince of Condee to come unto him: he told them, that now he had attained sure remedy of settling the warrs, and he had spared them in respect of their consanguinity, and will yet spare them on condition, that within three dayes they will renounce their heresy, and return into the bosom of the Roman Church. The King of Navar was dashed at such hard words, and answered with fear, He will obey

Obeý the commands whatever, if his body and conscience be permitted free. The Prince spake more confidently, urging the Kings oath, that he had given unto the Protestants, and professing all obedience, excepting Religion. The King Charles 9. calleth him obstinat and seditious, and threatned him with death within three dayes. *Thuan. lib. 52.* On thurseday following (which was Aug. 28) Charles commandeth a procession through Paris (wherein he went personally) to give God thanks publickly for the happy success of his enterprize. And the same day he published an edict, shewing that he was the author of the Admiral's death, and of those his adherents, not for Religion (said he) nor of purpose to violat the edict of pacification, but to prevent their conspiracy against his person and his mother, and the King of Navar and other Nobles standing in his favor; and he commanded, that none of the Reformed Religion should have any privat or publick assemblies under pain of losing both goods and lifes, untill he be further advised. *Additions to the 10 book of Comment.* The reader may judge, how the first and last part of this edict do agree: he professes, that he intendes not to violat the act of pacification, in which he had granted liberty of Religion, in August. 1571. and in the last words he discharges their assemblies: as for the conspiracy, even the Papists believed it not, saith Osiander *ex Nigri.* His dissimulation appeares yet more, that in the same edict he commanded all the Protestants to abide at their own houses under his protection; and in the mean while he had sent commande unto the governors of Provinces and cities, to practize the like cruelty every where; and so 500 were killed at Tolouse; 800. at Lions, at Roan, Diep, Meaulia, Orleans, and other parts within one month 30000, *Thuan Li. cit.* and in that year above 100000 Protestants were massacred, *Th. Rogers in the preface of The Catholick doctrine.* Not only were the Protestants murdered that way, but many others for privat malice or avarice of the executioners. Some of the Governors refused to obey that command; as, Claudius Count de Tende, when he had read it, said, He would obey the former edict, but he doubted that this other was only coloured with the Kings name: Therefore at the Kings command he was poisoned at Avenion within few dayes. Mons. Sautheram Governor of Auvergne refused, saying, He was the Kings Lieutenant for execution of justice, and not to be a hang-man. *Additions to the 10 book of French Commem.* Great mirth, and processions were at Rome, when the Pope heard of those massacres. By the Kings commande horsemen were dispatched into all parts, that no Governor be absent from his charge, and to watche and warde diligently, and to search narrowly all the assemblies of the Reformed, and to punish them without exception. In all parts of the realm they were apprehended, who kept their houses upon trust of the Kings protection: many were murdered, and all almost were robbed, as if they had been vanquish'd enemies; so that nothing seemed to remain unto them, but utter confusion. On the 10 day of September Charles sent for the Prince of Condee, and willed him to choose one of three, either Masse, or death, or perpetual prison. He answered, He would never choose the first, and he left the other two unto the Kings pleasure *Thuan. lib. 53.* Before he obtained liberty, he was induced to subscribe that abjuration, whereof a copy is in the 10 Book of the French Comment. So did Henry King of Navar sway with the times. These two easily without petitioning received pardon from Pope Gregory XIII. by intercession of King Charles. In the dayes of the late Queen of Navar, had been an assembly in Bearn, and by free consent

of the States, the Masse was discharged throughout all that realm: but then in the year 1572 October 15 king Henry published a contrary edict, forbidding the Reformed Religion, and he sent Mons. Grammount granting leave unto the Reformed, to sell their lands within a year, and then remove, or to conform themselves. The people were not moved by these Letters, and said, These letters were extorted from the king in his captivity. *Thuan. ibi.* Nevertheless those examples moved many, who were thought to love the Religion, to profess the contrary. The cities Rochell, Montauban, Sanser, Anduz, and other towns in Vivaretz and Sevenatz continued constant: but it seemed unto many of themselves great folly joyned with madness, after so great overthrow of all the Nobility and so many others, to think upon any defence, when scarce any Noble man durst owne the Religion: and not a few said, It is not lawfull, that subjects should bear arms against their king, albeit he be wicked, as it had appeared by the success. In a word, all of them were uncertain, what to do, and inevitable destruction seemed to be brought on the Church in France: the chief men were gone, they had no help from Germany nor England as before: yet the helping hand of God appeared in due time. *French Comment lib. 11.* The king sent Noble men unto those Cities, commanding them to receive garrisons and a Lieutenant. They were all perplexed: on both sides death seemed to be at hand: they were resolved to yeeld, but fear made them to delay. The citizens of Caistre received a garrison upon trust of the kings promise: they were all put to the edge of the sword with no less cruelty then others before. Rochell was ready to have given obedience: but when they were informed of that false cruelty or cruell deceit, they refused to render: and so began the fourth warrs in France with the sege of Rochell, and other parts were invaded with hudge violence. It was the Divine providence, that the Nobility failing, he alone might be known the author of the work. The particulars are described in the book last mentioned, and would go beyond my purpose to repeat them: I will only touch the sege of Rochell, and the end of those warres. The sege continued seven months: in it two things are very remarkable: first, notwithstanding all the Ordinance and battering pieces that were discharged against them to the number of 6000. shot, only 25. Rochellers were slain; and how many of the beseezers were slain, it is uncertain: but it may be coniectured, that 132. Commanders were killed: of whom the chief was Claude Duke d'Aumale uncle of the Duke of Guise March. 3. 1573. The greatest assaults were seven. The other remarkable thing is; the poorest sort of the town began to want bread, and a new sort of supply was furnished unto them; towit, every day in the river they had plenty of fishes [*Surdones*], which they had never seen before; and the same day that the sege was raised, those were seen no more. So both rich and poor had plenty within, and the Kings Army without was grieved with famine. Wherefore Charles sent word unto his Brother Henry, commanding him either to take in the town instantly, if it be possible, or to leave it in Aprile. He continued two months longer, untill word was brought, that he was chosen king of Poland. In the mean while Santerre suffered a hard sege, that parents did eat their own little ones. A general peace was proclaimed, and liberty of Religion was granted in July *An. 1573 Thuan. Lib. 54.* The edict of pacification was conceived in generall terms, without naming any city: those of Nismes and Languedoc took exception at that: thereupon all the Protestant towns wrote unto the Duke of Anjou, giving him thanks

thanks for the peace, and beseeching him to procure unto them leave to assemble in a fit place, to the end, they may know the particulars of the pacification in convenient time; and that he would grant them his Letters patent for their assurance. Then many conveyed from all parts of the realm, as the time would suffer, and so they provided for themselves. *Fre. Commen. Lib. 12.* The next year Charles died: in that book it is written of his death, thus; Certain it is, that he died of a bloody fluxe, and it is reported for truth by the greater part, that the blood ished out of his dry parts of his body, and in his bed he could have little rest, but horribly blasphemed the name of God, which he was wont to do even from his childhood. *Thuan Lib. 57.* witnesseth of his unrest and affrightments in the night, and that he endeavoured to settle it by musick. And because it was suspected that he had been poisoned, to the end, he might vomit the blood with the more ease, he was bolstered up with pillowes, that his feet lay higher then his head. Another hath comprised the cause and manner of his death in those verses.

*Naribus, ore, oculis, atque auribus, undique et ano,
Etepe erupit, qui tibi, Carle, cruor,
Nontu misse cruor, sanctorum at cade cruorem,
Quem ferus hausisti, conquare haud poteras.*

III. So soon as Henry king of Poland heard of his Brothers death, he returned privily and quickly, and was crowned King of France. He renewed the warres against the Reformed Church: he took Mons. Monmorancy, and quartered him for Religion. Nevertheless they increased in number: for the Duke Alanchon the Kings Brother, and the Duke of Condee joyned with them; so that a peace was granted and proclaimed, with liberty of Religion in the year 1576: but that peace endured not long. Then Henry king of Navar joyned with the Reformed again: yet they were all in great danger in the year. 1586. The Pope Sixtus 5. excommunicated the King of Navar, and the Prince of Condee, and declared them incapable of the crown of France, and ordered King Henry 3. to pursue them with arms. The King of Navar sent unto Frederik king of Denmark, and unto the Princes of Germany for aid. They sent their Ambassadors unto the King of France, to interceed for the Protestants. He returned answer, that they should medle with his subjects no more then he did with theirs. Wherefore those Princes assembled at Luneburgh: where were also the Ambassadors of Navar, England, Scotland, of the Duke of Pomer, &c. They concluded, that the King of Navar should not be forsaken *Chytræ Lib. 28.* So they sent 5000. horse-men and 20000. foot, but unhappily: for the Guises and other confederats in *Liga aurea*, gave them the foil in Lorraine *An. 1587.* The next year Henry III. understood of the presumption and intention of the Guises, and he called a Parliament, professing that he would give the chief Commande of his Army against the Hugonots unto Henry Duke of Guise. The man doubted of the Kings favor, and yet upon those fair words he went unto the Parliament: he was killed in his bedchamber, and his body was first burnt, then his ashes were thrown into Ligeris; His brother Lewes a Cardinal was hang'd; and his son with some Bishops were imprisoned. Within twelve dayes the Queen-mother died through sorow for the death of the Guises *Ibid.* Behold how God then brought peace unto his Church. They who before favoured the Guises secretly, do then profess open rebellion against the King: the Parisians create Charles Duke of Mayen and Brother of the Duke

*Troubles
of Henry 3*

of Guise, to be Governor of Paris and of the Ile of Francia: the Sorbonists deny the kings authority, and absolve all men from the oath of allegiance. Many cities joyn themselves unto Duke Charles, towit, Lions, Roan, Orleance, Ambian, &c. The King asseembleth the Nobility: he proclames unto all his subiects pardon of all former trespasses, if now they shall return into obedience, and he threatneth loss of Goods and life, if they return not. Henry king of Navar craves pardon; obtaines it, and is made General of the Army against the traitors, the Dukes of Mayen and Aumale, in Aprile, *An. 1589.* And the same sommer he granted by edict at Nantes liberty unto the Reformed to asseemble not only for exercise of their Religion in their churches; but also for holding their Synods yearly; and so to be free from the jurisdiction of Bishops (Which liberty no king of France hath impeded untill this present time) and unto all who were under the former Edicts of exile he restored their honors and goods upon their submission. Then the followers of Duke Charles called the king an enemy of the Apostolical Roman Church; and August 1. (*new style*) a Jacobin Monk having purchased leave to deliver a Letter unto the king, stabbed him (as he was reading the Letter) in the belly with a poisoned knife: the villan said, he was commanded by an Angel to kill the tyrant; and his death would bring peace into France. The king feared not death at the first, and immediately dispatched Posts to all the chief parts of the realm, giving them notice of what was done, and exhorting them to constancy and loyalty as is due unto their Soverain. Before midnight he apprehendes death, and the next day he caused proclaim Henry king of Navar to be his heir. After the kings death the Peers of the realm (then in the lieger) require an oath of the king of Navar to defend the Roman Religion; and he swore to maintain even to hazard of his life the Catholick, Apostolical and Roman Religion within the kingdom of France, and that he will make no change in the exercise thereof, and for his own person he will obey the decrees of a godly and lawfull general or National Council; and promisseth to procure it with all diligence; and he swear to permit no other Religion but what is already allowed, untill peace being restored, it shall be otherwise provided; and he confirmed all the Officers of State. On the other side these and the Princes of the blood, the other Peers and many others acknowledge Henry 4. king of France and Navar, and swear loyalty and fidelity unto him. Then both he and they swear that they shall revenge the villanous murder of the late king, and the disturbance of the realm against all the rebels. Then the Duke Mayen (being at that time called Duke of Guise) and the king of Spain dealt with the Pope, that the king of Navar should not be absolved from the former Sentence; and that faction declares Charles Duke de Mayen king of France: but the Senat of Paris not admitting, that any should be king, who were not of the blood royal, he was not proclaimed there. In the year 1593. Henry 4. took his oath to defend the Roman Religion: he wrote an abiuration of the doctrine of the Reformed Church, and sent it unto the Pope: then he received a pardon and the Popes blessing, and was absolved in the Church of S. Denis by the arch Bishop of Bourges, upon condition, to embrace the Acts of the Council of Trent, and to cause them to be observed within his realms; to hear Masse; to choose Mary for his advocate before God; to breed the young Prince of Condee in the Romish religion, &c. But though for earthly peace he professed Popery, yet in the Parliament at Roan *An. 1597.* he gave liberty of Religion within his dominions. One day he said unto a Noble man, I saw you to day at
the

Liberty
of the
Religion.

Henry 4.
King of
France.

the Masse. Yes, said the other, I will follow your Majesty. The King replied, But you shall not have the Crown of France for it.

IV. Some variances arose amongst them of the Augustan Confession, *The can-
ses of va-
riance a-
mongst the
Lutherans*
1. Whereas in the year 1547. they were pressed by the book called Interim, to accept that article, *Good works are necessary unto salvation*, the Divines of Witteberg for peace sake did yeeld unto it: but those of Iena (as being more wary) thought good to wave that phrase, because the Popish Party understood it, that works are necessary to make up justification, and to promerite salvation. At last in a Conference at Altemburgh in the year 1568. the question was debated, and they agreed in these terms, *New obedience, and good works both external and internal are necessary unto believers and such who turn unto God.* But they could not condescend to use the words *necessary unto salvation*. The Wittebergers said, Works are necessary not indeed by necessity of efficiency, but of presence: and those of Iena denyed not the necessity of presence, but they said, Such a phrase should be shunned because of scandal, and for fear of error or mistaking: for why should we use dangerous words with the erroneous sophisters, and then parget or plaster them with glosses, when we have safer words? 2. A more grievous contention was renewed for the Vbiquity of Christs body: here I will use the words of George Calixtus Professor in Julia, in his *Consultatio de Tolerantia*, Certainly, seeing the omnipresence of Christs flesh was not known nor heard in the vniversal Church, even untill Strapulensis & Luther, it might yet have been not known (albeit it were built upon a solide foundation) and a necessity of believing it might have not been layd upon the vulgare or the learned: And indeed but two passages, one out of the book *Peri tou hetou*, and another *ex Majori Confessione*, are the only, at least the main, whereupon Luther buildes the Vbiquity; and that was done by him, when he was earnest against his adversaries, to establish any way the presence of the Lords body in the Eucharist: the former book was published in the year 1527. and the other in the next year: in the year 1529 by procurement of Philip the illustrious Landgrave of Hafs was the Conference at Marburgh: there Luther and Zuinglius agreed in all articles except the Eucharist. . . . And Luther neither did judge nor press the omnipresence as a point of doctrine wherein he craved assent. In the Confession of Augsburg the third article is of those mysteries, but with no or very slender touch of omnipresence. Neither at that time nor any time following in the disputations between the Reformed and the Popish came the omnipresence into question or controversy, therefore Luther suffered it to be buried in silence. Yea and in the year 1537. when he wrote the articles of Smalcald, he averred expressly. that there was no controversy between him and the adversaries (the Papists) concerning the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Person of Christ, seeing (said he) we confesse the articles on both sides. But what the Papists have taught or do teach concerning those articles, may be known by their writings, especially the vnanimous consent of the Schoolmen: and seeing in all these is not a jota concerning the omnipresence, it is manifest also that Luther did leave it, and profess agreement in the doctrine of the Person of Christ, with them who did not acknowledge vbiquity. And so while Luther lived, that question was a sleep, which some men did waken up again about the year 1562. of whom the principals were John Brntius and Jacob Andreae. Neither have I pleasure, nor is it necessary to repeat all the history: but it is certain, this later man spared no travell untill he perswaded some to embrace Vbiquity, and forced it upon others: and

nevertheless the could not perswad all that embrace the Augustan Confession, or (as they speak) the Lutherans; not the Danes, not the Holfatians, nor those of Norinberg, Helmstad, and many more. Therefore some of those who are called Lutherans are at this day for Vbiquity, and against them are all other Christians, both Greeks or of the East part of the world, and Papists and Calvinians. *So far Calixtus.* For justifying his words concerning the Danes, I add the testimony of Nic. Hemingius Professor of Divinity and Preacher in Coppenhaghen at that time: In his Catechism, he expounding the Article of Christs ascension, saith, This Article must be understood of Christs true body, and the bodily placing thereof in heaven, lest we think either that the humane nature in Christ is swallowd up by the Divine, or that it is diffused into the whole world with the Divine; seeing both these do most openly deny Christs manhood. Is not Christ every where? Yes truly by communication of properties, according to that Joh. 3. None ascends into heaven, but he who came from heaven: But it's certain, that when the Lord spake these words with Nicodemus, his body was circumscribed on the earth; wherefore the saying of Christ must be understood by communication of properties. So Cyprian, He ascended into heaven, not where the Word God was not before, but where the Word made flesh sat not before, to wit; by bodily placing. *Again he speaking against the errors concerning the Lords Supper,* saith, What say you of them, who say that the manhood is every where with the Godhead? These, for eschuing the error of them who deny that we receive the flesh and blood of the Lord in the Supper, fall into this horrible error, that they assert, the manhood of Christ to be every where with the Godhead, whose opinion is above in the Article of ascension clearly confuted; and the Angel said plainly unto the women, He is risen, he is not here. Here truly either the Angel lied, which is horrible to think, or they are deceived, who say, that the humanity of Christ is everywhere with the Divinity, by which he filleth all things, or is every where. Also Paul saith Phil. 3. that our bodies shall be made like unto the glorious body of Christ. But who dar aver, that our bodies shall be infinite, that they may be every where? Truly thus the trueth of humane nature should be destroyed: Therefore neither was Christs body made infinite after his resurrection. Moreover the Holy Fathers confess that Christs body is circumscribed: For Nazianzen saith that the same Christ is circumscribed and uncircumscribed, earthy and heavenly, comprehensible and incomprehensible: for that is the diversity of the two natures humane and Divine, which [*Diversity*] because the Eutychians denied, they were justly condemned of heresy. How then say the Catholicks, that Christs body and blood is truly in the Supper? The true body and blood of Christ are in the Supper together with the bread and wine, not by conjunction of nature, but Sacramental: For Luther and the Holy Fathers testify, that it is not carnal, nor an including of the body in the bread, or of the blood in the wine, so that place and body: touch one another, and the place yields unto the body. Wherefore unto this true presence of Christs body and blood in the Supper, it is no way necessary, that his manhood be everywhere with the Godhead; but it is enough to believe, that as at the institution of the Supper the Lord sat with a circumscribed body, and nevertheless he gave unto his disciples his body to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken, and that ruly, according to his words, This is my body, This is my blood; So now sitting in the glory of Majesty, he reaches by the hands

of Ministers (Such is his Divine virtue and power) unto communicants his body and blood; Therefore the Latine Church was wont to pray before the communion, Let us lift up our hearts unto the Lord; For as in the first institution of the Supper the Disciples had their eyes fixed on the Lord, who sitting at table reached unto them the Holy Supper, So we should lift up our hearts unto the heavens unto him, who sitting in the glory of Majesty, reaches in the Supper by the hands of Ministers unto communicants his true body and blood, that it may be the meat & drink of the inward man, who thereby is fed, nourished and groweth unto everlasting life; Whence Bernard speaking of the Supper, saith, This is the food not of the belly, but of the soul: for it is not given to repair the ruin of this life, which is a vapor for a little time, but to confer eternal life unto the soul: And as the water being sprinkled in Baptism, hath done it's part, so the bread eaten, and the wine being drunken in the H. Supper, have done their part: but the spiritual virtue is possessed by faith, and the verity of Christs body and blood is also maintained. *So Heming.* About the year 1571. this controversy waxed hote: for in Witteberg Cas. Cruciger the later, Chr. Pezelius, Fr. Widebram, Henry Moller and others were against the Vbiquity: and for it were these of Iena chiefly, and with them were sundry other towns, as Brunswic, Luneburg, &c. In the same year Augustus the Elector of Saxony conveneth the Divines of Witteberg and Leipsh into Dresda: there they declared, that they held no other doctin, but what was in the Confession of Augsburg, and agreeth with Luther and Melanthon's writings; and they published their consent. Against this consent Lucas Osiander and Selnecker, and Jacob Andreæ did publish other books. The Wittebergers wrote their Apology. This contention waxeth hote and hote untill the year 1577. when George Count of Henneberg in a private conference said unto the Elector, The Divines of Witteberg do foster some errors, which can not be dissembled, nor approved by the sincere Ministers of the Church; neither is there hope of true peace among the followers of the Augustan Confession, until these errours be noted and condemned. The Elector answered, I wish an harmony, and that the corruptions were marked, and that there were some beginning of so necessary and profitable a work: If for my part will further it according to my power. George undertook it. At that time the Papiſts did upbraid them with their divisions, and said, There be so many parties among them of the Augustan Confession, that if any would leave Papiſtry, they know not unto what sect they shall cleave. Osiander *histo. Lib. 4. c. 2.* shewes another ground of their variance; that since the time of that unhappy *Interim* the corruptions and errors (which began at that time) could not be amended. And it may be added, that in all the periods of attempting reconciliations some did hold the points where-in they did agree at those several times, and others would not accept them: And Melanthon (whose authority was much respected) did (for peace) smoothe his Common places in the year 1546. and again in the year 1558. for which cause the rigider sort called him a temporizer; as also in the year 1552. he wrote a Confession of faith, to have bin presented unto the Council at Trent. This was and yet is called The Confession of Saxony, and was subscribed also by the Ministers of Misnia. In the year 1578. the Elector and the Count of Henneberg meet again at the marriage of Lewes Duke of Wurtembergh: After the solemnity these three being together, the Count shewes the Duke, what conference had been before for removing the scandal of division: then by common

*Liber
Concordia*

advice Lucas Osiander and Balthasar Bidembachius two Divines of Wurttemberg were appointed to pen some Overtures for removing those controversies. This was done so privily, that no other knew it, but those Princes, yea their Secretaries heard not of it. When those two had written their judgement, were assembled at Maulbron two Divines of Wurttemberg, two of Hennebergh, and one of Bada: They examin and change, as they thought expedient. *Osiand. Lib. Cit. Cap. 3.* Then their work was sent unto the Elector of Saxony, and he called for Jacob Andreæ, Chemnitius and Selneccer, and gave them the book: they judge it too brief, and enlarge it with other arguments, and other questions. This book was sent then unto sundry Vniversities and towns, to be freely censured, that if any thing were to be amended, added or empaired, they should admonish ingenuously. *Ibid. Cap. 4.* The Electors of Saxony and Brandeburgh caused it to be subscribed by 8000. towit, by sundry Princes, Imperial Towns and their Ministers; and it was printed in the year 1580. with the title *Liber Concordia*. It was not examined in a publick Synod, and was still concealed from those Churches which did oppose Vbiquity, and some within these Princes Dominions were displaced for refusing to subscribe it, and without any reasoning. So it turned into the Book of discord, and made the greatest rent of all. The book contained eleven Heads; having first layd this ground, that the books of the old and new Testament are the only rule, whereby the doctrine of faith is to be judged; and all other writings may be vsed as witnesses only. The first Head is of original sin; where they teach, that it is neither the nature, nor any part of the nature of man, but a corruption of nature, leaving in man nothing sound or uncorrupt, and can be known by the revealed word of God only. II. of the free-will in the first act of regeneration; that God worketh the conversion by the means of the word preached, and by opening the heart to hearken, so that it is the work of God only, making man, who is ignorant and unwilling, to see and will. III. Of righteousness before God, they declare it to be the righteousness of Christ God-man, for which God absolves us from our sins, without any respect of the merite of our good works, either bypast, present or to come; And faith (trusting in Christ, and working by love) is the only instrument, whereby we apprehend the same; Neither should a true believer doubt of the remission of his sins, notwithstanding his sins of infirmity. IV. Concerning good works, they hold that these are not the cause of justification, nor of eternall life; but all men especially the regenerat are debtors of good works; yet so that they condemn those positions, Good works are necessary to salvation; No man was ever saved without good works; and, it is impossible to be saved without good works; And faith in Christ can not be lost; and the elect do retain the Holy Ghost, even though they fall into adultery or other crimes, and continue in them. V. Of the law and the gospel, they say, Whatsoever in the holy Scripture is against sin, belongs unto the law; and the gospel properly is the doctrine teaching, what man, who hath not satisfied the law, should believe, towit, that Christ hath satisfied for all our sins, and hath obtained remission; but in a large sense the doctrine of repentance may be called the gospel; And they condemn it as pernicious and false, to say, The gospel properly is the doctrine of repentance; or, that it is not the only preaching of Gods grace, VI. concerning the use of the law; Albeit believers be free from the curse and coercion of the law, yet they are not lawless, but the law must be preached both unto the uncon-

unconverted and converted; yet with this different issue, that those who obey for fear of the curse, are said to do the works of the law; and who being regenerat, do obey willingly as if there were no curse nor reward, are said to obey the law of Christ, and the law of the mind; neither are they under the law but under grace. VII. concerning the Lord's Supper, they first condem those as crafty and deceiving Sacramentarians, who believe the true presence of the very, substantial and lively body and blood of Christ, and that the presence and eating of it is spiritual by faith; next they hold, that the body and blood of Christ is truly and substantially there, and is truly distributed with the bread and wine, and received not only by them who come worthily, but by the unworthy, albeit by the one sort unto their comfort, and the other to their judgement and damnation, unless they repent; And the grounds of this their faith are 1. Jesus Christ is very God and man in one person, undivided and inseparable. 2. the right hand is every where, and Christ in his manhood is set at the right hand of God. 3. the words of the institution are not false. 4. God knowes many wayes, and can be present as he pleaseth, neither is he tied to that only way, which the philosophers call Local; And so the body of Christ is present not only spiritually, but also bodily, yet not Capernaiteally, but in a spirituall and heavenly manner, in respect of the sacramental union, Thirdly they condem Popish transubstantiation, the sacrifice, the refusing of the cup, &c. VIII. of the person of Christ; they say, albeit the Godhead and manhood of Christ retain their several properties, yet they are vnited personaly, not as two planks conioined, but as iron and fire, or he soul and the body: Wherefore among other articles they condem them who hold, that only the manhood suffered; and, only the Godhead is present with us in the sacrament and in all our crosses, or that this presence is not in respect of his manhood; and, the Sone of God doth not all the works of his omnipotency in, and with, and by his manhood; and, Christ in respect of his manhood, is not capable of omnipotency and other Divine properties. IX. Concerning Christ's descending into hell; they say, It should not be curiously disputed, but be believed simply, that he descended into hell, and overcame the power of death and Satan; but when and how, it can not be known in this life. X. concerning Ecclesiastical ceremonies which are not commanded nor forbidden in the Worde; they say, those are not any part of Divine worship, and may be changed, as the edification of the Church in several times and places shall require; yet without levity and scandal; and in time of persecution, when a constant confession is required, nothing should be yielded unto the enemies of the gospell, or for their sake. XI. Concerning eternal predestination; first they distinguish between prescience and predestination; prescience (say they) is common to the estate of the godly and ungodly, and is not the cause of sin in any man; but predestination or election concerneth the godly only: this can not be searched among the hid decrees of God, but in the reveled word, which teaches, that God hath shut up all men under unbelief, that he might have mercy on all; and willeth not that any man should perish, but rather that all men should repent and believe in Christ, neither is any saved, but who believe in him, And where it is said, Many are called, but few chosen; it is not to be so understood, as if God would not have all men to be saved, but to shew, that the cause of the damnation of the wicked is their not-hearing or contempt of Gods word. [*And they have no mention of reprobation*] They have a twelfth Head against the here-

lies of Anabaptists, Arians and Antitrinitarians. This book was the occasion of an open separation. The next year the Divines of the Palatinate reply under the name of *Admonitio Neostadiana*, confirming the orthodox doctrine concerning the Person of Christ, and the Supper; shewing the false imputations of errors; examining the authority and true sense of the Augustan Confession; discovering the indirect means of penning, and seeking subscriptions of that book; and demonstrating the unjust condemnation of the true doctrine. When this book was published, some that had subscribed the former book, declared, that they had subscribed with limitations, and not absolutely, as the book was published; and they recalled their subscriptions; and the contrivers of that book replied under the title *Apologia Eislebenensis*. So, much was written pro and con. The points wherein they insist most, were the question of the Lord's Supper, the communication of the Divine attributes unto the manhood, and universal grace. Unto those of the Palatinate were joynted the Princes and Ministers of Anhalt and Nassau, the Helvetians, and many Cities of Germany, besides those of other Nations. Untill this day it is cleare, that those Vbiquitaries inveigh most bitterly against their adversaries, and impute many errors unto them falsely: by which two means they alienate the simpler sort from all reconciliation. This difference occasioned the compacting of the Harmony of Confessions. After that time there were other Conferences between these parties: but all in vain.

Troubles
in the
Greek
Church.

V. In Constantinople the Mussi or highpriest of the Turks dealt with Amurathes to take all the churches of the city from the Christians. The Greeks, Armenians and other Christian Nations did interceed in the contrary, alledging the liberty that was granted by Mahomet 2. and others his successors. The Mussi answered, That liberty was granted, when few Turks were in the city; but now when there be so many of their own Religion, Christians should have no place within the walls. Two churches were taken from them, and Amurathes turned all his wrath against the Patriarch, and caused lead him in an iron-chain through the city, and then banished him unto Rhodes. Sundry causes were alledged; as that he had caused the Christians receive the new Calendre of Rome, to the scandal of many; he had pronounced a Sentence of divorcement against a Noble Greek, who had made apostacy and turned to Mahumet; and when Amurathes was sending a multitude of Greeks as a Colony unto some desert places, the Patriarch called it an unjust thing. One Pachomius reported this unto Amurathes, and he was made Patriarch *Da. Chytre in Saxon. Lib. 27.* The Christians at mount Libanus were subdued by the Turk in the year. 1585. whereas before they had preserved their liberty. Cas. Consalvus a Lusitanian writes, that the Island of Iapan in the Indian sea is divided into 60. Princedoms; of which Francis of Bungo, Brotasius of Arimo, Bartholemew of Omuran were becom Christians, and sent their Ambassadors, who after three years journeying arrived at Rome, to acknowledge the Pope Gregory 13. a little before his death. But I will believe it (saith Osiander) when Iesuits shall leave off to ly.

Sad things
in the
Nether-
lands.

VI. The year 1584. was sad unto Belgio. They looked for the returning of Francis Duke of Anjou their Governor from France: But he fell into a dangerous sicknes: yet in May here recovered so far that he went to tilting; and the next day he took a potion, to purge away the dregs of his malady, and died on the morrow. When he saw the danger of death, he confessed that nothing did more grieve him, as that he had followed

the

the bad Counsel of wicked men in the administration of Belgio, and now he could not amend his former errors, as he had intended: But by writing, and by his Counsellors he advised his Brother the King to be a Protector of those Lands. He would not admit his Confessor, but professed sorrow for his misdeeds, and his faith in the mercy of God through JESUS CHRIST the only Mediator; and altogether rejected the Romish rites, as extreme unction, &c. Within a month after his death William Prince of Orange was traiterously killed in Delft by a Burgundian; who was immediately apprehended and punished. The same year Ghent and Yper and some other towns in Flanders (which before were Reformed) were necessitated to make agreement with the Duke of Parma; and so was Antwerp in Brabant the next year.

VII. In these two (now named) years were many stirres for the New Calender: I will name one in Riga of Livonia. Steven King of Pole had erected a colledge of Jesuits there in the year 1581. and he commanded that they should keep Christmases according to the new Style. The people would not be present: But when the 24 day of the old Style was come, they entreated the Senate, that they might have Sermon the next day, as before. It was refused. Nevertheless they assembled in the Churches about 8. of the cloke in the morning, and praised God, with their psalms, and the Rector preached in the school unto his Scholares, many people hearing. George Neuner the Minister stirred up the Burghgrave Nicolaus Eik against the Rector, and he sent for him to come into the court. When the Rector appeared, he was detained there. The word is spread through the town, that the Rector and some citizens were to be beheaded that night for that preaching. The Conrector Valentin Rascius and some others did supplicate the Burghgrave to dismiss the Rector, and would have engaged themselves for his compearance again, when it should be required; and if this be denied, they told, that the people could not be stayd from a tumult. Because the Burgrave would not yield, the scholares and people break up the court-doors, and took out the Rector whether he would or not: Then they pulled down the houses first of Neuner, then of Eik, and of a Syndic Gothard Welling. The next day they gather again, and complain among themselves openly what before they had endured with silence; that Jesuits were brought in, the Popish Religion was restored, their liberties were taken from them, &c. They shut the gates of the town, and call the Senate, to shew whether those things were done by their consent: and then understood, that all those things had been done by a few seeking the Kings favor and for their privat interest. This broil continued fourtien dayes; in the end they agreed to restore unto the Burgrave and others all their damages; that there should be an Act of oblivion, and the new Style should cease, &c. When the gates were opened, Eik, Neuner and the others went unto the King with their complaints. He sent a Cardinal to be Governour of the town, annulled all the Treaty consisting of 68. articles, and caused a greater sum of money to be payd unto the plaintiffs *Chrytra. ibid.*

VIII. The Frenches, who had left their native Land, and dwelt at Montpellier in the Dutchy of Wortemberg, did in the year 1586. sollicite the Divines there, and then the Duke Frederik, that there might be a publick Conference of the German and French Divines, hoping for some union of the above named controversies. They assemble in March: the Duke was present all the time. On the one side was Iacob Andrea Chan-
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*Troubles
in Riga for
the new
Calendar.*

*A conf-
rence at
Monpel-
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celar of Tubing, Lucas Osiander Chappellan of Wurtembergh, and two Civilians from Duke Lewes; and on the other side were Theo. Beza and Anton. Fajus from Geneve, Abra. Musculus and two Civilians from Bern, and Claud. Alberius from Lausan. Many others were hearers. The Theses or propositions are long and many, and the Disputation was longer; I give the sum briefly and faithfully. The first day, towit, Marc. 21. the Wurtembergers (according to the order prescribed) give (in write) Theses of the Lords Supper, shewing; that all do agree, that all believers eat Christs flesh, and drink his blood spiritually; all condemn the renting of Christs flesh with mens teeth; as also transubstantiation, and physical or local presence: So that the only question is, Whether in the Supper the very body and blood of Christ be verily and substantially present, and be distributed, and be received with the bread and wine by the mouth of all them who receive the Sacrament, whether worthy or unworthy, believers or not believers; yet so that the believers only receive comfort, and the unbelievers do eat to their own condemnation? We hold the affirmative (say they) that is, By those words, *IN*, with and under the bread, we understand nothing, but that they who eat that bread, and drink that wine, do receive Christs body and blood with the bread and wine. 2. By the words, Substantially, Essentially, Really and Orally, we mean no other, but the very eating and presence of his body and blood. 3. They argue from the truth of Christs words, *This is my body*, and the almighty power of Christ; seeing his words declare his will, and by his power he can give his body unto all receivers. 4. The manner, how the worthy and unworthy receive Christs body, is not expressed in the Scripture, and we say, It is supernaturall and incomprehensible by the wit of men, and should not be disputed nor searched curiously. These theses were given unto Beza, as it was appointed; and the next day he brought his answer, and propositions: The sum is; A Sacrament in the strict sense, is a sensible thing appointed (by Divine institution) to be separated from common use to signify spiritual and holy things; and this signification consists not in a bare representation, whereby the mind is admonish'd to conceive the thing signified (this is the use of pictures) but on Gods part, with the signs is also a very giving of those things, which are signified and offered unto our souls, 2. We teach, that according to Christs institution, by the bread is signified Christs body; by the wine, his blood; by breaking the bread and pouring out of the wine are signified those grievous torments, which He suffered for us in his body and soul: by outward giving the bread and wine, the spiritual giving the things signified, by Christ unto our souls; by outward taking the signes is signified the spiritual receiving of Christ by faith Sacramentally and truly: For He hath commanded not only what things are to be used, but also what we should do. 3. The Sacramental union of the signes and things signified consists in a mutual relation, as is now said: for the verity of Christs body (which is local and circumscribed both before and after his glorification) can not consist otherwise: Again many passages of Scripture, that shew the true and physical ascending of Christ from the earth, and his returning from heaven unto judgement, do confute the doctrine of consubstantiation; Thirdly that Paul saith, We are absent from the Lord, and, We desire to be with him; Lastly, this was the continual consent of the Church, concerning the true absence of Christs flesh from us, and the continual circumscription of his body, not on the earth, but in heaven: which can not consist with any other

other conjunction but this relative . 4. When the word Sacrament is taken in a more large sense, it consists of two things , one earthly , and another heavenly : We teach that earthly things are received by earthly instruments, to wit, the hand and mouth; but the heavenly things are apprehended only spiritually by faith : because albeit Christs body is a truly organical body, yet analogy requires, that such as the nourishment and end thereof is, such also must be the manner of receiving it : but the nourishment and end thereof is spiritual, that is, they concern our spiritual union with Christ , and eternal life through him: therefore the manner of receiving those must also be spiritual, by the proper instrument of the soul, which is faith: and therefore seeing the bodily receiving of the signes is a pledge of the spiritual receiving, these words, *eat, and drink*, as they are properly spoken of receiving the signes, so are they spoken figuratively of the thing signified, to wit, by a sacramental metonymy, whereby that which agreeth unto the signes, is spoken of the things signified ; and so both those receivings can not be by the mouth. Again if the substance of Christs body were received bodily, it should remain in the faithfull at least, and they should become the substantial or bodily members of Christ , and so the Church were not his mystical body, but a body verily and substantially consisting of the substance of His body , and of the bodies of all believers. 5. The proper effect of the Supper is the saluation of the worthy communicants by confirming their spiritual vnion in Christ ; and another effect (but by accident) is the condemnation of them who come unworthily, that is, ignorant of this mystery, or meerly incredulous and without repentance, and this condemnation proceeds not from the Supper, but from the unworthy vsing of it. Then unto the question, as it was propounded, Beza answered negatiuely ; not denying that the body of Christ is truly offered unto all that come, but to be received by faith, and not by the mouth: and therefore albeit the wholl sacrament be tendered unto all that come, yet unbelievers receive only the signes, and they are guilty of Christs body and blood, not which they have received, but which they contemned. Unto the two arguments he answered, We deny not the truth of Christs words, but we expound them according to the analogy of faith contained in the Creed: unto which faith consubstantiation is contrary; and albeit Christ, as he is God, is almighty, yet his manhood is not almighty; and as he is God, he can not do what he hath not decreed to do, or what is contrary unto his decree; not because he is not almighty, but because to change his will, and so to be mutable, is not a power, but an infirmity: But God hath ordained, that Christs body should be local and circumscribed &c. On this article the disputation continued three dayes, the one pressing the truth of the words, This is my body; and Beza urging the analogy of the faith, and the like phrase of other sacraments. Neither of the two would yield: and then they passed unto the article of the person of Christ. First the Wurtembergers say, both agree, that the Sone of God hath assumed the nature of man, and became like unto us in all things, except sin; that he hath assumed this nature into the unity of his person; and he is one person, so that the two natures are most strictly united, not by confusion or commision, or absorption or transmutation of either of these natures before nor after his ascension: for unto the perfect person of the Mediator both natures are required; neither can the properties of the one nature be the properties of the other: for then would follow an abolition of one of these natures : also the properties of the humane nature are the

gifts that were given unto him without measure, by which he excelleth all men and Angels; In the person of Christ is a communication of properties whereby the properties of both natures are spoken of his person, and the properties of the one nature are given unto the other, by that doctrine which is called *doctrina idiomatum*; and so when it is said. The Son of God communicates his properties unto the assumed nature, to wit, his omnipotence or omnipresence, it is not understood as if he powred into the assumed nature (as a thing is powred from a vessel into another) his properties, as if humane nature by itself, or of itself or considered *in abstracto* without his person, had proper omnipotency; neither may we think that his humane nature is made an infinite substance or uncircumscribed, or extended unto all places, or is every where in such a manner, as God is every where; When we speak of the real communication of properties, we mean not that one nature passeth into another, but we oppose real unto verbal communication, which makes only names common unto the natures; Then the question is, Whether for the personal union there be a real or a very and true communication of properties between the two natures in his person, or that the one nature communicates its properties unto the other? and how far this communication is extended? We believe, that upon the personal union followes so reall a communication of properties, whereby the Son of God communicates unto the assumed nature his omnipotence, omnipresence, omniscience, power of quickning, &c. by which communication the Godhead becomes not weaker, but his humane nature is exalted; and not abolished; as is the union of the body and soul, and of the fire and iron: the body lives verily, but by vertue of the soul, and the iron burneth but by vertue of the fire, neither is any of them turned into another; therefore we believe that because of this personal union, Christ according to his manhood is almighty, or (which is all one) the humane nature of Christ is almighty: For the Scripture gives unto him, even as he is man, all power, which is no other thing but omnipotency, and in testimony of this he gave sight unto the blind We believe that Christ in his manhood (now in the estate of glory and Majesty) perfectly knowes all things that have been or shall bee: For the Spirit was given him not in measure. . . . but where it is said, he knew not the day of judgement, it is not meant simply of his manhood, but of the form of a servant, which afterwards he layd aside; The Scriptures also bear witnes that Christ in his humanity is present with all creatures, especially with his Church, *Beloved, I am with you untill . . .* but the manner of this presence is not exprest: and so we believe not that he is locally or physically, but supernaturally with all his creatures: how this is, in true humility we confess that we are ignorant; We believe also, that in his flesh he hath the power of quickening, as he said *I am the bread of life*, and he had this majesty of omnipotency, and of . . . as he is man (because of the personal union) even in the wombe of his mother, but he shew it not then: after he was born, he shew it in miracles so oft as it was needfull, and so far as the respect of his office and calling did require: for he was then in form of a servant, and had abased himself, that he might suffer: But the exinanition, or form of a servant, which was but for a time, derogates nothing from his Majesty, into which he entred fully, when he went up to heaven, and sate at the right hand of God: this right hand is the Majesty of Christ reigning *presenter* according to both natures both in heaven and earth: this is to sit at the right hand of God; And this our Mediator

is to be adored with all religious worship according to both natures: for we have not two Christs, whereof the one should be worshipped, and not the other: but of wholl Christ it is said, Let all the Angels worship him. On the morrow Beza answered thus; There is ambiguity in the word *communication*: it signifieth the personal union, and also the effects of it; We believe a real communication, that is, an union of natures: in which union both natures remain distinct, both in their own properties: and therefore that communication, whereby his humane nature is said to be every where and almighty, is not so much as verbal, but is as false, as if yow would say, His humanity is become his Deity; Although all the properties of the Deity may be attributed unto Christ-man, that is, unto his person even named by his manhood, or *in concreto*, as we say, The man Christ is almighty and eternal; but neither may the natures be spoken one of another, neither the properties of the one be given unto the other: for this is a sure rule, In the personal union both natures remain distinct, and they both distinctly do what is proper unto them: So the Word is distinctly that which the worde is, as the flesh remains distinctly the flesh; Briefly as are two natures in Christ, distinct in number, and not separated one from the other, so there are two wills, and two workings or operations, but one work, as there is but one person: Neither can that saying of Athanasius be otherwise understood, It pleased the Worde to shew his Divine nature by that flesh, in it, and with it; As for the alledged places of Scripture, those concerning the power and authority of Christ, are impertinently brought, because his power or authority should be reckoned amongst the gifts bestowed on his flesh: And so those places concerning his omnipotency and omnipresence, must be understood of his person or Deity, and not of his manhood. To this purpose he cited some testimonies, as of Tertullian, We see a twofold estate, not confounded but united in one person God-man, and the properties of both natures are so safe, that the Spirit or Deity shewes his own things in him, that is, his virtue, works and signes; and the flesh exerciseth its passions, being hungry when with Satan, and thirsty with the woman of Samaria: As for that power of vivification; we deny not, that the flesh of Christ hath that power, but not in that sense, as yee take it: for the flesh is vivificative, not with that virtue, which is proper unto the Deity (that is not communicable) but first because in this flesh Christ hath abolish'd death for us, having fulfilled all things that were required to acquire eternal life unto us; and then because by means of this flesh being communicated spiritually unto us by faith, we receive life from Christ God-man: It's manifest, that those gifts which were powred on the flesh of Christ were not at one instant perfectly bestow'd on his soul and body, because he is said, to have grown as in stature, so in knowledge and grace, and he was verily subject unto all our infirmities (except sin) in time of his humiliation: and so after his ascension he began not the use and declaration, but the consummation of his power and glory: The form of a servant, and the exinanition signify not both one thing, as yee suppose; but by the form of a servant, we understand his very humanity, according to which he ever was, is and shall be inferior to himself the Word, and by which he is of the same nature with us, though he hath laid aside all our infirmities, when the work of our redemption was finished: but among those infirmities circumscription is not to be numbred; or else when he shall come in a bodily circumscribed substance, he were not then most glorious, but base having resumed that infirmity: We profess

fess also that Christ reigneth now, and hath all power both in heaven and earth according to both natures; but not *presenter* in respect of his flesh: for now (as the Apostle saith) we are strangers from Christ; and he desired to be out of the body, that he might be with Christ; And it is said, He will come again, towit, visibly and bodily. Lastly in that one adoration of our one and only Mediator according to both natures, we divide not the person, but we distinguish the natures: for the Worde is the true and absolute object of our adoration, and adoration is due unto God only: but we exclude not that flesh from our adoration, lest we divid his person with Nestorius; yet so that we worship that flesh not in itself, but respectively as it is the flesh of the Sone of God: to this purpose he brought a testimony of Cyrill, and the eight anathematism of the Councell at Chalcedon. They disputed on this article other three dayes: but no agreement. March. 27. the Wurtembergers gave their propositions of Popish churches, images, and organes in churches. They agreed, that these are in themselves indifferent, if the abuses be shunned. Then they gave theses of baptism, where the question was, Whether baptism is the laver of regeneration in the holy Spirit? or whether it be only a signe signifying and sealing adoption? The V Wurtembergers said; It not only signifieth and sealeth adoption, but is the very laver of regeneration, because it is said, He washes his Church by the laver of water, and, Unless a man be born again . . . and they condem these propositions, The grace of the holy Ghost is not tied unto the sacraments; The sacraments are appointed only to confirm Gods favor toward us; Regeneration or salvation depends not absolutly on baptism: It is an improper speech, Baptism washes away sin; In the elect only is the virtue of baptism; All infants that are baptized, are not partakers of the grace of Christ, or regenerated; It is unlawfull, that women do baptize, even in case of necessity. Beza gave his answer in writ: the sum is, The sacraments are not bare signes, but the efficacy of the Holy Spirit should be distinguished from the power of the water, as they are distinguished by John in *Matth. 3.* and by Pet. 1. *Ep. 3.* and of the whole ministry it is said, He who planteth or watereth is nothing: And he declares the words of the institution, and the effects of baptism. In the dispute Jacob Andreæ held that there is but one washing, because Paul saith, one baptism. Beza said, There is an outward, and an inward washing; and he rebuked the Wurtembergers, that they do not call the blood of Christ the thing signified in baptism. Do. Jacob answered, A sacrament is such as the word describes it: but neither Christ nor Paul speaking of baptism, make any mention of blood. They asked, Whether infants have faith? Beza denied, and the other affirmed it. They questioned, Whether the elect being sanctified may lose faith? Beza denied; and the other put it off unto the article of predestination. They asked, What hope may parents have of their baptised children? Beza said, All should hope well, but we are not Prophets, to foretell, that this or that child shall be a good or bad man. Concerning women's baptism Th. Beza said, There can be no such necessity, for which the Divine ordinance of the Ministry should be transgressed. Jacob said, As a woman may comfort a man in time of necessity. Beza replied, There is another consideration of exhorting and comforting one another; and, not the want, but the contempt of the sacrament doth condemn. Neither in this point did they agree. Concerning predestination the Wurtembergers said, God from all eternity not only foresaw the fall of man, but hath also foreknown

foreknown and chosen them that shall be saved, and hath appointed them unto salvation, that is that they should be saved by Christ: for the election was made in Christ; The number of them who shall be saved, is certain with God; So the question remains (say they) whether God hath predestinate his elect unto life, so that he in his bid and absolut judgement hath appointed certain men, yea the most part of men unto eternal damnation, that he will not have them to repent nor be converted and saved? We believe that such decree can not be shewd by Scripture, that without respect of their unworthiness, but at the meer pleasure of his will he hath appointed any man, far less the greatest part of men unto everlasting damnation, or that he will not have them to repent: Because whatsoever is written is written that we through patience and consolation might have hope; and, God will have all men to be saved They reject these propositions, Reprobation is the most wise purpose of God, whereby from all eternity he hath constantly decreed without all unrighteousness, not to shew love on them whom he hath not loved, that in justly condemning them he might declare his wrath against sin, and shew his glory; The cause of the decree of election or reprobation, is his eternal favour toward them who at his pleasure are appointed unto salvation, and his eternal hatred of ill, ordaining whom he pleased unto damnation: but wherefore he hath appointed these men rather than those unto salvation or damnation, there is no other impulsive cause but his will; God willeth not that those who are appointed to damnation should be saved, or that the death of his Sone be available unto them. Beza answered thus; What yee deny, that the vessels of wrath, as well as the vessels of mercy were ordained from eternity, Wee do affirm; not only because there is alike reason of contraries, and the very word Election prooveth it, but also it is declared by the expresse word of God Rom. 9. 11. And this is so far from any ground, that man can challenge God of unrighteousness, that He were not unjust though he had condemned all men, seeing we all are the children of wrath, and he is debter to none; Wee say further, that their condemnation, who in the eternal decree are left in their corruption, is not rightly attributed unto this decree: For albeit that which God hath decreed, can not miss; but shall come to pass, and so they who perish do not perish without this decree, yet the cause of the execution or of their condemnation, is not that decree of God, but their natural corruption and the fruits of it, from which it pleased God to exeeem them only, whom he hath chosen to salvation; That there ever was and is a great number of them who perish, the matter it self shewes, and Christ saith, Many are called; and few chosen; and, Few enter in at the strait gate; Lastly that God will not have them to be converted and saved, it's not to be understood, as if they were willing, and God resisteth their desire; but that they will not be converted, nor can they will, being forsaken of God, and left in impenitency. He answered also to the objections: but I will not repeat them here. In this dispute they come to that question, Whether Christ died for all men? even for the sins of the damned? Iacob held the affirmative, and Beza the negative. When they both repeated the same arguments and answers, Prince Frederik thought it expedient to close, seeing no appearance of agreement: he exhorted them to give one to another the hand of fraternity, and to abstain from bitter writings, untill God shall give them more cause of peace. Iacob answered, Seeing those have accused us of horrible errors, we can not conceive, how we can acknowledge them

as brethren; as for investives, we approve them not, but we will oppugne their errors. Beza said, Seeing yee refuse us, to give us the right hand of fraternity, neither acknowledge us as brethren, wee do not regard your hand of friendship. So the Conference was ended March. 29. *Lu. Ofsan. Cent. 16. lib. 4.*

The conference at
Baden.

IX. In February *An. 1589.* Pistorius a Papist in Baden vanted, that he would confound all the Lutheran Divines and convince them by the Scriptures only, and by the same ground maintain the Roman Religion. No other Papist had attempted so much before. But when James Marques of Baden had obtained from Lewes Duke of Wuttembergh, that some of the Divines there, should come unto a Conference, Pistorius shifted from day to day untill November. Then the Marques, and Frederik Duke of Mompelgart with consent of both parties set down the order and conditions of the dispute, and especially to handle in the first place the question, Whether the Lutheran or the Roman be the Catholik Church? Both parties gave their *Theses* concerning that: but in all the four Sessions Pistorius brought not one argument from the Scriptures: he insisted only in discussing the ambiguity of words, and sought to find captious sophisms: at last against the will of the Noble men and of his adversary party he break off the Conference: neither was any thing remarkable in that dispute, saith *Osiander Lib. Cit.* but their *Theses* may be desired. Pistorius said, The Church ever was, is, and shall be conspicuous, so that it can never be extinguishd, nor obscured, nor lurk, nor be silent. Though the notes of the Church be four, towit, unity, holiness, perpetuity and universality; yet all may be reduced into one: for universality is the absolute note of the Church; As error can not be the signe of the false Church, so purity of the word and sacraments whether in whole or in part can not be the mark of the true Church, because purity depends on the Church, rather then it upon purity, and purity is known better by the Scripture. On the other side the above named Iacob Andreæ said, The Church on earth is one in all times and places; and the Scripture shewes clearly, that the Church hath not one and alike face in all ages and places: for it had one face in the dayes of the Apostles, when she was most pure, because by faith she kept the doctrine of Christ, albeit her chastity was even then tempted by false teachers: and she had another face, when she was governed by the Fathers the successors of the Apostles: for by lapse of time some errors crept in, as the Apostles had foretold. The third and most miserable face was under Antichrist: of which estate Christ and his Apostles had forewarned diligently: then was the Church so deformed, that she could scarcely be known, as the Prophet said of the Jewish Church, How is the faithfull city become an harlot... nevertheless even then the Lord had his 7000. who had not defiled themselves with idolatry; And because before the glorious coming of the Lord, the Holy Ghost hath foretold, that the man of sin shall be reveled, and killed in the hearts of many men, he foretelleth another and a fourth face of the Church, which is answerable unto the first in time of the Apostles; And albeit Satan will by fanaticall spirits defile her no less then he did at the first, and the number of the elect shall be small, as Christ saith, When the son of man shall come, shall he find faith on the earth? nevertheless the true Church shall continue in despite of all the craft of Satan untill the last judgement-day; It is sufficient to prove the true Church to be Catholik now (whether a particulare or uniuersal) if it be demonstrated by the

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Prophets and Apostles or by their writings, that she is conform in doctrine unto her which was in the dayes of the Apostles; Neither is the purity of doctrine and Sacraments better known by the Church, then the Church is known by the doctrine and sacraments: for the Church depends on the word and Sacraments, but the purity of doctrine and Sacraments depends on God only and his reveled will, even albeit all the world would forsake it & speak against it, as it is written, *All men are liars, but God is true, &c.*

X. At Kracow *An. 1591.* on the Ascension-day, the Popish party, especially the Students being stirred up by their Masters the Iesuits, began with a huge tumult to pull down the houses, wherein the reformed were wont to assemble. The King Sigismund and the Nobility being in the town, sent some of the Guard to hinder them, and stayd them for a time: nevertheless at midnight those did gather again, and burnt the houses wholly. The Nobility of the nearest Provinces called this a beginning of the Massacre of Paris, and fearing greater danger, did meet in Chimiolinscia: they resolve first to send unto the king, and excuse them selves, that they had assembled without his knowledge; and to shew, that their main business was to Provide for his safety and honor against the like tumults; and that they intend to have a more frequent meeting September 23. in Radom where the Nobility of Lithuania professing the gospel will be present; and to supplicate that the churches might be restored unto the Reformed in Cracow; and that a Parliament might be called, to establish peace of religion: The King shew his displeasure, for that they had assembled without his knowledge; seeing he had already promised unto the Messengers of Sendomiria and Cracow, that he would use all the means of Peace, and to punish the authors and chief actors of that tumult. and he discharge them that other meeting: he gave them liberty to rebuild the churches. In the year 1595. was a more frequent convention of the Reformed (or *Euangelists*, as they called them selves) at Torun in August: there were two Palatini, the Deputies of five others, two *Castellani*, and many Nobles of Poland and Lithuania, and forty four Divines. After prayer they choosed Swietoslav Otzelsci to be president, a Marshal and Scribes. Otzelsci declared the causes of their assembly, 1. to advise how to preserve a consent in doctrine, as it had been agreed by their fathers in Sendomiria: And 2. because they are obnoxious unto the malice and violence of adversaries, to consult how to preserve peace of religion, as both present King and the former Kings have sworn to continue it. When this was propounded, the Deputies of the absent *Palatini*, as also of the Senators of Volhinia, Russia, Podolia and Podlascia declared the excuses of their Authors, and their desire of the same particulars. A Messenger in the Kings name forbids them to sit any more. They answer, They intend nothing against the King nor Kingdom nor the lawes or constitutions thereof, but only to advise upon their own grievances, and to make their addresses unto his Majesty to supplicate his protection. Then the Messenger threatned the town, that they had received these men. It was answered, The town is patent unto Jews and heathens, and far less could those noble men be hindered to enter. But a Messenger of the b. of Cujaw spoke more menacingly, and said, It was his Priviledge, to preserve Religion, to call and moderate Synods. They answered, Albeit the bishop hath no jurisdiction over them, neither are they obliged to give him account of their actions; nevertheless to satisfy his curiosity, they declare this to be the cause of their meeting, 1. that if any difference were among those of their Confession, either in doctrine

*Troubles
in Poland.*

*The agree-
ment of
the Reformed
there*

or in disorderliness of manners, it may be composed orderly, and so they might continue peace among themselves, as we find in the Acts that the Apostles had their meetings upon the like occasions. 2. Because they had suffered most grievous injuries from their adversaries, by burning their churches; killing some, and most shamefully drawing others out of their graves, they had assembled to bewail their calamities and to advise upon a way of peace and safety hereafter: but it seemes, that the priests would not suffer them to bemoan their miseries: And if the Bishop please, he may come into the town with as many as he willet, as for them: they will not medle with his consultations. When these Messages were done, they consulted upon these propositions: and first they all did subscribe the consent of doctrine, as it was done at Sendomiria: and because heretofore they had followed different forms of confession, some the Augustan, some the Bohemian, and others the Helvetian, now to remove all differences, and namely, that of the sacrament, they unanimously agree to teach hereafter according to the Augustan confession, which was written in the year 1552. and if any man shall write, teach or speak otherwise, or accuse any or embracing this consent, he shall not be accounted as a brother of the Polonian Church. Then they did accorde upon some articles of Church-discipline, and to erect a publick School by contribution of the Nobility. 2. They sent two Palatini of Minsk and Leszink with others, to represent unto the King, how their churches were demolished in Cracow, Posnania and Vilna: many dead were pulled out of their graves, and some Noble men were shutt at posts: they name Bonar, and a Lady Zeczulmuka: and that the Jesuits do instruct the people in the villages to kill their Masters of the Evangelical profession, promising unto them not only immunity: but large rewards: yea, they entice the women to murder their own husbands: and to supplicat his Majesty, that he would protect his faithfull servants and subjects; provide for common peace of religion according to his coronation-oath, and not suffer himself to be deceived by those strangers (the Jesuits) who are banished out of France, and disturb other Nations. *Dau. Chytre. in Chronic. Saxonie.* Osiander addeth, These Messengers received not a gracious answer. This King Sigismund married the sister of Ferdinand Duke of Austria, and after her death he married her sister, by dispensation of the Pope.

A letter
showing
the condi-
tion of se-
veral Na-
tions at that
time.

XII. Here is a Letter sent by the Emperour Rodolph unto Theodor geat Duke of Moscovie in the year 1595. hinting at the estate of the most part of Europe at that time. His preface is that he had heard read unto him with great joy the Duk's Letters sent by his Embassador Michael Juvanoviz by which as also by the report of his Ambassador he understood his good will, in sending with a Christian and laudable zeal his gifts and aid against the Turk the common enemy of Christian name and blood, and in promising unto him (the Emp.) and the Christian world his best furtherance and offices: Which is not only acceptable unto himself, but shall also be unto his honor and praise through the Christian world, and a laudable precedent unto other Princes; as also himself and all the house of Austria shall declare their offices of thankfulness and courtesy unto him and his friends upon all occasions, that the brotherly alliance continued from their forefathers may be known unto all Nations; As for the confederacion amongst the chief Princes of the Christian world, he hath not failed in his diligence to the uttermost: but hithertills he could prevail nothing with the Pope and King of Spain, because they are far distant, and the Pope being

being but lately advanced, is taken up with manifold cares for the distressed Church; and in the mean while doth aid Cesar with men and money and declares a great zeal against the common enemy, as also he hath sent a Legate into Moscow for that effect: but the King of Spain being antient and infirm, hath such business not only with his rebellious subjects, but with France and England, in every place; that he must be spared, and nevertheless he hath declared heretofore his good will unto us, and hath helped with a great sum of money; And when I shall understand, that he recovereth health, I shall not be slack to plead this cause by our Ambassadors both there and at Rome, untill we obtain some assurance from them both: Of which we have resolved to acquaint your Brotherhood by our Ambassador, as also of the success of the Christian Army, especially when the Lord of hosts shall give us more victories. In the mean while we think it necessary to know of the condition of the King of Persia, and how we may deal with him, before we send any unto him; howbeit it is most certain that it greatly concerneth all Christendom, to have the Persians our friends: wherefore we entreat friendly, that your Brotherh. would continue mutuall friendship with them, and cherish their affection towards us; Whereas your Brotherh. hath endeavoured to raise the Tatars against the Turks howbeit you have not prevailed, yet we thank you kindly, entreating also brotherly, to persevere in that good purpose with them so far as you can: yet we have heard, that many Tatars are entred into Valachia, whom we must do what we can, to resist. As for the Treaty of peace begun with the Swede, we have our Ambassador Mincowitz there of a long time, untill it be brought to an end, as also we have commanded Warkutzy to repair thither, when he shall exped his business: By whom your Brotherh. may understande; that we have done diligently in that cause, as also we promise with a brotherly mind unto your Brotherhood that we shall do our endeavour at all occasions and times, and in whatsoever other affaires; and whatsoever can be sought of us as a faithfull brother, you may expect. We pray God to keep your Brotherh. in safety unto us and all Christendom; whom we love with all brotherly faithfulness and loving-kindness. Given at Prague Septemb. 22. 1595. At that time the Emperour intending to send Maximilian Duke of Austria General of his Army against the Turk, did consult of an expert Lieutenant to go with him: he was advised to employ Alfonso Duke of Ferrara, who thretty years before had been a Commander in Hungary under Maximilian, and then (notwithstanding his old age) was willing to aid Christendom in so great necessity and because he had no children, he would provide his inheritance unto his cousin Cesar Eftensis, and besought the Pope to declare him his heir, if it shall happen that he shall not return; and for this he profered unto the Pope some thousand Ducats of gould. But pope Clemens VIII. could not be moved by prayer nor reward, to grant this, and so through his fault the old Duke left that expedition. *Da. Chytra. in Chron. Saxon. par. 5.* Nevertheless the Emperour sent his Army against the Turk in Hungary: they did not good neither that year nor the next. and in the year 1598. by means of the Cham of Tatory was a Treaty of peace between the Emperour and the Turks: the articles that were demanded were so high on both sides, that their treating was in vain. Then was great fear amongst the Christians, untill God gave then some space of breathing, by raising up some Bassa's against their own Master, and (as sometimes amongst the Midianites *Judg. 7.*) the Tatars in the Turkish Army fell into variance

with their confederats, and fought most cruelly one against another in the year 1599.

XII. In year 1600. Tiber overflowed his banks to the great damage of Rome in time of the Jubilee: the Pope sent a priest Montorius to say some prayers, and to give an Hosty (called) *Agnus Dei* unto the River: but the river would not accept such sacrifices. The same year the Jesuits perswaded Ferdinand Duke of Austria, to expell all the Ministers out of Styria: and the people that would not return to their old idolatry were persecuted, some were imprisoned, and some leaving their lands went away with their families into other countreyes. Then all the churches were thrown down, that the Protestants had built, and many graves were opened in despite of the dead people. Before that time had been peace among the Germans; notwithstanding the difference of religion: but these firebrands kindled a new persecution, and perswaded the Magistrats to oppresse their subiects. But God made the Turks to punish the Duke Ferdinand, so that he lost more another way. *Osfand. Cent. 16. Lib.*

4. Cap. 54.

Where the
Christians
were be-
fore the
Reforma-
tion.

XIII. It may please some to read a story which Nic. Hemingius hath in the end of his catechism: his last question is, If we should think so of the Popish Masse, it seems that for many years the Lords Supper hath not been rightly administred in the world, *Ans.* So do the Papists object, but they are deceived, whilst they say that the Supper was not used, if not with them: for they shut up the Church in too narrow bounds, seeing it is spread through, as Christ witnesseth, and I oppose his alone testimony unto all Priests and devils. But if you ask, Where was the Church without the jurisdiction of the Pope? I answer, There were many godly people in the outward society of the Romanists, who albeit they were deprived of the use of the Supper, yet they understood rightly the foundations of religion, and the articles of faith (*here he might have said that they received the sacrament with a true faith, as he had spoken before of Bernard, and certainly many were such.*) Likewise in Turcia, Arabia, Persia, and in Egypt

The for-
me of the
Christian
Religion
in Egypt.

there were even from the time of the Apostles, and today are Churches, albeit under grievous tyranny, as Gods people sometime were in Egypt. But lest you think, that I speak amiss, I will shew you the description of the Supper and liturgy, as it is to day in Arabia and Egypt, where Christians are. Three years agoe (*The book was written, Hafnia December 4. 1560. in Prefat.*) an antient and grave man, Demetrius by name, and Thessalonian by nation, being sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople, told me many things of the religion of the Christians living among the Turks, and because he had lived ten years in Cairo that famous city of Egypt, which is also called Misrim, he declared unto mee the rites of the Church there, being translated out of the Arabick: the narration whereof I have distinguished thus: 1. The Christians in Cairo have many churches (all marked with a half moon which is the Turkish badge) but without bells [they are called by the cry of a man unto their religion] and without idols, except that they have historical pictures out of the old and new Testament upon the wals of the churches. 2. The Pastor of Antioch is their Patriarch, who, that he may be known to be Patriarch, hath a broad bonnet [with a red cross in the midst] on his head, as the badge of his office. 3. Four times yearly, to wit, the day of the Lords nativity, the day of resurrection, the day of Pentecost, and August 15. all Christians, that are there, do communicat of both elements: there is no difference of laiks

and

and priests, but the same mysteries are given unto them both. 4. The celebration of the Masse is in this manner; The priest puts on alba & pallium, after our manner almost, except that he had four red crosses upon his priestly vesture, one on his right arm, another upon his left arm, a third upon his breast, and the fourth upon his back, that howsoever he turn, the badge of Christ the high priest may be seen. 5. The priest being so clothed in the vestment, comes forth, and turning unto the people, he saith with a lowd voice, that he may be heard by all that are present, Blessed be the Kingdom of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, both ever and unto all ages of ages: and all the people answereth, *Amen*. 6. After this confession he subjoineth a prayer unto the holy Trinity and all the people answereth, *Amen*. 7. When the prayer is ended, the people sing, Holy Father, holy Mighty, holy Immortal; have mercy on us. 8. After this song they read out of the writings of the Apostles, first in Greek, then in Arabick, because many Christians, that are there, have come from Arabia. 9. They sing, *Hallelujah*. 10. The Gospel is read in Greek, and then in Arabick. 11. When the Gospel is ended, all the people sing the song, which they call Cherubim. 12. When that song is ended, the chief Minister hath a Sermon, for an hour almost: for the Sermon is never beyond one hour. 13. When the Sermon is ended, the words of the Supper are rehearsed out of the pulpit, and that upon the four festivals as I said before at the third number. 14. Then coming from the pulpit unto the table, which is placed in the midst of the Church, the priest directing his face toward the people saith, Every good gift and perfect donation descends from above, from the Father of lights. 15. The priest distributing the Sacrament of the Supper, speaketh unto every one of the communicants in these words, Receive thou grace from the Lord, and mercy from God our Saviour. 16. Unto these words, he who receives the mysteries of the holy Supper, answereth, Son of God, make me partaker to day of thy mystical Supper: I shall never deny thee: I shall not kiss thee as Judas did, but as the thief I will confess thee: remember mee, Lord, in thy Kingdom. 17. They sing not in time of communicating, but all the spectators do meditate on these holy mysteries with singular devotion. 18. When the communion is finished, is a thanksgiving and a prayer: then the priest turning toward the people, blesseth them in this manner, The blessing of the Lord be upon you. And all the people say, *Amen*. Demetrius told mee those things concerning the Masse, which is celebrated four times a year, as I have said. But in their dayly meetings the same Demetrius told mee, the Christians have this custom. 1. The priest beginneth with a blessing, as in the Masse. 2. Publick prayers are made; a lesson is rehearsed out of the holy Scriptures, and there is a short Sermon. 3. When the prayer is finished, bread is distributed without wine: they call not this bread the body of the Lord, but it is given in token of mutuall brotherly-love, that their mindes being admonished by this sign, may be united, who eat of the same bread. 4. When they have eaten that bread, they are dismissed with this blessing, The blessing of the Lord be upon you. *So Heming.*

XIV. It may be required here, why is not mention made of the tares which the ill man did sowe among the wheat in this Century? I intended indeed to have marked those heresies; but partly because these are collected already, and partly that this Compend hath swelled bigger then I intended, I leave them; and only will writ a little of a late kind of Monks

Of the
Jesuites.

in the Roman Church: these are the Jesuits. They had their first hatching from *Johannes Petrus Carafa*, a Venetian, who became Pope Paul III. But because he brought not that Order to an establishment, his name is forgot in their genealogy, and Ignatius Loyola is called their first father. This was a Spaniard and a Captain: When the Frenches besieged Pompejopolis, his one leg was broken, and the other was wounded with a bullet: when his wounds were cured so as might be, he saw that he could not follow the wars (as he intended:) thereupon he took himself unto a retereed life, and reades the *Legend's* of Saints (as they are called) and went to Jerusalem for devotion: after his returning he began to studie in Compluro, Salamantica, and then at Paris, where he became Master of Arts *An. 1536*. Then he intends to begin a new order, and hearing what Carapha had intended, he will prosecute that project: for upon occasion he lived at Venice. He takes with him ten fellowes of his minde, and go together for confirmation of their Order. The Cardinals opposed him, because the world was complaining of the multitude of Orders and Monks, and indeed there was more need to restrain the number, then add new. But Loyola said, The Franciscans and Dominicans, who were wont to be stout Champions for the Apostolical See, had failed of their duty, but if his Order were confirmed, he and all his fellowes will oblige themselves to do what they can, for confirming the Papal power. Upon this motive Pope Paul III. confirms the Order with this limitation, that their number should not exceed sixty: [but in the year 1543. the Pope understanding of their diligence, takes off that restraint of the number. What sort of men those are may, be wel known by two litle books, one under the name *Aphorismi Doctrinae Jesuitarum*, printed *An. 1608*. another called *Anatomia Societatis Jesu* printed *An. 1643*. The first saith, They maintain all the articles determined by the council at Trent, and namely these; 1. The Pope hath spiritual and temporal power to command, forbid, to excommunicat and escheat, to set up and cast down Emperours, Kings, and Princes; and who believe not this, is an heretick. 2. All clergy-men, Monks and Nonns, and all their priviledges are al together free from obedience, censures and taxations of Magistrats; all Princess should commit their chief castls and fortresses unto church-men rather then to laicks. 3. Unto the pleasure of the Pope belongeth the authority of the Scripture, the interpretation and power of changing it; and the Pop's Decrees are absolutely necessary unto salvation, and they are firm and obligatory. 4. Albeit the Pope be a man, yet seing he is the Vicar of God on earth, and therefore Divin honor should be given unto him, he cannot err in matter of faith, albeit all other men, yea and counsels may erre; and for this cause appeals may be from Councils unto the Pope, but not contra. 5. All capitulations, constitutions, leagues, fraternities, priviledges of Emperours, Kings, Princes and States, whereby any other religion is permitted, except the Romish religion, are of no validity, although they had been ratified by solemn oaths. 6. All Papists every where should endeavour to oppress by fire, sword, poison, powder, warre and what soever engines, all hereticks, especially Lutherans and their abbetors, even these Politick Catholicks who would rather observe peace, then contribute to oppress hereticks. 7. But if Papists do fear, that enterprizes shall be in vain, and dammage may befall the Romish religion, in this case may be a toleration, and they may wait for better occasion. 8. When Popish subiects have in an assembly judged an Emperour, King or Prince, to be a tyrant, then they may

cast him off, and deliver themselves from all obligation: but if they can not assemble, then any subject taking the advice of a Jesuit or any such Divine, may, yea he doth meritoriously, to kill that King or Prince. 9. If subjects have a Lutheran or Calvinian Prince, who would compell them into heresy, those subjects are free from all homage and fealty; and they may expell or kill him. 10. Yea Emperours, Kings and Princes may be killed, if Jesuites or other grave Divines judge them tyrants. 11. The Pope may give unto Catholiks the Kingdoms, dominions and territories of all hereticks and infidels; and such donations are valide. 12. Jesuites and other Catholick priests, when examined by heretical Magistrats, may use equivocations, fained names and cloaths; and they may deny the truth, for insinuating themselves abroad, or for bringing their designements to pass. 13. Jesuites and other Papists may use equivocations, when he who is demanded, thinks that that Judge hath not lawfull power to question him, or his adversary hath not just cause to plead. 14. Neither is every catholick tied to answer according to his mind, unto privat catholicks, but he may equivocat, and deceive his demanders: 15. This equivocation is a profitable Art, and a new prudence. These Aphorisms are proved particularly by their books and practises. The other book is written by one of that Society, bewailing the corruptions thereof, as appears by his epistle unto the Reader, and in *Pag. 37.* he hath the words of Claud. Aquaviva their General complaining thus, Secularity and Aulicism insinuating into the familiarity and favor of strangers, is a disease of our Society, dangerous both within and without, unto them that are infected, and Us (the Superiors) who almost know nothing of it; Under a fair shew (indeed) of gaining Princes, Prelats and potent Men, of conciliating such persons unto the Society for divine obedience, of helping others, but in truth wee seek ourselves, and by degrees we decline into secular affaires. And in *Pag. 43.* are these words of Joh. Mariana a Jesuit in his book *De Morbis Societatis*, *Cap. 19.* Our rules have been oftymes changed: the body of the Society is altogether contrary unto that which our Fundator Ignatius conceived and framed; men are scandalized, grumble and hate us for no other cause, but that they see us so singular and interessed or seeking our own gain. . . . None can deny, that our society hath departed from right reason. And in *Pag. 49.* he shewes that by the first foundation and also by later constitutions under Aquaviva, they should follow the doctrine of S. Thomas [Aquinas] but because many questions are started up that were not known by him, they follow no precedent. He speaks of their prudence *Pag. 12.* as of men desirous to serve God and Mammon, who because they have gone unto the world, and hate God, as Christ teaches, *Matt. 6.* all good men should hate them, and follow David, who said, Do I not hate them, who hate thee, o Lord? Their last aim or end, which they profess and say, is the glory of God, and salvation of their own soul; The middle and remoter end is the spiritual salvation of their neighbours; and the nearest is the honor of the Apostolical See; But really the end aimed-at, and the rule of all things done by the Society according to the mind of their Superiors, is the last, the proper good of each one, gain, pleasure and glory; And the middle; remoter is the glory and vast dominion of their Generall; And the nearest is the Monopoly of things that are of greatest necessity and worth; as 1. of grace with God; that none should be in favour with God, nor obtain remission or absolution of sins but by Jesuites; and that none should attain to honor, Offices and wealth

from Princes but by Jesuites. 2. Of faith, that none should be turned from paganism to Christianity, nor from heresy to the catholick faith, but by means of Jesuites. 3. Of perfection, that none should be held perfect or a Saint, but by Jesuites, that is, unless he be of the Jesuites. 4. Of learning, that now none may learn Divin or humane Letters but under a Jesuite. 5. Of vertue or good manners, that none should be instructed but by the admonitions and example of Jesuits. 6. Of fame or good name, that none should be thought good or learned, but by the suffrage of the Jesuites, at least these not resisting. In *Pag. 28.* he speaks of the fruits of this depraved Society, and distinguishes them into inward and outward; The inward are special, or general; The special are 1. in Superiors, the ambition of the general affecting a Monarchy and vast Empire; Courtlines, secularity, and *Polypragmossyne* or meddling with many affaires; and tyrannicall manner of domineering, that is, deceitfulness and violence. 2. in the subjects, effeminate and dainty breeding of Novices: a great number and great licence of laiks, Mangonia, or a divelish way of alluring men into their society; an unwillingness of mind, or a desire to forsake the Society: a loss of goods brought into the Society, and beggary: a hunting of inheritances: flattering of Superiors and potent strangers: quadruples or delaying of pleas from time to time: envy against the learned and famous without their Society: contumacy against Superiors: courtlines and secularity. The general fruits are the multiplication of Colledges contrary unto the ordinances: multitude of but half learned Masters: a sophistical way of teaching, not for advancing of learning, but serving unto the ambition of the General, who would have many colledges, and many Masters to be planted in new Schools: paucity of men eminent in learning hypocrisy, doubleness, simulation and dissimulation as of men living sparingly and disclosing themselves simply unto none: a shameless denying of the things that are done by catholicks, especially by the clergy, though these things are known certainly: a contumelious way of contending and disputing with the heterodoxe, and stirring up of Princes into violence against them. The external fruits are privat or publick: the private are, many children and young men do unwarily by impulsion of Jesuites ty themselves with the vow of chastity, that they must be Jesuites: many hate learning and forsake it, being terrified by the multitude of Grammare rules: many are craftily cheated of their patrimony; many indigent are deprived of godly mens alms; many are through envy so diffamed, that they can do no good in publick, especially if the Pharisees conspire with the Herodians. The publick fruits are the first or secondary: the first are ecclesiastical or Politicall. The ecclesiastical are 1. rarity of Councils: for they persuade men that Councils are not necessary, seeing they can perform all thing concerning the preservation of faith and discipline; 2. the unfitsness of Bishops, seeing by the teaching and exemple of their Masters the Jesuits, they know not a contemplative life nor Apostolical patience... Epicurism of the Sadducees or clerks who live so as if they believed neither resurrection, nor that there is a soul and spirit... the infamy of the ancient sort of Monks, as if they had been the broachers of all heresies; some scandalous, wicked and heretical opinions, which they have hid for a long time, and now having power dar vent them, as may be seen in *Apologia Perfectionis Mic. à Jesu Maria*, printed twice at Rome, and again at Ravensburg, &c. The Politicall fruits are in respect of Princes, or subjects; through the flattering and indulgence of Confessary Jesuits is the tyranny of some Prin-

ees, who account their will a law, and their proper interest to be the end of their power, seeing the Superiours of the Society commanding the same way, and not only absolve Princes their imitators, but also pronounce them blest, &c. In subjects, the corruption of faith and manners, ignorance, imprudence: for Jesuits partly by their traditions, and partly by example perswade the people that God and Mammon may be both served, and he may enter into the Kingdom of heaven who puts his hand to the plough and looks back again. . . . as may be seen more fully in that *Apologia*. The secundary fruits are the offense of God by profaning ecclesiastical goods . . . civil wars arising from that warre that sinners have against God, and from the bloody doctrine of Jesuites, who teach that the erroneous should be forced to return unto the Church, albeit the antient scandals be not removed, and new ones are multiplied, &c. He speaks also of their means of alluring men, of their policies and corruptions more particularly. Another faith, The four wings of these locusts are arrogancy of learning, their flattering of Princes and wealthy persons, impudence in denying, and the great power that they have purchased.

C H A P. IV.

Of BRITANNE.

I. I Left at the gracious providence of God towards Queen Elisabet: in continuance thereof is here to be remembered, 1. that Pope Pius V. God prote
sted Queen
Elisabeth. did accurse her *An. 1569.* and caused the Breve to be affixed on the Bishop of London's palace *An. 1570.* by John Felton; yet neither did her subjects love her the less, nor other Princes leave off correspondence with her: and the worst effect was; Felton was hanged; and. 2. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland hearing of the curse, and trusting to the promises of aid from the Pope and from Spain, raised a rebellion in the North: the one was taken and beheaded; and Westmerland escaped into Flanders, and died in a poor condition. 3. The next year Leonard Dacres began to revive the rebellion in the same Shiers, and was soon defeated. 4. About the same time Iohn Story a Doctor of law, and one Prestol were apprehended and convinced of treason, for giving information unto Duke d'Alva, how he might invade England, and cause Irland revolt. 5. John lesley bishop of Ross plotted with sundry Englishes, to intercept the Queen, and set Queen Mary at liberty *An. 1571.* God turned their plots to their damage. 6. John Duke of Austria aiming at that kingdom, sought Queen Mary in marriage: in the midst of his projected plots he died suddenly *An. 1567.* 7. Thomas Stukly plotted first with Pius V. and then with Gregory XV. to conquer Irland unto the Pope's son: he was made General, and sent away with 800. Italians: but God disposed so, that Stukly was first employd to aid Sebastian King of Portugal against the Mauritanians, and died there. 8. Nicolas Sanders a priest entred into Irland with an Army of Spaniards *An. 1580.* and ioyning with other rebellious Papists, made a great insurrection: they were soon quashed. 9. The next year numbers of Seminaries and Jesuits came from Rome, to prepare the subjects unto a change, and to take part with forrein powers when they shall come into the Land: for this cause greater restraint was layd upon Papists: of those incendiaries some were executed for

treason, and many were sent out of the kingdom. 10. In the year 1583. John Somerwill was taken, when he was going to kill the Queen: he confessed, that he was persuaded to do so by reading books written by the Seminaries: he was condemned; and strangled himself in *New gate*. 11. *An.* 1585. William Parry having an absolution from the Pope, vowed to kill her: but God struck him with such terror, that having opportunity he could not do it: his purpose was discovered, and he received the reward of a traitor. 12. *An.* 1586. John Ballard a priest stirred up some gentle men to kill Her, when she went abroad to take the air: this was discovered before they had opportunity: they confessed their plot to bring-in forrein forces: fourteen was executed as traitors. 13. William Stafford a young gentle man and one Moody were persuaded by a forrein Ambassador lying in England *An.* 1587 to kill Her: this was discovered. 14. *An.* 1588. Philip King of Spain sent an hudge navy, which he supposed [as it was called] invincible: the Lord of land and sea heard the prayers of both kingdoms England and Scotland, and dissipated that navy by stormy winds. 15. *An.* 1593. Lopez a lew and the Queen's ordinary Physician undertook to poison her upon promise of 50000. crowns from King Philip: but before the hye came, the traitor was punished. 16. The next year Patrik Cullen an Irish fencer was hired by English fugitives in Flanders, to kill Her: intelligence was given, and he was apprehended. 17. The same year other two undertook the same fact, as also to set her Navy on fire with bals of wild fire, and received the like reward. 18. *An.* 1598. Edward Squire was suborned in Spain by a lesuit to poison Her, by laying strong poison on the pommel of the saddle, whereon she was wont to ride, that she laying her hand on it, might carry the sent of it unto her nose. Squire followed direction, and did the deed on a day, when she was going to ride, and if She had touched the pommel, it had been her death: but Divine providence so ruled, that she touched it not: the treason was discovered and rewarded. 19. The Earle of Tyron came from Spain *An.* 1599. and raised the greatest rebellion in Irland, that was in her time; yet he was overthrown. 20. *An.* 1600 a plot was layd to remove some chief Officers and Counselors from her: and then the Papists thought to find their opportunity: this project was discovered and prevented. 20. Henry Garner Superior of the Seminaries in England, and others had another plot, and sent Thomas winter into Spain *An.* 1601. King Philip embraced the motion, and promised to help them: but before it came, the Queen ended her dayes in peace. Seing so many plots were discovered, it may (not improbably) be iudged, that more were intended: but she was so safe under the wings of the Almighty, that neither open hostility nor privy conspiracy could annoy her. The remembrance hereof may teach others to trust in God, as the safest policy. I return unto Church-affaires. First we may profitably observe the cause of the difference in the Reformation of the Churches in those two Kingdoms. It is true, both looked unto the Worde as the rule of Reformation, but they varied in the manner of application: for England held, that whatsoever in discipline and rites is not contrary unto Gods word should be retained: for in the twentieth article of the Convocation *An.* 1563. it is said, The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in matters of faith: and yet it is not lawfull for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary unto Gods word: neither may it so expound one place that it be contrary unto another: wherefore although the Church be a witness and keeper of holy Writ, yet as it

ought not decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation. But Scotland applied the Rule more close, in this manner, What soever hath not a warrant in the Word, should be abolished; as in the fourteenth article of Confession they say, Evil works are not only those that are done expressly against Gods commandment, but those also that in matters of religion, and in worshipping of God, have no other assurance, but the invention and opinion of man: which God hath ever from the beginning rejected, as by the prophet Isaiah and by our Master Christ Jesus we are taught in these words, In vain *Do they worship mee, teaching for Doctrines the precepts of men.* So without respect of men those did cleave unto the Word of God, and did iudge, What soever is without the Word, either in doctrine, or religious worship or in Ecclesiastical discipline, can not be accepted of God as service, when he requires it not. But England upon account, that those who had been enured with Popish doctrine and superstitions, might be the more easily allured to forsake that doctrine, if the rites and discipline were retained, and hoping (as is hinted in the former part) that by time a more perfect Reformation might be attained, took this prudential course, as it is called; trusting especially that bishops and priests might be the more easily enduced to joyn with the Reformation. So both in the Confession in King Edwards time, and in the articles of the Convocation *An. 1564* (or according to the English Style, 1563.) they allowed liberty unto dissenting judgements, and made large expressions and capacious words, being loath to drive off from the communion any who differing in the branches, meet in the main grounds of religion. Those things that were retained upon such plausible motives, had a twofold influence, (Such is the nature of humane corruption.) to wit. 1. one superstition draweth on another, as a link of a chain; If this may be used, why not that? 2. what was at first retained by way of toleration & condescension, was afterwards pressed upon mens consciences by authority, that men must conform in practise of rites, and to the opinion of Superiors, or suffer punishment. The first particular exception was made by the Papists against the title, The Head of the Church, which was given unto King Henry; and The Supream Iudge in causes Ecclesiastical, which was given unto Queen Elisabeth. They excepted against this alwayes: but the first that hath written of it, was Harding in his pretended refutation of Englands Confession. Bishop Jewell answereth him in his *Defence of the Apolog. part. 6. cap. 11. divis. 1.* saying, Concerning the title, *The supream head of the Church*, wee need not search the Scriptures to excuse it. For 1. We devised it not. 2. We use it not. 3. our Princes at this time claim it not. Your Fathers first entituled that noble Prince King Henry VIII. with that unused and strange Style, as it may wel be thought, the rather to bring him into the talk and slander of the world. Howbeit that the Prince is the highest Iudge and Governor over all his subjects whatsoever, as wel priests as laymen without exception, &c. He insists at length upon this purpose; as also Doct. Fulk against the Rhemists Annotations on *Matth. 22.* and others: I shall add the *Answer of Thom. Bilson*, sometime Warden of Winchester unto the Jesuits *Apolog. Lib. 2.* where the Jesuit or *Philander* saith, You would have our faith and salvation so to hang on the Princes will and lawes, as if there could be no nearer way to religion, then to believe what our temporal Lord and Master list. He answereth, It is a cunning, when you can not confute your adversaries, at least to belie them, that you may seem at least to say

somewhat against them: indeed your fourth chapter is wholly spent in refelling this position, which we detest as much as you. *Philander* replieth, You begin to shrink from your former teaching. He answereth in name of *Theophilus*, You will never shrink from your former facing: Did ever any man on our side affirm the Princes will to be the rule of faith? have we not earnestly written, and openly taught that religion must not depend on the pleasure of men? Have not thousands here in England and elsewhere given our lives for the witnes and confession of Gods Truth, against Princes, Lawes and Popes decrees? In Spain, France and Italy and other places at this day do we not endure all the torments you can devise, because we will not believe what temporal Lords and Masters will? your conscience knowes, it is true, that we say: Why do you then charge us with this wicked assertion, from which we be farther off, then you? For you hold opinion of Popes, they can not err: we do not of Princes. Why do you Father your fancies upon us? why do you purposely pervert the question, heaping absurdities, and alledging authorities against that which we do not defend? *Philander*, The oath which yee take yourselves, and exact of others, induces us thus to think of you: for there you make Princes the only supream Governors of all persons in all causes aswell spiritual as temporall, utterly renouncing all forrain jurisdictions and Superiority: Upon which word mark what an horrible confusion followes: If Princes be the only Governors in ecclesiasticall matters, then in vain did the Holy Ghost appoint Pastors and Bishops to govern the Church; If they be Supream, then are they Superior to Christ himself, and in effect Christs Masters; If in all things and causes spiritual, then they may prescribe unto the Priests and Bishops, what to preach, and which way to worship and serve God, how and in what form to Minister, the Sacraments, and generally how men shall be governed in soul. If all forrain jurisdiction be renounced, then Christ and his Apostles (because they were and are forrainers) have no jurisdiction nor authority over England. *Theophilus*, VVake you, or dream you? That in matters of no less weight, then your duty to God and the Prince, you fall to these childish and peltish sophisms? VVhat kind of concluding call you this? Princes only bear the sword to command and punish: Ergo Bishops may not teach and exhort: Princes are not subject unto the Pope; Ergo Superiors to Christ: They may by their laws establish what Christ hath commanded; Ergo they may change both Scripture and Sacraments: No forrainer at this this day hath jurisdiction over this Land; ergo Christ and his Apostles 1500. years ago might not preach the gospel. *Philander*. We make no such reason. *Theophilus*. The former propositions are the true contents of the oath, we take; the later are the very absurdities which you infer upon us fortaking the oath. . . . *Philander*. Do you not make Princes supream Governors of all spiritual things? *Theophilus*. you reason as if we did: but our words, since you will rest upon words, are not so. *Philander*. What are they then? *Theophilus*. We confesse them to be supream governors of their realms and dominions. *Philander*. And that in all spiritual things and causes. *Philander*. Not of all spiritual things and causes. *Philander*. What difference between those two speeches? *Theophilus*. Just as much as excludes your wrangling: we make them not governors of the things them selves but of their subjects; which, I trust, you dar not withstand. *Philander*. I grant, they be Governors of their subjects, bur not in ecclesiasticall things or causes. . . . *Theophilus*. Where we profess that her highness is the only Governor of this realm, the word

Governor doth sever the Magistrat from the Minister, and shewes a manifest difference between their offices: for bishops be not Governors of the countries; Princes bee: that is, Bishops bear not the sword to reward or revenge; Princes do: bishops have no power to command or punish; Princes have. *After two leaves he saith*, We teach, that God in delivering the sword to Princes, hath given them this direct charge, to provide that aswell the true Religion be maintained in their realms, as civil justice ministred; and hath to this end allowed Princes full the power to forbid, prevent and punish in all their subjects be they lay men, Clercks and Bishops, not only murders, thefts..... And the like breaches of the second table; but also schisms, heresies, idolatries and all other offences, against the first table pertaining only to the service of God and matters of religion. *And page 202. Philander saith*, I will never confess Princes to be supream: for he that judgeth on earth in Christs steed is above them all. *Theoph.* Now you come to the quick: this very claim was the cause, why the word *Supream* was added to the oath: for that the bishop of Rome takes upon him to command and depose Princes, as their lawfull and superior Iudge. To exclude this wicked presumption, we teach that Princes be supream rulers: we mean, subject to no superior Iudge, to give a reason of their doings, but only to God, &c. *Moss* clearly hath James Usher Archbishop of Armagh opened this oath in a Speech in the Star-chamber of Irland, when he was bishop of Meath: there he saith, Concerning the positive part of the oath, we are taught from *1. Pet. 2. 13. 14.* to respect the King not as the *only* governor of his dominions *simply* (for we see, there be other governors placed under him) but *HOO S HYPERECHONTA*, that is, (according to the tenure of the oath) as him who is the only supreme governor of his realms. Upon which ground we may safely build this conclusion, Whatsoever power is incident to the King by vertue of his place, must be acknowledged to be in him Supream, there being nothing so contrary to the nature of Sovereignty, as to have another superior power, to overrule it. 2. Consider that for the better establishing of piety and honesty among men, and the repressing of profaneness and other vices, God hath established two distinct powers upon earth; one of the keies, committed unto the Church, the other of the sword committed unto the Civil Magistrat. That of the keies is ordained to work upon the inner man, having immediat relation to the retaining or remitting of sins, *Johan. 20. vers. 23.* That of the sword is appointed to work upon the outward man, yeelding protection unto the obedient, and inflicting external punishment upon the rebellious and disobedient. By the former the spiritual officers of the Church are enabled to govern well, to speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority, to loose such as are penitent, to commit others unto the Lords prison, untill their amendment, or to bind them over unto the judgement of the great day, if they shall persist in their wilfulness and obstinacy. By the other, Princes have an Imperious power assigned by God unto them, for the defence of such as do well, and executing wrath upon such as do evil, whether by death, banishment.... When Peter, who had the keies committed unto him, made bold to draw the sword, he was commanded to put it up, as a weapon, that he had no authority to meddle with. And on the other side when Uzziah the K. would venture upon the execution of the Priests office, it was said unto him, *It appertaines not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord but unto the priests...* 2. *Chr. 26.* Let this therefore be our second

conclusion, The power of the sword, and of the keys are two distinct ordinances of God; and that the Prince hath no more authority to enter upon any part of the execution of the priests function, then a priest hath to intrude upon any part of the office of the Prince. In the third place observe, that the power of the Civil sword (the supream manning whereof belongs unto the King alone) is not to be restrained to temporal causes only, but by Gods ordinance is to be extended likewise unto all spiritual things and causes; That as the spiritual rulers do exercise their kind of government in bringing men into obedience, not of the duties of the first table only, but also of the second; So the Civil Magistrat is to use his authority also in redressing the abuses committed against the first table, as against the second, that is, as well in punishing an heretick, an idolater as a thief and traitor; and in providing, by all good means, that such as living under his government, may lead a quiet and peaceable life in godliness and honesty. And howsoever by this mean we make both Prince and Priest to be in their severall places *Custodes utriusque tabule*, yet we do not confound their offices: for albeit the matter, where in their government is exercised, may be the same, yet the manner of government is different; the one reaching to the outward man only, and the other to the inward; the one binding or loosing the soul, and the other laying hold on the body and things belonging thereunto; the one having speciall reference to the judgement of the world to come: and the other respecting the present: retaining or loosing off some of the comforts of life.... But here it will be said, The words of the oath being generall, *that the King is the only Supream governor of this realm and of all other his Dominions*, how can it appear that the power of the civil sword only, is meant by that Government, and that the power of the keys is not comprehended therein? I answer. 1. that where a Civil Magistrat is affirmed to be Governor of his dominions; by common intendment this must be understood of a Civil Government, and may not be extended to that which is of another kind. 2. where an ambiguity is conceived in any part of an oath, it ought to be taken according to the understanding of him, for whose satisfaction the oath was ministred. But in this case it hath been sufficiently declared by authority, that no other thing is meant: for in the book of articles agreed upon by the bishops and clergy in the convocation holden at London *An. 1563.* thus we read, Where we attribute to the Queens Majesty the chief Government (by which title, we understand, the mindes of some slanderous folks to be offended) we give not to our Prince, the ministring either of Gods word, or of the sacraments (the which thing the Injunctions lately set forth by Elisabeth our Queen do also most plainly testify) but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given alwayes to all godly Princes in the holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and ill doers. So far they. If it be here objected, that the authority of the Convocation is not a sufficient ground for that which was enacted in Parliament: I answer, These articles stand confirmed by Royal assent of the Prince (for the establishing of whose supremacy the oath was framed) and also by a special Act of Parliament in the 13. year of Queen Elisabeth *ch. 12.* Seeing therefore the makers of the law have full authority to expound the law; and they have sufficiently manifested, that by *Supream Government* given unto the Prince, they understand that Government only which is exercised with the Civil sword, I conclude, that nothing can be more

plain then this, That without all scruple, the Kings Majesty may be acknowledged in this sense, to be the supream Governor of all his dominions and Countries aswell in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things as temporall. And so I have cleared the first main branch of the oath. *Sofar In Vsher.* And because this oath was so understood, excluding all forrain power, I have not found, that any man excep the Papists, did object against it. And albeit Scotland used not this title in formality of words, yet they did ever acknowledge the same power in their Sovereigne, as is clear in the Confession of faith, which was presented unto the Parliament *An. 1567.* where in Article 24. it is said, We confesse and acknowledge, that such persons as are placed in authority are to be beloved, honored, feared and holden in most reverent estimation, because they are the Lieutenents of God, in whose seats God himself doth sit and judge; yea, even the Judges and Princes themselves, to whom by God is given the sword, to the praise and defence of good men, and to revenge and punish all malefactors. Moreover to Kings, Princes, Rulers and Magistrats, we affirm that chiefly and most principally the conservation and purgation of religion appertaineth, so that not only they are appointed for Civil policy, but also for maintenance of true religion, and suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever; As in David, Josaphat, Ezachias, Josias and others highly commended for their zeal in that case, may be espied. And therefore we confesse and avow, that such as resist the Supream power, doing that thing which appertaines to his charge, do resist Gods ordinance; and therefore can not be guiltless, &c. Next it is remarkable, that howbeit the Missal was abolished, and the Service-book was authorized in England, yet the the Ministers were not astricted unto the full prosecution of it from the beginning: the one might not be used, and the other might be used; yet they were not tied unto it for many were for that Principle of Scotland, whereof mention is made before, and would have put away all ceremonies that had no warrant from the word of God, and they did forsake them. Neither did Mathew Parker Archbishop of Canterburry press any of his diocie to use those rites; It is true, he required them to use the Service book, as we find, he required John Fox to subscribe: the old man produced the new Testament in Greek, and said, *To this I will subscribe.* But when the subscription of the Canons was required, he refused, and said, I have nothing in the Church, but a prebend at Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you, will take it from mee. So he was dismissed, and continued in his Ministry till the day of his death. And Ed. Grindal succeeding in that See, was so far from pressing any unto Conformity (as it was then called) that he incurred the Queen displeasure for his connivence; yea he not only connived, but he was a favourer of the Not-conformists, and when they began to use prophesying (which in Scotland is called *The Exercise*) he resorted with them, and commended them, as appears by that his Letter, which he (being under restraint) wrote and sent unto the Queen in the year 1580. of which I have transcribed a part from *Thom. Fuller's Church-Histor. Lib. 9.* he beginneth thus; With most humble remembrance of bounden duty unto your Majesty, It may please the same to be advertised, that the speeches which it pleased you to deliver unto mee, when I last attended on your Highness, concerning the number of preachers and the utter inbuersion of all learned Exercises and conferences amongst the Ministers of the Church, allowed by the bishops and Ordinaries, have exceedingly dismayd and discomforted mee, not somuch for

The Service-book, was not pressed.

A Letter of Grindal in defense of many Ministers and of Prophesying.

that, the said speeches sounded very hardly against my own person, being but one particular man, and not so much to be accounted of; but most of all for that the same might tend to the publick harm of Gods Church, whereof your Majesty by office ought to be *Nutricia*, and also the heavy burden of your conscience before God, if they should be put to execution. I thought it my duty by writing to declare some part of my mind unto your Highness, beseeching the same with patience to read over this. If I should use dissembling silence, I should very ill requite so many your Majesties, and so great benefits: for in so doing both you might fall into perrill towards God, and I my self into endless damnation. I beseech your Majesty thus to think of mee, that I do not conceive any ill opinion of you, although I can not assent unto those two Articles then expounded. I do with all the rest of your good subjects acknowledge, that we have received by your government, many and most excellent benefits, as amongst others, freedom of conscience, suppression of Idolatry. I am also persuaded, that ever in those matters, which you seem to urge, your meaning and zeal is for the best: the like hath happened to many the best Princes that ever were; yet have not refused afterwards to be better informed. David hath not evil meaning, when he commanded to number the people. Yet saith the Scripture, his own heart stroke him, and God by the Prophet reprehended him. And so to come to the present case, ... Surely I can not marvell enough, how this strange opinion should once enter into your minde, that it should be good for the Church to have few preachers. Alas, Madam, is the Scripture more plain in any thing, then that the Gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached; and that plenty of laborers should be sent into the Lords harvest? which being great and large, stands in need not of a few, but of many workmen. There was appointed to Solomons material temple artificers and laborers, besides 3000. overseers: and shall we think, that a few preachers may suffice to the building of the spiritual temple of Christ. I beseech your Majesty to note one thing necessary; If the Holy Ghost preferibeth expressly, that preachers should be placed *oppidatim*, how can it well be thought, that three or four preachers may suffice for a shire? Some there be, that are mislikers of the godly Reformation in Religion once established, wishing indeed that there were no preachers at all, and so by depriving of Ministers, impugne Religion, *Non aperto Marte, sed in cuniculis*, much like the Bishops in your Fathers time, who would have had the English translation of the Bible called-in, as evil translated, and the new translation to be committed unto them, which they never intended to perform. A number there is, and that exceeding great, altogether worldly-minded. And because the preaching of Gods Word (which to all Christians conscience is sweet and delectable) to them, having *Canterizatas conscientias*, is bitter and grievous. . . . they wish that there were no preachers at all: but they dare not directly condemn the office of preaching so exprelly commanded by Gods Word (for that were open blasphemy) they turn themselves altogether, and with the same meaning as others do, against the persons of them that are admitted to preach. But God forbid, Madam, that you should open your ears unto any of these wicked persuasions. *Cum defecerit Propheta, dissipabitur Populus*, saith Salomon, *Prov. 27.* Where it is thought, that the reading of godly Homilies set forth by publick authority may suffice, the reading of these hath it's commodities, but it is nothing comparable to the office,

*The use of
the Book
of Homilies.*

*The exer-
cise of Mi-
nisters.*

office of preaching These were devised by godly Bishops in your brothers dayes, only to supply neede, by want of preachers, and are by the statute, not to be preferred, but to give place to Sermons, where-soever they may be had, and were never thought in themselves to contain alone sufficient instruction for the Church of England: For it was found then (as it is now) that this Church had been by appropriations, not without sacriledge, spoiled of the livings, which at the first were appointed to the office of preaching or teaching, which appropriations were first annexed to Abayes, and after came to the crown, and now are disposed to privat mens possessions, without hope to reduce the same to the original institution Concerning the second point, which is of the learned exercises and conferences amongst the Ministers of the Church, I have consulted with diverse of my brethren the Bishops, who think of the same as I do, a thing profitable to the Church: And therefore expedient to be continued; and I trust, your Majesty will think the like, when you shall be informed of the matter and order thereof, what authority it hath of the Scriptures, what commodity it bringeth with it, and what discommodities will follow, if it be clean taken away. The authors of this exercise are the Bishops of the Diocess, where it is used, who by the law of God, and by the canons and constitutions of the Church now in force have authority to appoint exercise to their inferior Ministers for encrease of learning and knowledge of the Scriptures, as to them seemes expedient: for that pertaines *ad disciplinam Clericalem*. So after he hath spoken of the matter and order of that Exercise, and the ground of it from 1. Sam. 10. and 1. Cor. 14. he addeth, This gift of interpreting the Scriptures in S. Pauls time was given to many by a special miracle without study but now miracles ceasing, men must attain to the Hebrew, Greek and Latin tongues by travel and study, God gives the increase: So must men attain by the like means to the gifts of expounding and interpreting the Scriptures, and amongst other helps nothing is so necessary as these above named exercises and conferences amongst the Ministers of the Church, which in effect are all one with the exercises of Students in Divinity in the Universities, saving, that the first is done in a tongue understood, to the more edifying of the unlearned hearers. Howsoever report hath been to your Majesty concerning these exercises, yet I and others of York, whose names are noted as followes, 1. Cantuariensis, 2. London, 3. Winch, 4. Bathon, 5. Lichfield, 6. Gloucester, 7. Lincoln, 8. Chester, 9. Exon, 10. Meneven, aliàs Davids, as they have testified unto mee by their Letters, have found by experience, that these profits and commodities following have ensued of them; 1. The Ministers of the Church are more skilfull, and more ready in the Scriptures, and more Apt to teach their flocks. 2. It withdrawes them from idleness, wandering, gaming, &c. 3. Some afore suspected in doctrine, are brought to the knowledge of the truth. 4. Ignorant Ministers are driven to study, if not for conscience, yet for shame and fear of discipline. 5. The opinion of lay men touching the ableness of the Clergy is hereby removed. 6. Nothing by experience beats down Popery more then that. 7. Ministers, as some of my brethren do confess, grow to such knowledge by means of those exercises, that where a fore were not able Ministers, now three, now are thretty able and meet to preach at Pauls cross, and 40 or 50 besides able to instruct their own Cures; so as it is found by experience the best means to increase knowledge in the simple, and to continue it in the learned: Only backward men in religion, and contem-

ners of learning in the countries abroad do fret against it: which in truth doth the more commend it. The dissolution of it would breed triumph in the Adversary, and great sorrow and grief unto the favorers of Religion, contrary to the Counsel of *Ezek. 13. 18. Cor justi non est contristandum*. Although some have abused this good and necessary exercise, there is no reason, that the malice of a few should prejudice all: abuses may be reformed, and that which is good may remain: Neither is there any just cause of offences to be taken, if diverse men make diverse senses of one sentence of Scripture, so that all the senses be good and agreeable to the analogy and proportion of faith: for otherwise we must condemn all the antient Fathers, and diverse of the Church, who most commonly expound one and the same text of Scripture diversely, and yet all to the good of the Church.... Because I am well assured..... that these exercises for the interpretation of the Scriptures, and for exhortation and comfort, are profitable..... I am enforced with all humility, and yet plainly to profess, that I can not with safe conscience, and without the offence of the Majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of these exercises, much less can I send out any Injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say with Paul, I have no power to destroy, but only to edify; and I can do nothing against the truth, but with the truth. If it be your Majesties pleasure or for any other cause to remove me, I consider with myself, *Quod horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis*, and also, *Quod qui facit contra conscientiam [Devinis in rebus] edificat ad gehennam*..... Beare with me Madam, I beseech you, if I chuse rather to offend your earthly Majesty, then to offend the heavenly Majesty of God..... I will draw to an end, most humbly praying that you will consider these short petitions; I. that you would referr all these ecclesiasticall matters unto the Bishops and Divines of the Church of your realm, according to the exemple of all Christian Emperours and Princes of all ages: for indeed they are to be judged as an Antient writes, *in Ecclesia seu Synodo, non in Palatio*. When your Majesty hath questions of the laws of your realm, you do not decide them in your Court or palace, but send them to your Judges to be determined..... Ambrose to Theodosius used these words, *Si de causis pecuniariis Comites tuos consulis, quanto magis in causa Religionis Sacerdotes Domini aequum est consulas*.....

2. My second petition is that when you deal in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touch the Church of Christ, which is the Spouse bought with so dear a price, you would not pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex auctoritate*, as you may do in civil and external matters, but always remember that in Gods cause, the will of God, and not the will of any creature is to take place. It is the Antichristian voice, *Sic volo, sic jubea, stet pro ratione voluntas*. In Gods matters, all Princes ought to bow their Scepters to the Son of God, and to ask counsell at his mouth, what they ought to do. David exhorts all Kings and rulers to serve God with fear and trembling. Remember, Madam, that you are a mortal creature: look not only (as was said to Theodosius) upon the people and princely array, wherewith you are apparelled, but consider also, what it is that is covered there with..... Must you not one day appear *ante terrendum tribunal Crucifixi, ut recipias ibi prout gesseris in corpore, sive bonum, sive malum*. And although you are a mighty Prince, yet remember..... As the Psalmist saith, 76. *Terribilis est qui aufert Spiritum principum, terribilis super omnes Reges terre*. Wherefore I beseech you, Madam, *in visceribus Christi*, when you deal in these religious

B. Grindals petitions. I.

religious causes, set the Majesty of God before your eyes, laying aside all earthly Majesty, determin with yourself to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *Non meum, sed tua voluntas fiat*. God hath blessed you with great felicity now many years: beware, you do not impute it to your deserts or policy, but give God the glory. . . . Take heed, you never think of declining from God, lest it be verified of you, which is written of Joash, *Cum corroboratus esset, elevatum est cor ejus in interitum suum, & neglexit Deum*. He concludes, trusting better of her, and praying for her. What could be written (saith Fuller) with more spirit and less animosity? More humility, and less dejection? I see, a lambe in his own, can be a Lion in God, and his Churches cause. Say not that *Orbitas & senectus* only encouraged Grindall in this his writing, whose necessary boldness did arise, partly from his confidence in the goodness of the cause for which, partly from the gratioufnes of the Queen to whom he made his adress. But alas! all in vain: Leicester had so filled her eares with complaints against him, there was no room to receive this petition. But to return to the former purpose, we see from this Letter, that the form of Exercise was allowed by ten Bishops; and the history shewes, that the Ministers who used that exercise were not conformists unto the rites. But some Bishops of that age were so zealous of their authority, and jealous of the prophecyings, that diligent Ministers must needs conform, or then the flock shall want teaching; and the Queen must bear the blam of all. More of these trouble followes: here I add, that J. Whigift succeeding to Grindal, was the first Reformed Bishop, that was Counselor of State, and most vehement in pressing conformity, yet not without many checks and lets. For not only did the Counsell sent Letters unto that Archbishop, willing him to relent of his severity, but (as the same author writes) in the Parliament *An. 1587.* the House of Commons presented unto the House of Lords a petition complaining that many parishes were destitute of preachers; and craving [amongst other things] that no oath nor subscription might be tendered to any at their entrance into the Ministry, but such as is expressly prescribed by the statutes of the realm, except the oath against corrupt entring; That they may not be troubled for omission of some rites or portions prescribed in the book of Common prayer; That such as had been suspended or deprived for no other offence, but only for not subscribing, might be restored; and that the Bishops would forbear their excommunication, *ex officio mero*, of godly and learned preachers not detected for open offence of life or apparent error in doctrine, &c. And the Lords rancountred the Bishops so hardly, especially against plurality of Benefices; that matters flying so high, the Archbishop conceived it the safest way to apply himself by petition unto the Queen in this manner; The wofull and distressed estate, whereinto we are like to fall forceth us with grief of heart in most humble manner to crave your Majesties soveraign protection: For the pretence being made of the maintenance and increase of learned ministry, when it is throughly weighed, decrith learning, spoileth their livings, takes away the set form of prayer in the Church, and it is the means to bring in confusion and barbarisme. How dangerous innovations are in a settled Estate, whosoever hath judgement perceiveth. Set dangers apart, yet such great inconveniences may ensue as will make an estate lamentable and miserable. Our neighbours miseries may make us fearfull, but that we know, who ruleth the same. All the Churches in Europe can not compare with England in the number of learned Ministers. These benefits of your Majesties most

NB. VVhis gift's severity is opposed.

sacred and carefull government with hearty joy we feel, and humbly acknowledge: senseless are they that repine at it. The respect hereof made the Prophet to say, *Dij eslis*; All the faithfull and discreet clergy say, *O Deacerie*. Nothing is impossible with God. Requests without grounded reasons are lightly to be rejected. We therefore not as Directors, but as humble Remembrancers beseech your Highness favorable beholding of our estate present; and what it will be in time to come, if the Bill against pluralities should take any place, &c. With this petition was annexed a catalogue of pretended inconveniences. So that in effect no thing was enacted in relation to this matter, but at the dissolution of the Parliament the Bishops were more severe then before, as followes: But mark the different spirits and *Genius* of these two Archbishops, Grindal and Whitgift, appearing in their Letters, that were directed unto one and the same person. This is that Do. Whitgift, who banded and rebanded with Thomas Carthwright, The Supplication or Admonition unto the Parliament in the year 1571. (whereof hereafter) and in defence of Episcopacy and al the other enormities made use of that invincible cannon, The Royall power and pleasure. And for his arguing thus, it was the Royall power and pleasure to make him Archbishop of Canterbury, even when Grindal was alive: but such was his modesty, that he would not accept it, untill the old man under restraint was dead. Observe then, Some Ministers will be ambitious and superstitious, and impute all the disorders of the Church unto Royall power and pleasure. Pause a little, and we will heare another song. When men are obtuſified with this Medusa's head, the Prelats will chant; Episcopacy is *De Jure Divino*, and, No Bishop, no King: and authority may be enchanted to believe it. And then the old common tune may be heard again, *Ego & Rex meus*; as Wolſey Archbishop of York sang in former times; or the tune of Canterbury, You may not meddle with churchmen, how ever they live, or whatsoever they do; as Thomas Becket said to King Henry II. or the tune of Winchester, I summon you to appear and answer in our Synode; as Bishop Henry of Blois said unto his Brother King Steven. Who desireth to know those more particularly, may find them and more in the *Antipathy of English Lordly prelatie both to Regal Monarchy and Civill unity* written by William Prynne, Part. 1. & 2. Ann. 1641. Neither will they rest here, but they will averr, If no Bishop, then no Presbyter, and no Sacrament, and consequently no Church. And so both King and Church are established upon Episcopacy. What loyal heart, or who fearing God will not oppose such birds in the shell? What remains, but to say plainly, Episcopacy is *the Rock*, on which State & Church are built? Certainly a ground-stone, that beares so vast a burden (as the security, or rather the Beeing of both State and Church) must have a fast and sure foundation. But where shall we find that foundation? Not in the Scripture, unless we admit Popish mis-interpretations. And if these be admitted, we may not stay there, but foreward another step: and that is known, to wit, The Pope is the Rock. Pope Gregory I. did not suspect what mischief was to follow upon his Masse: nor did Hazael know what he was himself to do: but let every man look to the tendency of such Tenets.

1564. II. The Nationall assembly of Scotland convenes at Edinburgh Juny 25
The assembly An. 1564. By voices John Willock is continued Moderator. Many Noble
bly VII. men were in the town, but very few came the first day; wherefore many said, they wondered, why it was so. Lundy (of that ilk) said, I wonder not at

at their absence, but rather, that at the last assembly they drew themselves apart, and drew away some Ministers, and would had them to conclude things, that was never propounded to the publick assembly, which is prejudiciall to the liberty of the Church: therefore my judgement is, that they be informed of this offence, which many have conceived of their former acting; and that they be humbly required, that if they be Brethren, they would assist their brethren with their presence and Counsell, for wee had never greater need: Or if they be minded to fall back from us, it were better, wee knew it now than afterwards. All the assembly agreed, and gave commission to certain brethren, to signify the mind of the assembly unto the Lords: which was done the same day. The next day came the Duke, Earles Argyle, Murray, Morton, Gleincain, Marshall, the Officers of State, But they drew themselves apart, as before, and sent M. Geo. Hay Minister of the Court, to require the Superintendents and some other Ministers, to come and confer with them. The Assembly answereth, They are now convened, to deliberate on the common affaires of the Church, and they could not spare such men, whose judgement is necessary, nor was it expedient, that others should sit without them, as it were idle; and therefore (as they have told them before) if they acknowledge themselves members of the Church, they should joyn with others, and propound in publick, what they thought good, and shall have the assistance of all: but to send a part, more hurte and scandall might arise, than profit or comfort unto the Church, seeing it is to be feared, that all will not be content with the reasonings and conclusions of a few. They gave this answer, because the Courtiers had endeavoured to draw some Ministers into their faction, and to have sustained their opinions & arguments. When the Lords perceived, that they could not prevail by that means, they return and purge themselves, that they never meant to divide themselves from the Church, but only because they had certain Heads or articles, wherein they crave some conference, yet so, that no conclusion shall be taken, nor vote required, till the propositions and reasonings were heard and considered by the whole Body. Upon that condition three Superintendents and four Ministers were directed unto them: and because their questions did especially concern John Knox, they called for him: and they had long debates upon these points: 1. That subjects have delivered an innocent from the hands of their King, and therein had not offended God. 2. Subjects have refused to smite innocents, when the King had commanded; and in so doing denied not just obedience. 3. Subjects striking an innocent at the command of their King, are murderers before God. 4. God hath not only of a subject made a King, but had armed subjects against their King, and commanded them, to take vengeance upon him according to His Law. 5. Gods people have execute Gods law, against their King, having no more regarde unto him in that behalfe, than if he had been a subject. They could not agree in these points, nor was any of them propounded in publike. *In Sess. 3.* Commissioners were appointed to present unto the Lords of the Secret Counsell, the articles following, and report answer unto the present Assembly; and if need shall bee, to reason with the Lords upon these articles: 1. That according to the Acts of Parliament before her Majesties return, as also conform to her Majesties promise after her arrivall, Christs true Religion be *de novo* approved, ratified and established throughout all the realm; and that all idolatry, especially the Masse, be abolished over all, so that no other face of religion be permitted; And for

the same effect, that the Ministers be provided by a sure appointment, where they shall receive their livings, as well for the time by past as for the time to come, and not to live as beggars, as presently they live. 2. To desire and with all humility to require, that transgressors of the ordinances as well in time past as henceforth, may be punished according to these lawes, especially the contemners of the lawes, in Aberdien, Cars of Gourie, and other places as shall be specified. When the Noble men heard these articles, they said, they thought it not convenient, to propound them in that manner, but rather they would collect them into two heads, thus, First they would declare unto her Majesty the good mindes and obedience of them there assembled; and as for religion, seeing it concerneth the said Lords most especially being members of the Church, they would deale with her Majesty that the same may be observed according to the Order established at her Highness arrivall; And they say, they doubt not, but they shall obtain so gracious answer from her Majesty, as may satisfy the assembly; And concerning the sustentation of the Ministers, they will likewise deale for it, and they hope, that they shall be reasonably satisfied. Thereafter the same Lords declare, how they were not only accepted by her Majesty in good part, but that shee had accorded to the performance of the petitions; and they promise in her Majesties name unto the assembly the accomplishment: For [said they] if they were not perswaded in their hearts, that her Majesty meant sincerely, they would not have been messengers of her answer. On the other side all the assembly thank God and her Majesty, that their reasonable petitions were so graciously answered; and they desire the same Lords reciprocally, to promise unto her Majesty in their behalfe all dutifull obedience, love and submission, which can be expected by any Christian Prince, of most faithfull and humble subjects; Promising also, that, if any of their number shall happen to forget the duty of a good subject, in offending against her Majesties lawes, they all shall concur ingenuously to the punishment of the offender according to the quality of the trespassse, and as they shall be required. Item concerning the jurisdiction of the Church, the assembly nameth four Superintendents, Elleven Ministers, and four Gentle men, to convene the morn, and confer on the causes and jurisdiction pertaining unto the Church, and report their opinions. Item it is concluded, that a Minister being once placed, may not leave that congregation without the knowledge of the flock, and consent of the Superintendent or wholl Church, and his cause be considered, whether lawfull or not. Item it is decerned, that Pa. Cowston shall not leave his congregation nor go out of the country, even albeit he petitioneth it for a time, to augment his knowledge. Item whereas the Commissioner of Murray had complained on Wi. Sutherland parson of Moy, that he had committed fornication, and when he was charged to marry the woman, he had despitefully torn the Commissioners letters; whereupon he was charged, to compare before this assembly and hath not come; the Assemblie deprives him of all ecclesiasticall function, and ordaines the Commissioner, to proceed, with censures against him for his contempt. On Decemb. 13. was a Parliam. at Edinb. But (saith the *Hist. of Refor.*) the Queen would not cause proclame the Parliament, untill she had desired the Earle of Murray (by whose means chiefly the Earle of Lennox came into Scotland, and was then to be restored) that there shall no word be spoken in the Parliament, or at least nothing concluded concerning Religion. But he answered, He could not promise it. Some articles were then presented by the Commissioners of the Church,

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especially for abolishing the Masse, and punishment of vice: but nothing was granted, except, that it was statute, that scandalous livers shall be punished first by prison, and then publicly shewed unto the people with ignominy. But this was not put in execution. The Nationall assembly convened at Edinburgh Decemb. 25. Jo. Erskin Superintendent is chosen Moderator. It is ordained, that the publick affairs shall first in order be treated; and then particulars shall be propounded in writ; and if any persons cause requires hasty resolution, it shall be dispatched in this assembly; or els it shall be referred unto the Superintendent of the bounds and certain Ministers, to examine it, and put their judgement in writ, which shall be reported unto the next assembly. 2. The assembly causeth propounde unto the Lords of Secret Counsell, the articles following and humbly require their H. H. to sollicite the Queens Majesty for answer; 1. To signifye that the transgressors of the proclamations, (that have been against the sayers and hearers of Masse, and the abusers of the sacraments) are so common, that it may be greatly feared, that judgements shall shortly follow unless remedy be provided in time. 2. To require the payment of Ministers stipends. 3. That Superintendents may be placed in such parts, where none are. 4. That these be punished, who do shut the church-doors against the preachers coming to preach the word. 5. humbly to require of her Majesty what the Church can expect of Benefices vaking or that shall vake. 6. By what means Ministers shall come to the possession of Manes & glebs, whither they be set in sue or not. 7. That the Act, concerning the repairing of churches, be put into execution. III. Because there is a common report, that many ignorants and of leud conversation, are admitted to be Ministers and exhorters and Readers, the Superintendents of Anguise, Lothian and the West, were ordained to visite certain bounds allotted now unto them, and John Knox is to visite the Churches of Fife and Perth: and others to visite other parts, with power to trie, suspend, depose, as they shall finde cause. IV. Unto a supplication of Paull Messan containing fundrie particulars, it is answered, that the assembly is ready to accept him, if he shall present himselfe before them, shewing signes of unfained repentance, and be willing to obey, as the Church shall appoint unto him: But to delete his proceffe, the Church can no way condescend: nor think they, that petition to proceed from the Holy Ghost, seeing David was not ashamed to write his own offense, for glorifying God: And to admitt him into the Ministry within the realm, it is judged no way tollerable, untill the memory of his crime be more deeply buried, and some Church make request for him: And it is signified unto him, that the Church is grievously offended, that he being excommunicat in Scotland, hath taken upon him a Ministry in England. I omit the censures of Superintendents and Commissioners of visiting, because it was ordinary. Here also is mention of exhorters: these were men not furnished with sufficient gifts for the Ministry, and because of the scarcety of Ministers, were permitted not only to read in a Church, but to exercise also their talent in exhorting the people: and if they did increase in gifts, were admitted into the Ministry.

I I I. February following, the Queen was in Fife, and the Papists waxing more bold, went to Masse, and uttered words of blasphemie: Which was delated to the Lords of Counsell; As also some Popish Bishops & Priests did brag, that they would say Masse at Easter. The Earle of Murray lamented this unto the Queen, and shew what inconveniences shall follow, if this be permitted. After sharp reasoning

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it was promised, that the like shall not be done again: and for the same purpose order was sent to such places, as were delated, especially to the b. b. of Sant Andrews and Aberdeen, that they should not lay any Masse. At that time, the Queen was upon a purpose of marriage (as in two years space she was twice married) and thogh she never changed her mind to love religion, yet (upon many changes of her passions in that space of time) she gave more way unto the petitions of the Church; thereby to gain the affections of the Subjects: And though there were frequent alterations in the countrie, sometimes one partie prevailing in Court, and sometimes another, so that it came to lifting armies; nevertheless the Church-men

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Assembly.*

did still keep their assemblies. Juny 25. *An. 1565.* convene the Superintendents, Ministers and Commissioners of Shyres & burghs. John willock is chosen Moderator. 1. The Assembly humbly requires the Nobility here present, to sollicite the Queen, for execution of the lawes & Acts lately made against the violators of the sabboth, adulterers and fornicators; And ordeines every Superintendent to supplicat for Commiissions unto the Judges within their severall bounds, giving them charge and power to execute punishment against the committers of these crimes. 2. Others were sent unto the Queen, to humbly supplicate (as in former assemblies) for abolishing the Masse, for establishing the true religion. . . . and to complain that some vaking Benefices have lately been bestowed by her Maj. on Noble men and Barons, as a Benefice in Carrick was given to the Laird of Skeldrom; And to supplicate that none be permitted to have office in schools Colledges nor Universities, nor privatly or publickly to teach the youths, but such as shall be tryed by the Superintendents and Vistors of Churches, to be sound in the faith, and able to teach; Also for sustentation of the poore, that all lands, which in former times were doted unto hospitalls, be restored to the same use; and that all lands, annuall rents and other emoluments pertaining any way to the friers of whatsoever order and annuall rents, altarages, obites belonging then to priests, be applied to the sustentation of the poor and of schools in the towns or other places, where these things are to be payd; And that such horrible crimes now abounding in the realm without any correction, as idolatry, blasphemy, manifest breaking of the sabboth-day, witchcraft and enchantments, adultery, incest, maintaining of bordels, murder, reiff, and other detestable crimes may be severely punished, and Judges be appointed in every Province for execution there of; and that by Act of Parliament; Lastly that some order be devised and established for ease of the poore laborers of the ground concerning their tyths, which are oppressed by the Leasers of the tyths. 3. Some gentle men in Kile crave that Ministers be sent unto them, and they will provide them sufficiently, as the Assembly shall ordain them. 4. It is ordained that children shall not contract marriage without consent of their parents or in case of the parents unreasonably denying consent, they shall make suite unto the Church, to concur with them in their lawfull proceedings. 5. Whereas some Beneficed men in time of Papistry were permitted to keep their Benefice, and now being converted, take upon them the ministry in another congregation: it is concluded generally, that none should have two benefices or livings. 6. It is ordained, that Io. Knox shall receive the answers from the Commissioners, which are now sent unto the Queen, and he shall send these answers unto the Superintendents; as also he shall advertise the faithfull of things necessary that shall happen before the next assembly: which now is appointed to convene Septemb. 25. at Edinburgh.

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The four Gentle men and one Burgher, that were appointed by the Assembly, to present their petitions unto the Queen, went to Saint Johnstown, and delivered them. The next day the Queen went to Dunkell, and they followed: when they had audience, they humbly crave her answer. She said, Her Counsell was not there, but she intends to be in Edinburgh within eight days, and then they shall have an answer. When these Commissioners had waited five dayes after the Queen came to Edinburgh, the matter was proposed in Councell, and at last it was answered by the Secretary, The Queen's Majesties command is, that the matter shall be reasoned in her presence, which for the gravity there of can not be now concluded, albeit her Majesties hath now heard more here of, than ever before: but within eight dayes a great part of the Nobility is to be here, and then they shall have a finall answer. August 21. they receive this answer in writ: To the first, desiring the Masse to be abolished in the head & members, with punishment against the controveeners: and the professed Religion to be established by Act of Parliament, It is answered for her Majesties part, That her Highness is no way yet perswaded in that religion, nor yet that any impiety is in the Masse: and therefore believes, that her loving subjects will not presse her, to receive any religion against her conscience, which shall be unto her a continuall trouble by remorse of conscience, and there with a perpetuall unquietnes. And to deale plainly with her subjects, her Ma. neither will nor may leave the religion, wherein she hath been brought up, and believes the same to be well grounded: Knowing, that besides the grudge of conscience, that she shall receive upon the change of religion, that she shall lose the friendship of the K. of France, the married Allya of this realm, and of other great Princes her friends and confederats, who take it ill, and of whom she may look for their great support in all her necessities, and having no assured consideration that may countervail the same, she will beloath to put in hazard all her friends at one instant; praying all her loving subjects, seeing they have had experience of her goodnes, that she hath not in time past, nor intends hereafter to presse the conscience of any, but that they may worship God in such sort, as they are perswaded in their conscience to be best, that they also will not presse her conscience. As for establishing religion in the Body of the realm, they themselves know, as appears by their Articles that the same can not be done by consent of her Majesty only, but requires necessarily the consent of the States in Parliament: and therefore so soon as the Parliament holds, these things, which the States agree upon among themselves, her Majesty shall content unto: and in the mean time shall make sure, that none be troubled for using Religion according to conscience: So that none shall have cause to doubt that for religions sake mens lives and heritages shall be in any hazard. To the second article, it is answered, that her Ma. thinks it no way reasonable, that she should defraud herselfe of so great a part of the patrimony of the Crown, as to put the patronage of Benefices forth of her hands: for her necessity in bearing her Port & common charges, will require the retention thereof, and that in a good part, in her own hands; Nevertheless her Majesty is well pleased, that consideration being had of her own necessity, and what may be sufficient for the reasonable sustentation of the Ministry, a speciall assignation be made to them in places most commodious: With which her Majesty shall not meddle, but suffer it come to them. To the third article, it is answered, that her Majesty shall do therein, as shall be agreed by the States in Parliament. To the fourth, Her Majesties liberality to the poore shall

The IX.
Assembly.

shall always be so far extended, as can be reasonably required at her hands. To the fifth and sixth articles, her Majesty referreth the taking order therein, unto the States assembled in Parliament. The Nationall assembly convenes in Edinburgh Septemb. 25. Jo. Erskin is chosen Moderator. The answers of the Queen were given unto the Assembly and ordained to be registred And they return this answer: First where her Majesty sayth, that she is not perswaded in religion, nor that she understands any impiety in the Masse It is no small grieffe to the Christian hearts of her godly subjects, considering that the Trumpet of Christs evangell hath blown so long in this Countrie, and his mercy so plainly offered in the same; that her Maj. remains yet unperswaded of the truth of this our religion: for our religion is nothing els, but the same Religion, which Jesus Christ hath in the last dayes received from the bosom of his Father, where of he made his Apostls Messengers, and which they have preached & established among his faithfull, untill his coming again: and this differeth from the impiety of the Turks, the blaspheny of the Jewes, and the vain superstition of the Papists, in this, that only our Religion hath God the Father, his only Sone Jesus Christ our Lord, and the Holy Ghost, speaking in his Prophets & Apostls, for the Authours thereof; and their doctrine & promise for the ground of it: The which no other religion upon the earth can justly alledge or plainly prove: yea whatsoever assurance Papists have for their religion, the same have the Turks for maintaining their Alcoran, and the Jewes far greater for the defence of their ceremonies, whither it be antiquity of time, consent of people, authority of promises, great number or multitude consenting together, or any other the like cloakes, that they can pretend: And therefore as wee are dolorous, that her Majesty in this our religion is not perswaded, so most humbly wee require in the name of the Eternall God, that her Highness would embrace the means, whereby she may be perswaded of the truth, which presently wee offer unto her Grace, as well by preaching his word (which is the chief means appointed by God to persvade all his chosen children the infallible truth) as by publick disputation against the adversaries of this our religion, and the deceivers of her Majesty whensoever it shall be thought expedient unto her Grace. As for the impiety of the Masse, wee are bold to affirm that in that idoll is great impiety from the beginning to the end: it is nothing els but a mass of impiety; the author or Father thereof is but man; the action itself, the opinion thereof, the hearers and gazers upon it, do avow sacriledge, pronounce blasphemy, and commit most abominable idolatry, as wee have ever offered, and now offer ourselves to prove most manifestly. And where her Majesty esteems, that the change of religion shall dissolve the confederacy and alliance that she hath with the King of France and other Princes; assuredly Christs true religion is the undoubted bond to knit up perfect and sure confederacy & friendship with Him, who is King of all Kings, and hath the hearts of all Princes in his hand: which should be more precious unto her Majesty than the confederacy of all the Princes of the earth, and without which neither confederacy, love nor kindeness can endure. Concerning her Majesties answer unto the second article, where she thinks it not reasonable to defraude herselfe of the patronage of Benefices, and that She is minded to retain a good part of the Benefices in her hand, for support..... Our mind is not that her Majesty, or any other patron should be defrauded of their just patronages, but wee mean, whensoever her Majesty or any other patron do present
any

any person unto a Benefice, that the person presented should be tryed & examined by the judgement of learned men of the Church, such as are for the present the Superintendents; and as the presentation unto the Benefice appertaines to the Patron, so the Collation by law and reason belongs unto the Church; and the Church should not be defrauded of the Collation, no more than the Patrons of their presentation: for otherwise if it bee lawfull to the Patrons, to present whom they please without tryall or examination, what can abide in the Church of God, but meer ignorance? As for retention of a good part of the Benefices, this point abhorreth so far from good conscience of Gods law, as from the publick order of all common lawes, that wee are loath to open up the ground of the matter by many words: but wee most reverently wish, that her Majesty would consider the matter with herselfe and her wise Counsell, that howbeit the patronage of Benefices may appertain unto herselfe, yet the retention thereof in her own hands, undisposed to qualified persons, is both ungodly and contrary to all publick order, and brings finall confusion to the souls of poor people, who upon those means should be instructed in their salvation. And where her Majesty concludes, that she is content, a sufficient & reasonable sustentation of ministers be provided by assignations to them, consideration being had of her necessity; as wee are altogether desirous, that her Grace's necessity be considered, so our duty craves that we should notify to her Majesty the true order that should be observed to her in this behalf; which is, The tithes are properly to be reputed the patrimony of the Church, out of which, before all things, they that travell in the Ministry and the poor indigent members of Christs body should be sustained, the churches repaired and the youth brought up in good letters: which things being done, then other reasonable necessity might be supported, as her Majesty & godly Counsell can think expedient. And wee can not but thank her Majesty most reverently for her liberrall offer of her assignation to be made unto the Ministers: which as yet is so generally conceived, that without more speciall condescending upon the particulars, no execution can follow: and therefore wee most humbly crave of her Majesty that these articles may be reformed. . . . Beseeching God, that as they are reasonable & godly, so her Majesties heart and the States presently convened may be inclined and perswaded, to the performance thereof. The next Session of that assembly was adiourned untill December 25. At that time was on the one hand so great jovialty about the Queens marriage with King Henry, and on the other so great stir among the Nobility, because the marriage and title of King was given without advise of the Parliament; that in such business nothing could be done. When the assembly convenen in December, another supplication was sent by the Lord Lindsay and another Elder, unto the Queen and the Counsell, complaining, that some had put violent hands on Ministers, and petitioning that they may live without molestation of wicked men. 2. Persons revolting from the profession of the gospel by offering their children to be baptised by priests, or themselves receiving the Sacrament of the altar, if they repent not after admonition, should bee excommunicated. 3. No Minister should confirm the marriage of another parishon, without a sufficient testimoniall of the Minister of their own parishon that their bans have been proclaimed, and no impediment objected, Under the pain of deprivation from his Ministry, and other punishment, as the Church shall enjoyne. 4. The Superintendent of Fife gives a complaint against the Minister of Creill for going-on in proclaiming the bans of some persons, notwithstanding

ding woman's claim: The assemblie referres this complaint unto the another Rector of the Univerſity, and a Regent, to heare the Superintendent's complaint, or of any other, and gives them power to give ſentence according to Gods word, and uſe the cenſures of the Church againſt the diſobeiers.

5. No Miniſter may with ſafe conſcience leave his flock and place appointed for his ordinarie reſidence, whatſoever patrociny or overſight hath been by corruption of times: or negligence of rulers. 6. In the queſtion Whether known murderers, conſtitt adulterers and committers of ſuch crimes, may upon the notoriety of their fault be excommunicated for declaration, that the Church abhorreth ſuch impiety, the Church may & ſhould purge herſelfe of all ſuch crimes, Providing that the offender be lawfully called and convicted, either by confeſſion or witneſſes. And the order to call them for the ſlander (Civill puniſhment wee remitt to the Civill Magiſtrate) is; whenſoever ſuch fearfull crimes are committed, if it be in the countrie [or land ward] the Miniſter, exhorter or Reader of the pariſhon, or if ther be none, the Miniſter next adiacent, ſhould ſhew the fact unto the Superintendent, who without delay ſhall direct his ſummons, charging the ſlandered perſons to compear before him. But if it be done in a town, where order is eſtabliſhed, the church-ſeſſion thereof ſhall call the offenders: where if they compear, and alledge juſt defence, or ſhew themſelves penitent vnfainedly, then may the Superintendent, or Reformed Church without the Superintendent, diſpenſe ſomewhat of the rigor of the cenſure, Secluding the offender only from participation of the Sacrament, untill further tryall of his repentance; And that both their diligence and ſentence ſhall be publickly declared in the churches, where the offence is known; But if the offender be ſtubborn, as if he compear not, or ſhew himſelfe litle moved for his offence, then ſhould the Superintendent with the advice of the next reformed Church, decern him or them to be ſecluded from all participation of communion with the faithfull members of Jeſus Chriſt, and to be given to Sathan for deſtruction of the fleſh, whoſe ſlaves (by impiety committed, and manifeſt inpenitence) they declare themſelves to bee; And their ſentence ſhall be publiſhed in all places, where the offence is known. 7. Whether baptiſm being adminiſtered by a Papiſt-prieſt or in the papiſtical manner, ſhould be iterated? When ſuch children come to years of underſtanding, they ſhould be inſtructed in the doctrine of ſalvation: the corruption of Papiſtry muſt be declared unto them: which they muſt publickly renounce, before they be admitted unto the Lords table: If this they do, the externall ſign needeth not to be iterated, ſeing no Papiſt baptizeth without water and the form of words, which are the principall externalls: wee ourſelves were baptized by Papiſts, whoſe corruptions and abuſes now wee damn, cleaving only to the ſimple ordinance of J. Chriſt and the verity of the H. Ghoſt which makes baptiſme to work in us the proper effects thereof, without iteration of the externall ſign. And if ſuch children come never to the knowledge of the true doctrine, they are to be left unto the judgement of God. In theſe acts wee may ſee Superintendents had not the power of B's. 2. Where they ſpeak of a *Reform. Church*, it is to be underſtood of a Church, wherein is a Church-counſell conſtituted of Miniſter, Elders and Deacons; ſeing at that time many Churches were not ſo well formed. After this Aſſembly the Superintendents of Lothian and Fife, and two Miniſters, went in name of the Aſſembly unto the King & Queen, ſhewing that in all their Supplications the Church had moſt earneſtly deſired, that all idolatry and ſuperſtition, eſpecially the Maſſe, ſhould

should be quite rooted out of the realm; And their answer was, that they know no impediment in the Masse; therefore the Assembly desireth, that it may please their Highnesses, to hear disputation, to the end, that these who pretend to preach in the Chappell Royall, the Truth being tryed by disputation, may be known to be deceivers; providing, that they submit themselves to the word of God, written in the Scriptures. And next they did lament the miserable estate of poor Ministers. To this it was answered by the Queen, That shee was alwayes minded, that Ministers stipends should be payd, and whatsoever fault was therein, came by some of their own sort: But hereafter by advice of the Counsell such order shall be taken, that none shall have cause to complain. As for the first, shee could not jeopard her Religion upon such as are here now: for she knew well enough, that the Protestants are more learned. Upon the 28. day of January following, was an Act of Counsell proclaimed in name of the King & Queen, Ordaining that in time coming all small Benefices, Parsonages, Vicarages and others extending in yearly rental to the sum of 300. pound or within, as they shall happen to vaik, shall be always disposed to such persons, as the Superintendents and assembly after due examination shall find qualified; And if any bishoprick or other prelacy, as hath the parronage of such Benefices, shall happen to vaik, as also of all that are presently vaking, they shall retain in their hands the disposition of such small Benefices to the effect abovewritten; And if any of them shall be ignorantly disposed otherwise, by this same, that disposition is declared null, that the keepers of the Seals should not admit them, but repute them as privie writings purchased in defraud; As also they give and grant unto all burghs and every one of them within themselves, all the annualls of altarages, chaplanries and obites for entertainment of their Ministers; and the superplus thereof, if any shall by to bee, distribute unto the poore and hospitalls within the burgh, as the almes of Minister and elders thereof.

1566.

The XI.
Assembly.

I V. In Marth *An.* 1566. arose more strife twixt the King and Queen, for killing David Rizio her Secretary; and Juny 19. she was deliver of a sone. Juny 25. the Nationall assembly convenes in Edinburg: by plurality of voices, J. Erskine is continued Moderator. A supplication was sent unto the Lords of Counsell and Session, that no excommunicate person have proceess before them, untill they be reconciled unto the Church, especially when excommunication is notorious, and objected against them. II. Paul Meffan came, and openly with great expression of grieff for his adultery, craves to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. he is comforted, and ordained to declare his repentance in some churches; and the next assembly shall decerne. III. In respect of the dangers where with this Church is assaulted by mighty enemies, the Assembly ordaines a publick fast in all the Churches. Some mo particulars were handled. The Churches of Helvetia, Geneva and other Reformed Churches in France and Germany sent unto the Church of Scotland the sum or Confession of faith, desiring to know, if wee agree in uniformity of Doctrin. Wherefore the Superintendents together with many other most qualified Ministers, convene in September at Santandrews, and having read the Letters and Confession, sent answer, that wee agree in all points with these Churches and differ in nothing from them, except that wee assent not in keeping festival days, seing the Sabbothday only is kept in Scotland. Decemb. 17. Prince James was baptized in Sterlin: in time of the solemnity, the Queen subscribe a writing for maintenance of the Ministers, by assignation of a part

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The XII.
Assembly.

of the thirds of Benefices. The Nationall assembly convened Decemb. 25. at Edinburgh: John Erskin is continued Moderator. 1. The assignation granted by the Queen, is delivered by Alexander (called Bishop of Galloway, and at that time Lord of the privy Counsell) The answer of the assembly is, They having just title to crave their bodily sustentation at the hands of the people, which heare the doctrine of salvation from them, they are content with what it will please them to give for their sustentation, though it were but bread and water, nor will refuse nor desist from their vocation; but to take from others against their will, whom they serve not, they judge it not their duty, nor reasonable: And the assembly protests, that the acceptation of that assignation shall not prejudice the liberty of the Church, to suit the patrimony thereof in time and place convenient. Then it was demanded, Whither the tiths appertaine properly unto the Church, and should only be employd to the sustentation of the Ministers, of the poore, mantaining of schools, repairing of churches and other godly uses at the discretion of the Church? Answered, *affirmative* without contradiction. Then it was demanded, Whither Ministers may with safe conscience keep silence, when the patrimony of the Church is most unjustly taken up, and wasted on vain things, by these that have no office in the Church, and in the mean time the ministry failing for necessity, the poor perishing for hunger, and churches falling to the ground? Answered, they should not be silent, but earnestly admonish every man of his duty. Thirdly, Whither the Church men may require all possessors to pay tiths unto the Church only, and inhibite all others to intromet therewith? Answered, After due admonitions used, and no obedience following, they should use the censure of the Church. 2. Albeit the Church wanted not their own troubles, yet they were not unmindfull of the affliction of Jacob elsewhere, and especially their afflicted Brethren in England, as witnesseth this Letter sent by this Assembly with Jo. Knox; *The Superintendents with other Ministers and Commissioners of the Churches of God in the Kingdom of Scotland, unto their brethren the Bishops & Pastors of Gods Church, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist and do profess with them the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity desire the perpetuall increase of the Holy Spirit.* By word and writ it is come to our knowledge, Reverend Pastors, that diverse of our deare Brethren (of whom some are the best learned within that realm) are deprived from ecclesiasticall function, and forbidden to preach, and so are hindered by you, to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their conscience will not suffer them, to take upon them, at command of authority, such garments as idolaters in time of blindness have used in their idolatry, which bruit can not but be dolorous unto our hearts, mindedfull of that sentence of the Apostle, *If yee bite and devour one another, take heed lest yee be consumed one of another.* Wee intend not at this time to enter into the ground of that question, which, wee hear, is agitated with greater vehemency by either partie, than well lyketh us, to be accounted among things, that are simply indifferet. But in the bowells of Christ Jesus wee crave, that Christian charity may prevail in you, wee say the Pastors and leaders of Christ's flock in that realm, that yee do not to others, what yee would not have others do unto you: yee can not be ignorant, how tender a thing the conscience of men is: all that have knowledge, are not alike persuaded: your conscience reclaimes not at the wearing of such garments: but many thousands both godly & learned are otherwise persuaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with these sentences, *What hath Christ*

to do with Belial? what fellowship hath light with darknes? If Surplice, corner-cape and tippet have been badges of idolaters in the very act of idolatry, what hath the preacher of Christian liberty, and the rebuker of all superstition to do with these dregs of that Romish beast? yea, who should not fear, either to take in his hands or forehead the print and marke of that odious beast? Our brethren that of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither condem nor molest you, that use such vaine trifles: If yee shall do the like to them, wee doubt not, but yee shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many who are wounded by the extremities used against these godly & welbeloved brethren Colour of rhetorick or humane persuasion wee will use none, but charitably wee desire you, to call that sentence of Peter to minde, *Feed the flock of God which is committed to your charge, caring for it, not by constraint but willingly; not as if yee were Lords over Gods heritage, but that yee may be exempls unto the flock.* And moreover wee desire you to meditate on that saying of the Apostle, *Given no offence neither to the Jewes nor Greeks, nor to the Church of God.* In what condition of time yee and wee both travell in the promoting of Christs Kingdom, wee suppose, yee are not ignorant: and therefore wee are the more bold to exhort you, to walk more circumspectly, than for such vanities to trouble the godly. For all things, that may seem lawfull, edifie not. If the commandement of Authority urge the conscience of you and our brethren more than they can beare, wee unfainedly crave of you, that yee remember, yee are called *The light of the world and the salt of the earth.* All civill authority hath not the light of God shining always before their eies in their statuts and commandements, but their affections favour too much of the earth and of worldly wisdom: and therefore wee think, yee should boldly oppose yourselves not only unto all that power, that will or dar extoll the selfe against God but also against all such as dar burden the consciences of the faithfull further than God hath burdened them by his own word. But here in wee hope, yee will excuse our freedom in that wee have entred further in reasoning, than wee intended and promised in the beginning: therefore wee briefly return to our former supplication, which is, that our brethren, who among you refuse the Romish rags, may find of you the Prelates such favor, as our Head & Master commandeth every one of his members to shew one to another: this wee expect to receive of your courtesie, not only because yee fear to offend Gods Majesty in troubling your brethren for such trifles, but also because yee will not refuse the humble request of us, your brethren and follow-preachers, in whom albeit appear no worldly pomp, yet wee suppose, that yee will not so far despise us but that yee will esteem us to be of the number of them, that fight against the Romane Antichrist, and travell that the Kingdom of Christ Jesus may be universally advanced. The dayes are evill; iniquity abounds; Christian charity (alas) waxeth cold: therefore wee should the more diligently watch: the hour is uncertain, when the Lord Jesus shall appeare, before whom yee must give account of your administration; In conclusion, once again wee crave favors to our brethren: which being granted, yee in the Lord may command us things of double more importance. The Lord Jesus rule your hearts in true feare unto the end, and give unto you and us victory over that conjured enemy of all true religion, ouer that Roman Antichrist, whose wounded head Sathan by all means strives to cure again: but to destruction shall hee and all his members go, by the power of our Lord Jesus: to whose mighty protection wee commit you. *From Edinburg out of the generall assembly*

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and third Session thereof Decemb. 17. 1366. by your loving brethren and fellow preachers in Christ Jesus. 3. The same day this Supplication was ordained to be penned, and then sent unto the Lords of the Secret Counsell *The Generall assembly of the Church. . . .* Unto the Nobility of this realm, which professe the Lord Jesus with them, and have renounced the Roman Antichrist; wish constancy in the Spirit of righteous judgement. Seeing Sathan by all our negligences, Right Honorable; hath so far prevailed within this realm of late dayes, that wee stand in extreame danger; not only to lose our temporall possessions, but to be also deprived of the glorious Evangell of Jesus Christ, and so our posterity to be left in damnable darknes; wee can not longer contain ourselves, nor keep silence, lest in so doing wee might be accused, as guilty of the blood of such, who shall perish for lack of admonition, as the prophet threatneth. Wee therefore in the fear of our God, and with grieffe and anguish of heart complain unto your Honors; (yea wee must complain unto God, and all his obedient creatures) that that coniured enemy of Jesus Christ and cruell murderer of our dear brethren, most falsly styled Archbishop of Santandrews, is reponed and restored to his former tyranny: for not only are his former iurisdictions (as they are termed) of the wholl bishoprick of Santandrews granted unto him, but also the execution of judgement, confirmation of testaments, and donation of his Benefices, as more amply in his Signature is exprest. If this be not to cure the head of that venemous Beast, which once within this realm by the potent hand of God, was so banished and broken down, that by tyranny it could not hurt the faithfull, judge yee. His antient jurisdiction was that he with certain his colleagues collaterall, might have damned of heresy upon probation as pleased him; and then to take all that were suspect of heresy (what they have judged heresy heretofore, yee can not be ignorant) and whither they remain in their former malice, their facts & travells declare openly. The danger may be feared, say yee: but what remedy? It is easy, and at hand, right Honorable, if yee will not betray the cause of God, and leave your brethren, which never will be more subject to that usurped tyranny, than they will unto the devill himselfe. Our Queen (belyke) is not well informed: She ought not, nor iustly may break the lawes of this realm; and consequently she may not set up against us without our consents that Roman Antichrist again: for in a lawfull and most free Parliament that ever was in this realm, was that odious beast deprived of all jurisdiction, office and authority within this realm: Her Majesty at her first arrivall and by diverse her proclamations afterwards hath expressly forbidden all other form and face of religion, than that which she found published at her arrivall: therefore she may not bring us the greatest part of the subjects of this realm back again to bondage, till that als real a Parliament, as justly damned that Antichrist and his usurped tyranny, have given decision betwixt us and him. If heer of and of other things, which no less concern yourselves than us, yee will plainly admonish our Sovereigne, and without tumult crave justice only, the tyrants dar not more be seen in lawfull judgement than the Owles in the day light. Weigh this matter, as it is, and ye shall finde it more weighty, than to many it appeares. Further at this present wee complain not, but humbly crave of your Honors a reasonable answer, what yee will do if such tyrants & devouring wolves begin to invade the flock of Jesus Christ within this realm, under whatsoever title that bee: for wee boldly professe that wee will never acknowledge other Pastors to our souls, nor Judges to our causes. And if for denyall thereof, wee either suffer

in body or goods, wee doubt not but we have one Judge to punish them, that uniaſſly trouble us, but also an Advocate and strong champion in heaven to recompence them, who for his names sake suffer persecution, whose holy Spirit rule your hearts unto the end. your L. L. answer yet again wee crave &c. 4. Questions were proponed. I a married man went to the wars in Denmark: four years thereafter his wife joyneth herself in whoor-dom to another man; and now these two desire to be married, because they have attestation of two insuspect witnesses, which testify that they heard the first mans Captain declare, that he was slain in Denmark on such a day of Aprile last; Whither may these parties be married? In respect they are guilty of adultery, and so had sinned before they knew of the mans death, they should not be married. II. A. man being forewarned, that he should not marry his uncl's wife, was married in the Chappell-Royall; What order should now be taken with them? Their names should be delated unto the Migistrate, that they may be punished as incestuous. III. Severall persons are divorced for adultery, and the offending parties seek marriage. Ans. All Ministers should be admonished, that they marrie none such, under pain of deprivation. 5. It is ordained, that every Superintendent shall cause summon all bishops, abbots or whatsoever Beneficed persons (being of the Church) who receive tiths, and feed not a flock as their charge; and where no Superintendent is, that the nearest Superintendent shall send his letter to the Minister next adjacent, To summon such persons to compear at the next generall assembly, to hear and know the ordinance of the Church in that case. By the first particular of this assembly, and the Supplication, it appears, that the Queen would yeeld somewhat to Protestants and Papists for her own ends: and *The history of Reformat.* shewes that the arch b. went to Edinburg in January following, having the company of 100. horsemen or more, intending to take possession, according to his late gift: but when three or four of the Counsell went to him, and told him, if he attempt to do it, trouble may arise; he was persuaded to desist. Next from that Letter unto the Bishops of England, it appeares what sturre was there at that time: as also the same year 5. cal. Jul. Beza wrote his eight epistle unto the Bishop of London: it is long, but I shall only touch some passages of it. I think [saith he] that men should not desert their churches for such vestures: but first I do judge, that many things in themselves indifferent, are to be reckoned among superstitions, or certainly among these things, that tend to superstition, because of the opinion of worship, which cannot be eschued. Next it is to observed, that some things may be suffered for the infirm, which when they are once removed, should not be restored at all, because thus were not to trke away weaknes, but rather to increase it, when it is in some measure taken away; and as it were to recall it, when it is away: and therefore I marvell not, that some are more nice to restore things, than they were before these were removed. And further it is a vain thing, to pretend infirmity in that Kingdom, where the Gospell had been preached and received so many years, and confirmed with the blood of so many excellent Martyres: for if the Apostle did justly rebuke the Galatians, that when they had begun in the Spirit, they would return to the flesh; how much rather might that be said of you Englishes, if when yee have begun in the Spirit, yee would fall back, not as they unto flesh, that is, the rites of Moses, whereof God was the Author, but unto [nugas & quisquilias] the trifles of humane traditions, which God forbids. And this

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I will not say, that if these do sin, which chuse to leave their churches, rather than suffer such things to be thrust upon them against their consciences; these are far more guilty before God and his Angels, who will have flocks deprived of their Pastors, and the foundation of horrible dissipation laid in the Churches being deprived of their Pastors, rather than see ministers (otherwise blameless) clothed in this habite rather than that, and hungry sheep shall have no food, if they will not take it with genculation or bowing of knees, Beza speaks there, [as also in his twelfth epistle] more largely, and of other particulars: but all such writing was in vain: for some bishops continued in their wilfulness, as appears by an epistle of Zanchius written from Heidelberg Septemb. 10, 1571. (at the order of that religious Prince Palatine, as he writes) unto Queen Elisabeth, where he saith, To bring back these rotten raggs and other rubbish of the Popish Church at this time into the Church, what is it els, but to give a fair occasion unto the Papists, to harden themselves and their followers in their superstitions? and truly as it were to push them thereunto? let us then hearken what the Prophet said unto Josaphat aiding Achab, *Dar thou help the wicked, and love them which hate the Lord? therefore wrath from the Lord shall be upon thee.* And what other is this, but to call back the weak from the studie of pure religion, and privily bid them return into Egypt? for infirm persons are easily brought back into impiety; seeing naturally wee are inclined unto superstition, &c.

The admirable providence of God seen in the Reformation of Scotland.

V. Before I goe fore ward, let us mark the speciall providence of God in Reforming the Church of Scotland as hath been declared; and that in two particulars. I. the Ministers were wrestling in zeal of the Reformation both of Doctrine and manners; wrestling [I say] with pouerty, and against wordly power, yet not by violence, but by cleauing fast to Gods word, by supplications both unto God, and to the aduerse power: for [excepting John Erskin, who was an antient Baron] all or most part of these Ministers were of no patrimony. John Knox had waited on George wishart the Martyre. John rowe was a Frier at Rome, and was sent *An. 1559.* as Nuntio into Scotland; and when he sawe the differences in the country, in steed of agenting the Pope's business, he turned preacher. John Craig was a Dominican at Bononia, where finding the *Institutions of John Calvin*, he embraces the truth in them, and one day conferring with an old man in the Monastery, he was confirmed by him in the same truth, but withall was warned, that he make not his mind known, because the times were perilous: nevertheless he would not dissemble, and was as an heretick sent to Rome, and after examination was imprisoned, and lay therein great misery the space of nine months: then, giving a cleare confession of his faith before the Inquisitors, he was condemned to be burnt August. 19. The same night Pope Paul IV. dieth, and in a tumult of the people, all the prisons were broken up, and the prisoners set free: among others this man escapes, and at last comes home. John Willock and Christopher Goodman had been preachers in England, and in Queen Marie's persecution fled into Scotland. John Dury had been a Monk in Dumferlin; and so many others were Monks in severall parts of the Nation. So they had no earthly riches nor authority: and yet it pleased God by such weak instruments to make his glory so sensibly appear in the Land, that I may boldly say, Mercy and truth, righteousness and peace had never since Christs coming in the flesh a more glorious meeting and amiable embracing on earth; even so, that the Church of Scotland justly obtained
a name

a name among the chief Churches and Kingdoms of the world. A people sitting in darknes hath seen a great light, and unto them who late in the region of death light did spring up. As the darknes evanishes at the rising of the Sun, so God made all aduerse power give way unto these weake instruments by degrees, as followes more clearly. To what Nation under heauen, since the Sunne of righteousnes had shined upon the most part of Europe, hath the Lord communicated the Gospell for so large a time with such purity, prosperity, power, liberty and peace? The hottest persecutions had not greater purity; the most halcion times had not more prosperity and peace: the best reformed churches in other places scarcely paralleled their liberty and unity. And all these with such continuance, that not only hath He made the trueth to stay there, as He made the Sun to stay in the dayes of Josua; But when the cloud of iniquities did threaten a going down, in his mercy he hath brought back the glorious sunne by many degrees. Christ not hath only been one, and his name made known in respect of his prophetical office for information: of his priesthood for the expiation of sins, and for intercession: But also had displayd his banner, and hath shewd himself (few can say the like) a Sovereigne King in the Land, to govern with his own Scepter of the Word, to cutt off with the Civill sword all moniments of idolatry, and superfluity of vain rites, and to restore all the meanes of his Worship in doctrine, Sacraments and discipline, to the holy simplicity and integrity of the first pattern shewed in the mount: from which by that wisdom of man (which ever is foolishness with God) they were fearfully and shamefully swerving. II. Another particulare is; Some Noble men, namely, Lord James Steward and others were very zealous for the Reformation at the first; but when they were accustomed with the aire of the Court, they cooled, were for toleration of the Masse, and relented, for their preferment; as hee was made Earle of Morray, and others became officers of State. The Ministers admonished them, and threatened them for their lukewarmnes. They despised admonitions, and would not use the preachers so familiarly, as before they were wont; though none of them turned Papist, (except the Earle of Bothwell) and they heard the preachings. When the Queen intended to marry Henry Stuard sone to the Earle of Lennox, and sought not the consent of the Parliament, they oppose her marriage: and therefore were all exiled, and fled into England. Thus God made the threatnings true: but in mercy to the Land he wondrously brought them back: when variance fell betwixt the King and Queen, the King recalleth the exiled Noble men, of purpose to make himselfe the stronger by them. And when the King was murdered on February 9. by the Earle of Bothwel, and the Queen married that Earle; these same Noble men with other stood in defence of the young Prince, that he came not into the hands of him, who had killed his father. They went to the fields with armies on both sides, and the Queen's Army was the stronger: but they were stricken with such feare, that without stroak of sword the Earle fled away into Denmark, and the Queen went to the Lords Juny 11. and renounced the Crown in favors of her sone, and did chuse the Earle of Murray to be Regent of the Kingdom, enduring her Sone's minority. And then the Religion was established, as followes. So it pleased God to change things beyond the expectation of men.

1567.

*Q. Mary
renounced
the Crown*

V I. Soon after the Queens marriage, a proclamation was made, wherein the Queen declares, that She will confirm all that She had promised

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sed

fed (at her arrivall) concerning the Reformed Religion. This was to stop the peoples mouths: But all in vain: For the people universally were against Bothwell: For some declared openly against him; some were Neuters; and a few of the Nobility did join unto him, especially the Bishop of Santandrews and the Earle of Huntly, who had been lately restored by the Queen. Within few dayes after the Queen came unto the Lords, she would have gone from them: but they fearing what she might attempt, convoy her into the Castle of Lochlevin: then the Earle of Glen-carn with his domesticks went to the Chappell-Royall, and break down the Altars & Images. This fact did content the zealous Protestants, but did offend the Popish party. *The Histor. of Reformat. Lib. 5.* On Juny 25.

*The XIII.
Assembly.*

The Nationall Assembly convenes at Edinburgh: George Buchanan then Principall of S. Leonards Colledge was chosen Moderator. 1. The Superintendent of Anguise, and Bergany were sent unto the Lords of the Secret Counsell, to request their L. L. to convene with the Assembly, and give their assistance in such things as shall be thought good, for establishing true Religion and supporting the Ministry. 2. It is thought good by all that are convened, that this assembly shall convene July 20. next to come for setting foreward such things, as shall then be propounded: and for that purpose ordaines to write Missives to all and sundry Earles, Lords and Barons, requiring them to convene at that day; And to this effect appoints Commissioners, to deliver the Missives, and to require answer according to their Commissions. The tenor of the Commissions given to every one followes; For so much as Satan this long time in his members had so ragged, and perturbed the good success & proceedings of Christs Religion within this realm by crafty meanes & subtile conspiracies, that the same from time to time doth decay, and in hazard to be altogether subverted, unless God of his mercy find hasty remedy, and that mainly through extreame poverty of the Ministers, who should preach the word of life unto the people, and are compelled thereby some to leave that Vocation utterly, some others so abstracted, that they can not insist so diligently in the exercise of the word as they would: Therefore the Church presently convened in this generall Assembly, hath thought it most necessary, by these presents to request & admonish most brotherly all such persons as do truly profess the Lord JESUS within this realm, of whatsoever estate or degree, either of the Nobility, Barons and Gentle men, and all others true professors, to convene in Edinburgh July 21. next, in their personall presence, to assist with their counsell & power, for order to be taken aswell towards the establishing of Christs religion universally throughout the realm, and abolishing the contrary, which is Papistry; as the sustentation of the Ministers, not only for the present time and instant necessity, but also for a perfect order to be taken and established in all time coming concerning the wholl liberty of the patrimony of the Church, and the due restoring of it unto the just owners, according to the Word of God; With certification to all and sundry of what estate or degree soever they bee, that compeares not, due advertisement being made unto them, that they shall be reputed heerafter as hinderers of this most godly purpose and as dissimulate brethren, unworthy to be esteemed heerafter of Christs flock. Seeing God of his mercy at this present hath offered some better occasion, than in time by past, and hath begun to tread Sathan under foot: And for the due requisition & admonition in name of the eternall God, to the effect foresaid, of all and sundry the Brethren aswell in Burgh as Land,

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the Church presently convened in this Generall Assembly Giveth their full power & commission unto their beloveds N. & N. for the bounds of In verification heerof these are subscribed by the common Clerk of the Church in the Generall Assembly and second Session thereof at Edinburgh Juny 26. *An. 1567. The Histor. of Reformat.* Shewes, that the Assembly was induced to write these Missives and Commissions, by the Noble men, who had risen in defence of the young Prince, because the Hamiltons and others had declared themselves for the Queen, and many were Neuters. The assembly continued two days, especially, for their ordinary particulars. 3. It is ordained, that it is not lawfull, that a man should matry her, whom before in his wife's time he had polluted with adultery. 4. A publick fast is appointed, namely in Edinburgh, July 13. & 20. The Assembly convenes again July 21. where were four Earls, seven Lords, many Barons and Commissioners of Burghs, besides Superintendents and Ministers. Many Noble men, which by Missives were required to come, would not, but sent excuses, that they could not repair to Edinburgh, because there was so strong a garrison there; but for the Church affaires, they would not be any way deficient. One of their Letters I transcribe, because it contains not only their purpose in time coming, but the sum of the other Missives; Wee have received your writing dated at Edinburgh, Juny 26. shewing, that albeit God of his goodnes hath sent the light of the Euangell of salvation within this realm, to the great comfort & prosperity of all the faithfull and their posterity, nevertheless Sathan with his Ministers at every light occasion hath frustrate in times bypast the Ministers of their life and sustentation, the lame and impotent members of Christ also frustrat of their livings, lying in the streets both hungry and cold; And the wholl flock of Christ Iesus within this realm continually threatned to be made sacrifices by the practises of the enemies, as your writing containes at length: for remedying the which; yee desire us to be in Edinburgh the 21. of this instant at the Assembly of the Church, where a perpetuall order may be taken for the liberty of the Church of God, the sustentation of the Ministry and failed members thereof, so that all the members of the Church might by sure union and conjunction be more able to gainstand the violence of the foresaid enemies; for answer it is not unknown unto you how the Nobility of the realm are divided, because the Queen's Maj. is holden where she is; and that the town of Edinburgh, where yee desire us to convene, is kept straitly by one part of the Nobility and men of war of their retinue, to whose opinion wee are not adjoynd as yet. And therefore wee can not think ourselves sure to convene the said day and place, yee desire us to keep; And also think maruell, that the whole multitude of Protestants have been desired to convene in such a place, the matter standing as it doth; Nevertheless wee, shall be well willing for our own part to set forward at all times the light of Christs Euangell to be truly preached, the Ministers thereof to be sustained; and the furth setting of the policy of the Church in all sorts, so far as it may stand by law even as wee have been in all times bypast, since it pleased God, to open our eyes and shew the light of his blessed word; and thus we will comber you with no longer letter, prayes God to have you in his eternal protection &c. The Lords that were in Edinburgh, hearing these answers, gave upon July 23. unto the Assembly these articles, where upon they had agreed; 1. that the Acts of Parliament holden at Edinburgh August 14. *An. 1560.* concerning Religion, and abolishing the Popes authority should have the force of a publick law, and that Parliament be defended

as a lawfull parliament, and be confirmed by the first Parliament, that shall convene. 2. That thirds or any more reasonable portion of Benefices shall be allowed for maintenance of the Ministry; and that there shall be a charitable course taken concerning exaction of tiths from the poore Labourers; moreover that nothing shall passe in Parliament, till the affaires of the Church be first considered, approved & established. 3. that none should be received in the Universities, Colledges or Schools, for instruction of the youth, but after duettryall of capacity and hability. 4. that all crimes and offenses against God, should be punished according to His word; and that there shall a law be made thereupon, at the first Parliament. 5. As for the horrible murder of the late King, husband to the Queen, which was so hainous before God & man, all true Professors in whatsoeuer rank or condition do promise to strue, that all persons should be brought to condigne punishment, who shall be found guilty of that crime. 6. They all promise to protect the young Prince against all violence, lest he be murdered as his father was; and that the Prince should be committed to the care of foure wise and godly men that by good education hee might be fitted for that High calling. 7. They promise to beat down and abolish Poperie, idolatry and superstition, with any thing that may contribute unto it. As also to set up and further the true worship of God, his governement, the Church and all that may concerne the purity of Religion and life; And for this end to convene and take Armes, if need require. 8. And that all Princes and Kings heerafter in this realm, before their Coronation, shall take oath to maintain the true Religion now professed in the Church of Scotland, and suppress all things contrary unto it, and that are not agreeing with it. These articles were subscribed by all the Earles and Lords, and many Barons and Commissioners of Burghs, At the same time Commissioners were appointed to convene and advise upon the assignation of the stipends of the Ministry lately assigned by the Queens Majesty, and the payment thereof. The next Assenbly is appointed to convene Decemb. 25. at Edinburgh. The renunciation of the Crown and Royall power, by the Queen in favor of the Prince her son, with a commission to invest him in the kingdom, and procuracion given to the Lords Lindsay and Ruthuen, to give up and resign the rule of the realm in presence of the States; together with another Commission ordaining the Earle of Murray Regent, during Prince's minority, if he will accept the Charge; Or if he refuse to accept it upon his single person, that he with the Duke, the Earles of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn and Marre should Govern conjunctly; These writes were published July 29. at the Market-crofs of Edinburgh. Then the Prince was crowned at Sterlin. These two months the Earle of Morray was not in the Country, and being recalled, returns in the beginning of August: he visites the Queen, and endeavors to joyn the Lords, which had taken part with the Hamiltons, or Neuters: join them, I say, with these who had bound themselves for the Kings preservation: but his travell was to little purpose. August 20. he accepteth the Regency, and was proclaimed Regent. The other Lords seeing, that all things grew strong on the Regents side, sent unto the Counsell: and by common advice it was decreed, that a Parliament be called for settling the affaires of the realm, at Edinburgh Decemb. 15. This Parliament was kept with such frequency, as the like was not remembered to have been seen. Beginning was made (after the approbation of the Queens renunciation, and Commission of Regency) at the affaires of the Church; and sundry Acts were unanimously concluded;

one,

one, abolishing the Popes jurisdiction; another, repealing all statutes made in former times, for maintenance of idolatry and superstition: contrary to the confession of faith, that was approved in the Parliament 1560. and now again ratified. 3. The Masse is abolished, and punishment appointed against all hearers and sayers of it. 4. Those are not to be esteemed members of the Church who refuse the participation of the sacraments, as they are now ministered. 5. The examination and admission of Ministers is only in power of the Church now openly professed, and presentations should be directed unto the Superintendents or commissioners of the Church within sixe months or els the Church shall have power to dispoise the same to a qualified person, for that time. 6. An oath to be given by the King at his coronation. 7. None may be a Judge, proctor, notary nor member of a Court, who professeth not the true religion. 8. The thirds of all Benefices shall now instantly and in all time coming be first paid to the Ministers, ay and whill the Church come to the full possession of their proper patrimony, which is the tythes; providing that the Collectors make yearly account in the Checker, so that Ministers being first answered, the superplus be applied unto the Kings use. 9. All teachers of the youth should be tryed by the Superintendents or Visitors of the Church. 10. Provestries, prebendaries and chaplanries are appointed for entertaining Students in Colledges. Item, Acts were made for punishing fornication, incest and marriages within degrees forbidden, by Gods word. Item that the Queen should be detained in perpetuall prison within the castle of Lochleuin. The Assenblie conveneth Decemb. 25. John row Ministers at Santiohnstoun is chosen Moderator. 1. Commissioners are appointed to concurre at all times with such persons of Parliament or Secret Counsell, as have been named by the Regent, to confer concerning the offenses, that appertain to the jurisdiction of the Church; as also for decision of questions, that may occurre; these were two Superintendents and seven other Ministers. 2. Whereas the Earle of Argyle had given offense in putting away his wife, and some other particulars: he submits himselfe to the discipline of the Church: and the Assembly ordaines the Superintendent of Argyle to try these slanders, and cause satisfaction be made, as Gods word appoints, and report his diligence to the next Assembly. 3. Because Adam (called Bishop of Orkney) had married the Queen with the Earle of Bothuell, and so had transgressed an Act, in marrying Bothwell a divorced adulterer; the Assembly deprives him from all function in the Ministry. 4. John craig is accused for proclaiming the bans twixt the Queen and the Earle of Bothuell. He gives his purgation in write, after this manner: To the end that they who fear God, may understand my proceeding in this matter, I shall shortly declare, what I did, and what moved mee to do it, leaving the judgement of all unto the Church: first at the request of Mr Thomas Hepburn in the Queens name; to proclame her with the Lord Bothwell, I plainly refused, because he had not her hand writ, and because the constant bruit was, that he had ravished her, and kepted her in captivity. On wednesday next the Justice-Clerk brought mee a writing subscribed with her hand, bearing that she was neither ravished nor detained in captivity: and therefore he charged mee, to proclame. My answer was, I durst proclame no bans (and chiefly such) without consent of the Church. On thursday next the Church after long reasoning with the Justice Clerk, concluded, that the Queens mind should be published to her subjects three next preaching dayes; but because the Gen. Assembly had prohibite all such marriages, wee protested, that they would neither solemnize nor approve that marriage, but only would declaire the Queens mind, leaving

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all doubts & dangers . to the counsellors , approvers and performers of the marriage . Upon fridday next I declared the wholl progress and mind of the Church [*here he understands the Church Session of Edinburgh*] desiring every man in Gods name , to discharge his conscience before the Secret Counsell ; and to give boldness unto others , I craved of the Lords there present , time , leave , and place , to speak my judgement before the parties ; Protesting , if I were not heard , I either would desist from proclaiming , or declare my mind publickly before the Church : Therefore being admitted after noone before my L. in the Counsell , I layd to his charge , the law of adultery , the ordinance of the Church , the law of ravishing , the suspicion of collusion betwixt him and his wife , the suddain divorcement , and proclaiming within the space of four dayes , and last the suspicion of the Kings death , which his marriage would confirm . But he answered nothing to my satisfaction . Wherefore after many exhortations , I protested , that I could not but declare my mind publickly to the Church . So on sunday , after that I had declared what they had done , and how they would proceed , whither wee would or not , I took heaven and earth to witnes , that I abhorred and detested that marriage , because it is odious and slanderous to the world ; and seeing the greatest part of the realm do approve it either by flattery or by silence , I craved the faithfull to pray earnestly , that God would turn to the comfort of this realm , that which they intend against reason and good conscience . Because I heard some persons grudging against mee , I used these reasons for my defences ; first I had broken no law by proclaiming these persons at their request . 2. If their marriage were slanderous and hurtfull , I did well to warn all men of it in time . 3. as I had of duty declared unto them the Princes will , so did I faithfully teach them by word & exemple , what God craved of them . But on tuesday next I was called before the Counsell , and accused , that I had passed the bounds of my commission , in calling the Queens marriage odious & scandalous before the world . I answered , The bounds of my commission , which is the Word of God , good lawes & naturall reason , was able to prove whatsoever I spake : yea that their own consciences could not but bear witnes , that such a marriage could not but be odious and scandalous to all that shall heare of it , if all the circumstances be rightly considered : But when I was coming to my probation , my Lord put mee to silence , and sent mee away . Upon wednesday I repeated all things before spoken , and exhorted the Brethren not to accuse mee , if that marriage proceed , but rather themselves , who for fear would not appose it , but sharpened their tongues against mee , because I admonished them of their duty , and suffered not the cankered consciences of hypocrites to sleep in rest , Protesting at all times to them , that it was not my proclaiming , but rather their silence , that gave any lawfulness unto that marriage : for as the proclaiming . Did take all excuse from them , so my privat and publick impugnation did save my conscience sufficiently . And so far I proceeded in this marriage , as the Church of Edinburgh , Earls , Lords and Barons , that heard , will bear witnes : Noweing I have been shamefully slandered both in England and Scotland by wrong information & false report of them , that hated my Ministrie , I desire first the judgement of the Church , and next the same to be published , that all men may understand , whither I be worthy of such imputation or not . 5. A complaint is given against the Countess of Argile , that she being a professor of the Euangell , and having been admitted to the Lords Table , had revolted , in
giving

giving her assistance & presence at the baptizing of the King in a Popish manner. This Lady compeares, and confesses her fault, and submitts herselfe unto the discipline of the Church. They ordain her to declare her repentance in the Chappell-Royal of Sterlin upon a Sunday and this to be don at such time as the Superintendent of Lothian shall appoint, Providing it be before the next assembly. 6. Ministers John. Craig, David Lindsay and Ge. Buchan. or any two of them are ordained to send edicts, not only throgh Fife but to the adiacent parts, that Ministers and Elders might compear in Couper January 22. with their complaints against the Superintendent of Fife: and to try them, and to report unto the next Assembly. 7. Alexander gordon called b. of Galloway, and Commissioner is accused, that he hath not visited the Churches these three years or there by; that he doth altogether hant the Court, and hath procured to be one of the Priuy Counsell, and of the Session, which can not stand with the office of a Pastor; and also hath resigned the Abbey of Inchaffray in fauors of a young child, and hath set lands in fue. He personally confesseth his fault in all these, that they had layd to his charge. Upon some considerations the Assembly continueth him untill the next Assembly, upon condition of his diligence in his Visitation.

VII. In the Spring the Q. escapes out of Lochlevin; and sought to repose herselfe the Governemr. An Army flocketh unto her, and was routed by the Regents Army at Langside May 13. Then she fled into England. The Assembly convenes at Edinb. July 1. J. Willock is chosen Moderator. Because heertofore all Ministers that would come, were admitted to have vote; and now the number is increased; and Commissioners of Shyres were chosen in the Shiref-Court; this Assembly makes an Act of three parts, concerning the admission of members: 1. That none shall have place to vote, but Superintendents, Commissioners for visiting Churches, Min. and Commiss. of Shyres and burghs chosen as followes, together with Commissioners of Universities. 2. Ministers and Commissioners of Shyres shall be chosen at the Synode of the boundes by the Ministers and gentle men convening there; and the Commissioners of Burghes shall be chosen by the Counsell and church-session of each town. 3. None to be received without commission in write: and lest this turn to a monopoly and perpetuall election of a few, it is provided that the persons be changen at every Assembly. *Wee will bear that this act and some other concerning the satisfaction of delinquents were afterwards changed again.* 2. It was delated, that Tho. Bassenden Printer in Edinburgh had printed a booke entituled *The fall of the Roman Church*, naming the King *The Supream Head of the Church*: And he had printed at the end of the Psalm-book a bawdy song: He is ordained to call in all these books, that he hath sold, and sell no moe untill he change that title, and delete the bawdy song: And that in time coming he print not without licence of the Supream Magistrate, and revising the books appertaining to religion, by those that shall be appointed by the Church for that purpose: and they appoint Alex. Arbuthnot to revise that book, and report his judgement of it. 3. It is ordained, that Papists refusing to adjoin themselves unto the Church, after they have received sufficient admonitions, and remaining obstinat, shall be declared publickly in all churches requisite, to be out of the society of Christs body, and excommunicated. 4. Seven Articles were sent unto the Regent, towit. 1. That the assignations of Ministers stipends are not answered: nor are able (as they be ordered) to pay the half of the stipends, and in some places not the fourth part. 2. It

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is thought unreasonable, that Papists, which are enemies to Gods Church and the Commonwealth, and others who labor not in the Ministry do possesse two parts of the Benefices without any imposition, and the Ministers do not possesse the third: heerefore they propound humbly that the charges of the Commonwealth may be layd upon the two parts of the Benefices, and the third remain free unto the Ministers, and the superplus to be allowed for help of Schools, the poore: So that account thereof be made yearly unto the Counsell. 3. where as many Churches are now vaking; that he would present qualified persons unto them, or suffer the Church to dispose of them; and namely the Churches, that did appertain to Nunneries. 4. To give commmission for reforming the Colledge of Aberdien, that corrupt teachers may be removed, and qualified persons placed in their rooms. 5. That order be taken for suppressing of vice, and justice be execute against odious crimes. 6. That such as were appointed by the Counsell may convene with these, that were appointed by the Assembly to decide the questions of the jurisdiction of the Church; and that time and place may be condescended-upon for that effect. 7. That in places where no Superintendents are, some may be placed. Answers were returned on July 8. giving (in a word) a favorable answer unto them all; and for the sixth article, the eight day of August was named: but that day was not kept, and so nothing was donetherein. 5. None should bring unto the Gen. Assembly any question or complaint, that should and may be decided in a provincially Synod; or if they shall, they shall be rejected. 6. Because the Bishop of Orkney hath given obedience and submission, now upon his petition the Assembly restores him, Providing that on a certain day he shall have the Sermon in the Church of Halyrudhouse, and in the end thereof confesse his offence in marrying the Queen with the Earle of Bothwell: which the Bishop promisseth to do. 7. The Bishop of Galloway is ordeined to declare whither he will wait upon Court and Counsell, or upon preaching the word and visiting the Churches: the Superintendent of Fife, Lothian and Angus are appointed to crave, and report his answer unto the next assembly; and in the mean time John rowe Minister at Saint-johnstoun is appointed to visite the Churches of Galloway. 8. No man should possesse the patrimony of the Church, and not do dutifull service: and because it is known that some of them have gifts, whereby they may be profitable in the Church, admonition is given to such that they shall apply themselves according to their gifts, and as the Church shall judge them able unto the Ministry; And because all such persons are not present, the Superintendents and Visitors of Churches shall cause warn them all to be present at the next generall Assembly. When the 25. of December was come, few did convene, because a report was that the town was infected with the peck; and also were great stormes both in the south and north: therefore letters of advertisement were sent to all Superintendents and Commissioners of visiting churches to keep the 25. day of February.

1569. VIII. The Regent returnes to Edinburgh, February 2. from a Treaty with the Queen of England concerning the proceedings of this Country with Queen Mary; and about the twenty day of the same month the Duke returnes with commission from the Queen Mary to be her Deputy: he causeth publish Letters prohibiting the subjects to acknowledge any other Sovereign than the Queen. Wherefore the Regent by proclamation chargeth in the Kings name, the subjects to meet him at Glaigow March 10. The Assembly convenes at Edinburgh February 27. towit, Commis-
ners

ners according to the Act of the former Assembly. Da. Lindsay Minister at Lieth is chosen Moderator. 1. A supplication is sent unto the Regent, craving to take order with such persons, as have received Benefices in time of Papistry, and because they had quite the thirds, think themselves free of all cure in the Church. 2. That no Minister of Gods word have power to set tacks of his Benefice. 3. To reduce all Benefices given to any person contrary to the Acts of Parliament or Counsell granted in favor of the Church. The ordinary affaires were handled untill March 7. when a Letter was brought from the Duke, shewing his good affection unto the Religion, and his purpose to have all the subjects to live in a peaceable and quiet manner; under the obedience of the Queen our Sovereigne; regrating the proclamations made by the Earle of Morray; and that not for fear of them, as not deserving such, and confident that the people and Nobility, will not be against him; finally requiring to make his affaires and minde parent unto the people; Or if they find not on his part, that he offereth & seekes what duty requires of his Christian profession, that they would come and reason with him. When this letter was read, it was answered unto the bearer, that they would send and acquaint the Regent with it; and as it shall please Him they will either write, or send some of their number unto the Duke. So they sent two Superintendents and a Minister unto the Regent, to know his pleasure therein. After conference the result was, that the Assembly, should send unto the Duke, and conferre with him and others of the Nobility, that may bee with him, and use all meanes to reconcile both him and them unto the obedience of the King and his Regent. 3. A general fast is appointed to be kept throughout all the realm, to begin the 13. day of this instant in such places as may be timously advertised by the Superintendents. and in other places so soon as they may be advertised, and to continue for eight dayes *inclusivè*, and in the mean time to use the exercise prescribed before, and to use sobriety in eating & drinking: praying namely, that God would be pleased to quench that appearing fire of intestine troubles. 4. Moe articles were sent unto the Regent, to wit. 1. That remedy may be provided against the oppression of the Earle Huntly and of others, who have opposed the Collectors of the Church, and tyrannously placed their own. 2. That it may please his Gr. and the Counsell, that the Church may proceed from admonitions to further censures against the said Earle, & all others guilty of the like oppression, even to excommunication in case of his and their contempt. 3. That the Church without offense may appoint Robert Pont in some other place where his labors may be more frutefull, than heertofore they have been in Murray. 4. That order be taken against such odious crimes: as provoke Gods wrath against the wholl land: and if his Gr. send us to the Justice-Clerk, experience reaches sufficiently, what he had done in any such matter. 5. That once the Jurisdiction of the Church may be distinguished from that which is Civill. 6. That the Question of adultery may be determined, whither the adulterer shall be admitted to the benefite of marriage. After this Assembly and the fast, by means of these which were sent from the Assembly, an agreement was made betwixt the Regent and the Duke in this manner, that the Duke should submit himself to the Kings authority: he and his friends should be restored unto their honors and possessions, and that he should give surety for his & their continuing in obedience unto the King. The Earls Argile & Huntly refuse to be comprised under this agreement, but deal by themselves. When the Duke heard, that they would not accept the conditions: though

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he came to Edinburgh at the day appointed, he would have shifted the giving of his surety: and rashly vented his mind, that if he were free of that promise, he would never consent unto it. Therefore he and the Lord Hereis (who was thought to have diverted him) were imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. Then Argyle and Huntly made their submission and agreement. Then the Regent goeth into the North and settled all these parts in peace, and took pledges of them, for observing peace in time coming. At that time John Erskin Superintendent went to Aberdien according to his commission granted by the Counsell and Assembly in July by-past, to visite the Colledge: and he with others, Ministers and Commissioners did summon the Principall, Subprincipall and the Regents to compear and give Confession of their faith. The Regent and Privy Counsell join with the Commissioners. The parties compear, and refuse to subscribe the Confession of faith: After two dayes conference, they continue obstinat. Wherefore by conjunct sentence of the Regent, the Counsell and the Commissioners of the Assembly, they all were declared dangerous persons and unmeet, to have charge in any School or Colledge within the realm, and are charged instantly to remove out of the Colledge. The tenor of the sentence is; I Jhon Erskine Superintendent of Anguise & Merns having commission of the Church to visite the Sherifdoms of Aberdeen & Bamf, by the advice, counsell and consent of the Ministers, Elders and Commissioners of the Church present, decern, conclude and for finall Sentence pronounce that M^r Alex. Anderson sometime principall, M. Andrew Galloway sometime Subprincipall, Masters And. Anderson, Tho. Austin & Dunkan nory sometime Regents in the Colledge of old Aberdien are not to be reckoned Members of Christs Church; and therefore secludes them and every one of them to teach privately or publickly in time coming in that Colledge or in any other part within this realm, and decerne them to remove forth of the said Colledge with all diligence, that other godly persons may be placed there for upbringing the youth in the fear of God and good letters: This our Sentence pronounced wee ordain to be published and intimated to the said persons, and to the congregations of new and old Aberdien publickly the next Sunday the third of July instant. In that year was great business both in England & Scotl. for an intended marriage of Q. Mary, and a rebellion in the North of Engl. But through Gods mercy all was discovered unto Q. Elisabeth, and she preveened the danger by imprisoning the chief authors. The Nationall Assembly convenes at Edinb. July 5. Will. crysteson Min. at Dundy is chosen Moderator. When the Superintendents and Visitors of Churches had given account of their diligence, it is ordained.

1. That Alexander gordon sometime Commissioner of Galloway be charged to repair unto the next assembly to answer And in the mean time the Assembly inhibites him to use any function within the church conform to the Act made against him July 8. 1563.
2. Adam bishop of Orkney was accused for not fulfilling the injunction appointed unto him by the assembly in the place and month fore said.
3. The Superintendent of the Isles was rebuked for accepting the bishoprik of the Isles without the knowledge of the assembly, and for riding at and assisting the Parliament holden by the Queen's faction after the murder of the King.
4. Whereas some persons guilty of capitall crimes have been summoned by Superintendents and established Churches to compear before this assembly, and these not compearing, It is concluded that the Superintendents and Ministers shall

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proceed against them, to excommunication *inclusivè*, and to notify unto the Supreme Magistrat such as are already excommunicate for their offences. 5. Certain articles were sent unto the Regent. 1. That order may be taken for sustentation of the poor, and a portion of the tith be appointed for that end; And that the poor laborers of the ground may have liberty to lead their own tiths upon reasonable composition. 2. that those who have plurality of Benefices may be compelled to dimitt all but one. 3. That remedy may be provided against changing of benefices, and selling them, diminishing the rentals, setting lang tacks in defraud of successors, and that all tacks set since the assumption of the thirds may be annulled, with expresse inhibition of the like in time coming. 4. That the iurisdiction of the Church may be distinguished from the Civill. Concerning this last article an Act of the Secret Counsell is instantly delivered under the Secretary's hand, that the persons named in the Act of Parliament, shall convene at the time of the next Exchequer, and define or limite the iurisdiction according to Gods word and the said Act of Parliament. 6. Seing it hath pleased God to move the hearts of the Superior powers and Estates, to grant the thirds of Benefices unto the Ministers; the Assembly give unto Superintendents and Commissioners of visitation power & commission that every one of them within their severall bounds by advice and consent of their Synodall Conventions, give to every Minister, exhorter & reader particular assignations *ad vitam*, as they shall think the same most expedient; And the provision and assignation to the Superintendents and Commissioners, to be made by the Generall Assembly; And that this Act may have full effect, the Assembly ordaines a petition to be presented unto the Regent & Counsell, to interpone their authority, that when the particular assignations are presented unto them, letters may be directed at every mans instance in form of provision *ad vitam*, &c. 7. On July 9. this Letter was brought from the Regent unto the assembly, as followes: Seing wee can not be present at this assembly, as our intention was, wee thought it convenient, briefly to give you in write signification of our meaning: Of the which, wee pray you, take good consideration, and accordingly give your advertisement. Yee are not ignorant, as wee suppose what hath been the estate of the Church of God within this realm, both before wee accepted the burden of Regiment, and since; how first the thirds of Benefices were granted, and the Ministry partly thereby relieved and sustained in such sort, that nothing was laking which our travells could procure. The first order indeed was sundry ways interrupted and broken, but chiefly in that year, when wee were exiled in England, and all the Ministers that year were frustrat of their livings: the estate of governement altering shortly at Gods pleasure, and the King our Sovereigne Lord being inaugurat with the Crown of this Kingdom, the first thing whereof we were carefull, was that the true Religion might be established, and the Ministers made sure of their sustentations in time coming. Yee know, at the Parliament wee were most willing, that the Church should have been put in full possession of the proper patrimony, and concerning the thirds wee did exped in our travells, and there enlaked only a consent to the dissolution of the Prelacies: Whereunto althogh wee were earnestly bent, yet the States delayd and would not agree thereunto. And since that time unto this hour, wee trust, yee will affirm, that wee have pre-

termitted nothing, that could advance the Religion, & put the Professors thereof in surety, wherein all and the only defect was by the Civill troubles, wherewith God hath suffered the Country to be plagued. Now the matter being after so great rage brought to some stay & quietnes, it was convenient, that wee return where matters left, and that wee endeavour the reducing of them to the estate wherein they stood. One thing wee may call to remembrance, that when we traveled in the Parliament, that the States would agree, that the thirds should be decerned to appertain unto the Ministry, they plainly opposed unto us, in respect of the first Act, alledging, that with the sustentation of the Ministry, regard should be had to the support of the Prince in sustaining the publick charges: wch if they had not some relief by that meane, the revenue of the Crown being so diminished, and the ordinary charges come to such greatness, they must be burdened with exactions: and so this dangerous argument compelled us to promise unto the States, that wee would take upon us, the Act being granted unto the Church, they would satisfy, and agree to any thing should be thought reasonable, for support of the King and us bearing the authority: which order had been sufficient for the wholl, if intestine trouble had not occurred: But the disobedience growing so vniuersally, wee are content to sustain our part of the enlake and los for the time bypast: but because there hath been murmur and grudge for that thing assigned to the Kings house and ours, and some other needfull things in the State, as that thereby the Ministry were frustrat of their appointed stipends, Some communication was had at Santandrews, and nothing concluded untill the generall Assembly of the Church: This now moveth us to write unto you, in this form, praying you, to consider rightly the necessity of the cause, and how the same hath proceeded from the beginning, having respect, that the Church will be very ill obeyd without the Kings authority and power; and that now the property of the Crown is not able to sustain the ordinary charges; how in the beginning the thirds had not been granted, if the necessity of the Prince had not been one of the chief causes; And at the Parliament (as we have written) the States stuck to consent, that the wholl thirds should be declared to appertain unto the Ministry, untill wee took in hand, that they being made without condition in favor of the Church, the same would again condescend to so much, as might be sufficient to the support of the publick affaires in setting forth the Kings authority; And that therefore yee will now agree and condescend to a certain & speciall assignation, of what shall be employd to this use: the quantity where of diverse of yourselves and the bearer hereof Master John wood our servant can inform you, that thereafter yee may distribute to every man having charge in the Church of God, his stipend according to the condition of the place he serves in, at your W. discretion; Heerby all confusion that along time hath troubled the estate of the Church about the stipends, shall be avoided, and some speciall provision being made for sustaining these publick charges, wee may the better hold hand, to see the Church obeyd in that, whereon Ministers should live, as we shall report, that during our travels in the North they have found our effectuous good will and travell in their furtherance. Further wee shew you briefly one thing, that occurred at our late being in Elgin: one, Nicol sutherland in Forreels was put to the knowledge of an Affise, for incest, and with him the woman: the Affise hath convicted him of the fault: but the question is, whither the same be incest or not; So that we delayd the execution

cution, untill we might have your resolution. The case is : the woman before was harlot unto this Nicol's mother-brother : Heerin Master Ro. Pont can inform you more amply. And at our coming to Aberdeen come one Porterfield Minister provided before to the vicarage of Ardrossam, and required of us, that he might also have the vicarage of Stevinstown, seing both were litle enough to sustain him, and the churches were near, that he might discharge the cure of both; wee having him commended by sundry gentle men unto the same: but we thought good, to advertise you, that this preparative induce not an ill exemple and corruption: and if such things occurre heerafter, let us understand, what yee would have us to do; As also concerning the Chaplanries, that shall happen to vaik: wherein because as yet is no certain order prescribed, some confusion continues; some desiring them for life time, some for infants that are not fit for schools, and some for seven years. Wee are sometimes pressed to receive or confirm assignations or dimission of Benefices, the preparative where of seemeth to bring with it corruption. And wee would be resolved how to proceed. Before our coming from Fife and since we have been very willing, to do justice on all persons suspect of witchcraft as also on adulterers, incestuous persons, and abusers of the sacraments: where in we could not have such expedition, as we wished, because we had no other probability but a generall delation of names, the persons suspected being for the most part not tryed nor convicted by order of the Church. This hindered many things, that otherwise might have been done. Therefore wee pray you, appoint and prescribe, how the judgement of the Church may proceed and be executed against all such transgressors, before complaint be made to us, that when we come to the countries, wee may execute the law, and be relieved of the tryall & inquisition of them. Wee thought good to give you this advertisement, and so remitting these all to your care & diligence, Committs you to the protection of the eternall God; At Aberdien Juny 30. 1569. In answer unto these two particular questions, the Assembly resolves, that the case of Nicol is incest: and that Chaplanries should be disposed to the Colledges, or to the poor conform to the Act of Parliament and no otherwise. The next assembly is appointed to hold at Sterlin February 25. next coming: but in the book of the Assemblies it is said expressly, Because of the troubles falling out by the slaughter of my L. Regent, it was delayd untill March 1. and to begin at Edinburgh. It is to be marked in this former assembly that whereas of all the bishops three only did embrace or profess the Reformed religion, towit, of Galloway, Orkney & Caithnes, none of them had any power in the Church, but by vertue of Commission, that was given them by the Assembly, upon account, that they had the Church-revenues in the places; and they might have supplied the place of Superintendents: but when the charge was committed unto them, they were alwayes found deficient in exercise thereof; yea and guilty in ioyning with these, which did oppose present authority; as Adam bishop of Orkney joyned in marriage the Earle of Bothwell (the murderer of the King) with the Queen; and the Authour of *Vindicia Philadephi* pag. 28. testifies, that it was clearly known to every one, that the bishop of Galloway did ioyn with them who opposed the Governement of the King, and did not only preach unto that faction, but did encourage them unto fighting as a iust and necessary warre, and afterwards did commend the man, which murdered the Kings grandfather. As for the b. of Caithnes, I finde nothing written of him untill the Assembly

bly following. Then among all the Superintendents, none of them did assume the title of a Bishop, except the Superintendent of the Isles; and he took his patent from the Queen after she had renounced the government, and was prisoner in England, and did assist that faction, as it was layd to his charge by that assembly. Then concerning the death of him who hitherto hath been colled *the good Regent*, when that adverse faction saw, that hee was more and more beloved, and did increase in authority, they took course to cut him off; and one James Hamiltoun of *Bothuell haugh* under took that misshant fact, and did it lurking priuatly in the bishop of Santandrews house within Lithgow; as the Regent was riding by that house, and the town was throng, that he could not passe speedily, that man killed him with a bullet, and escaped safe out of the Bishops house: Great lamentation was for the losse of him, seing he had undertaken the government in a troublous and disordered time, and within 18. months had brought both south and north unto quietnes by the blessing of God, and was a singulare pattern of piety: for he did order himself and his family so, that it did resemble a Church more then a Court. Besids his devotion, which he constantly exercised, no wickedness nor unseemly wantoness was heard or seen in his family. I have also read of him, that by his Letters he did inform Queen Elisabeth.

1. Of the invaluable benefite of a faithfull and free Ministry.
2. Of the excellency of the purity of Gods ordinances therein.
3. Of the honor and happines, that would attend her Crown and State upon the establishment of Christs Government.
4. Of the profitable uses, where unto the rich Benefices of Bishops might be applied, leauing enough unto the Ministry for their honest maintenance.
5. Albeit the glorious luster of Bishops may seem to honor the Nation, yet it justleth out Gods honor, which should be more deare. And when the Bishops heard of the motion, they grumbled exceedingly, and they cast upon him the aspersiō of usurpation; even albeit he was not in the Country, when he was first designed to be Regent; nor can any of his enemies say, that in all the time of his Government he did attempt any thing for himselfe or his private estate.

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Assembly.

V III. The Nationall Assembly conueens at Edinb. March. 1. John craig is chosen Moderator. I. concerning order to be kept in the Assembly it is ordained, that the who was Moderator of the preceeding Assembly shall make the exhortation, and prayer in the following Assembly, and then another Moderator shall be chosen. Next after tryall of Superintendents and Commissioners for visiting the Churches, shall be heard the accusations or complaints of these Superintendents or Commissioners, if they have any against a Minister. Thirdly the penitents that were remitted by the preceeding assembly unto the Superintendents and Commissioners, are to be received; and injunctions are to be given to other notorious and criminall persons, that are either summoned to compare, or of their own freewill and hatred of the crime are moved to present themselves. Fourthly to decide such things as were undecided in the preceeding assembly, and referred unto the next, or are referred by the Lords of the Counsell, Session or Checker. 11. Adam Bishop of Orkney is accused. 1. that he being called to the office of a Bishop, and the profits thereof, and having received charge to preach the gospell, and be Commissioner of Orkney, which he accepted and exercised for a time, but now lately he hath made a Simoniacall change with the Abbacy of Hali-rudhouse, retaining the name of the Bishop; contrary to all lawes both of

God

God and man made against Simony. 2. he dimittes his charge in the hands of an unqualified person, without the consent of the Church, leaving the flock without a shepherd, whereby not only ignorance is increased, but likewise most abundantly all vice & horrible crimes are committed there, as the number of 600. persons, convict of incest, adultery & fornication bear witness. 3. He hath given himselfe, to the dayly attendance of the function of a temporall Judge, as he is a Lord of the Session, which requires the wholl man, and so rightly he can not exercise both; and styleth himself with Romane titles, as, Reverend Father in God, which pertaines not to a Minister of Christ Jesus, nor is given to any of them in the Scripture. 4. To the great hurt & defraud of the Church he hath bought all the thirds of the Abbacy of Halirudhouse, at least he hath made a Simoniacall change thereof with the rents of Orknay. 5. He hath left the churches partly unplanted, and partly planted, but without provision. 6. Some of the churches are sheepfolds, and some ruinous. 7. He hath traduced both priuately and publickly the Ministers of Edinburgh; he absenteeth himself from the preachings in that Church, and from receiuing the Sacrament. III. Robert Bishop of Caitnes is ordained to assist John Gray of Fordell in visiting the Churches there. IIII. If persons, who are guilty of homicide, incest, or adultery, be not fugitive from the lawes, but continue suiting to be receiued to publick repentance; all such shall be received to give the signes of their repentance in their own churches, according to the order prescribed, so that Ministers shall notify their crimes. And if any guilty of these crimes be excommunicated, they may be admitted, to heare the Preaching, but shall be secluded from the prayers before and after Sermon; and when upon their repentance, they are received again, they shall bring their Minister's testimoniall unto the next Assembly. V. They who will not abstain from the company of excommunicate persons, after due admonitions shall be excommunicat. VI. The children of excommunicate persones, are to be received unto baptism, by a faithfull member of the Church. VII. A single woman committing adultery with a married man should be alike censured. VIII. When one forsakes wife and children without just cause, the Ministers should endeavour to reconcile them; and if his endeavour be in vain, the offended party may complain to the Magistrate. IX. If persons after the promise of mariage and publication of their bans, crave to be free, they should be freed, *si res sit integra*, but shall be censured for their levity. In the months following arose great division, some of the Nobility were for the preservation of the young K. and his authority; and some pretend the name and authority of the Q. on this side were all Papists, all Bishops (except one) and many were Neuters. They who were against the King, were so many that they called a Parliament to assemble at Lithgow in August. They who were for the K. assemble in May, and July 12. these did choose Mathew Earle of Lennox (who was grand father of the King) to be Regent. He with 5000. men kept the day at Lithgow for the Parliament: but none of the adverse faction came. In his time the troubles ceased not: sometime, by the mediation of Queen Elisabeth, was a treaty twixt the parties, but it was neither to her contentment, nor would the Kings party yeeld any of his right: and so the treaty had no effect, yea and all the time the country had no quietnes. They who were on the Queen's side had encouragement from France and Duke d'Alva Governor of Flanders: and in the year 1571. both parties conuenes a Parliament; the Queens party at E-

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Assembly.

dinburgh, and the Kings party at Sterlin: where (as in time of peace) they kept not a watch: which the other party hearing, L. Claud hamilton came in the night time, and took the Regent out of his lodging in September, and when they saw others coming for his rescue, they killed him with a shot. George Bell the chief adviser of this enterprize, and Captain Lawder the murderer were taken and punished as traitors. I returne unto the affaires of the Church. The Assembly convenes at Edinburgh July 5. An. 1570. Robert Pont is chosen Moderator. 1. The Sentence of excommunication is directed against Patrick called Bishop of Morray, to be executed by Ro. Pont Visitor there, with the assistance of the Ministers of Edinb. 2. Ministers at their admission shall protest solemnly, that they shall not leave their Vocation, under the pain of infamy & perjury &c. 3. Tryall should be taken of young children, how they are brought up by their parents in the true religion: therefore Ministers and Elders of every parishon should examin the children, when they come to nyne years of age and when they come to twelve years, and the third time, when they come to 14. years, that it may be known, how they have profited in the schoole of Christ. 4. Because some Noble men have made defection from the Kings lawfull authority, certain brethren were directed to the Earls, Lords and all which made that defection, to deal with them with earnest persuasions of reconciliation, with certification, if they continue in disobedience, the Church will use the sword against them, which God in his word hath committed unto them, And the Commissioners are to report their answers unto the next Assembly. 5. James Carmichell Schoolmaster of Santandrews accuseth Rob. Hamilton Minister there, of some points of doctrine delivered in a Sermon. The Clark register, and the Justice-Clerk and another Lord of the Session shew in the L. Chancellors name, that he had heard of that controversy, and it contains some points tending to treason and against the Kings authority: and therefore they require, that the Assembly would not decide in that matter concerning the Kings authority, untill the Nobility convene, which will be within few dayes: but in such things as concern herefy, or properly belong unto their jurisdiction they may proceed. Unto this protestation the assembly agreeth; and went-on in discussing the complaint in so far as is concerned doctrine and slander, that may arise thereupon. [*But I finde not the particulars.*] 5. Conceilers of adultery should be called and examined, and if they be convicted to have cloaked adultery wittingly, let the Rule have place, *Agentes & consentientes pari poenâ puniantur.* 6. *Queritur;* A woman bringeth forth a child, and in time of her birth before the midwife depones, that such a man is the father of the child, and being called before a Judge is ready to swear the same; And that man is ready to swear, that he had never carnall dealing with that woman; and there is not other proof; to which of two should credite be given? Ans. *Neutri credendum.* 7. The Assembly gives commission unto certain Ministers, Barons and Burgeses, to compare at Edinburgh the twelfth of the instant with continuation of dayes, or whensoever the Nobility shall convene before the time of the next Assembly, To require humbly an answer unto their articles and supplications with redresse of their complaints according to equity, To assist; concur and assent to all and whatsoever shall be treated in the foresaid Convention, tending to the promoting of Gods glory, the maintaining the true religion, the Kings authority, the common well and authority of the realm; As also to take cognition in all complaints, supplications and requests

requests of brethren specially remitted unto them by this Assembly; And whatsoever shall be done by them in the premises, to report the same unto the next generall Assembly, which is appointed to be at Edinburgh March. 5. next to come; Promising to hold firme and stable whatsoever these brethren, or any eight or seven of them thinks good in the premises to be done. 3. All assignations and pensions granted by the Church, during their will, to whatsoever person or persons before this Date are discharged, except only what is assigned to the Kings use.

X. At Edinb. March 5. conveenes the Assembly: Ge. Hay is chosē Moderator. 1. All Superintendents & Commissioners to visite Churches should bring their book of visitation unto every Assembly next following, To be considered by such Brethren as shall be appointed by the Assembly, that the church may the better know their diligence in executing their office II. Sixe Articles concerning the iurisdiction of the Church, which are to be propounded unto the Regent and Counsell, and sought to be approved by them. 1. that the Church have the judging of true and false religion, doctrine, heresy, and such like, that are annexed to the preaching of the Word and ministration of sacraments. 2. election, examination and admission of them, which are to be admitted to the Ministry and other functions in the Church, to charge of souls and ecclesiasticall Benefices, together with the suspension or deprivation of such, for lawfull causes. 3. All things concerning the discipline of the Church, which standes in correction of manners, admonitions, excommunication & receiving to repentance. 4. The judgement of Ecclesiasticall matters betwixt persons that are of the Church, especially that are of the Ministry, aswell in matters of Benefices as others. 5. Jurisdiction to proceed with admonitions to the process of excommunication, if need shall bee, against them that shall rob the patrimony of the church appertaining to the Ministry, or other way intromet with it unjustly, whereby the Ministry is in danger of decay, by occasion of the poverty of the Ministers. 6. Because the conjunction of marriages pertaines to the Ministry, the causes of adherence and divorcement ought also to appertain unto them, as naturally annexed thereunto. III. It is ordained, that adulterers and such other scandalous persons shall hereafter be called by the Superintendent or Commissioner of the Province, to compear before their Synodall Conuention, and there receive their iniunctions, as before in the generall assembly. 4. All questions should be propounded or represented to the Superintendents and Commissioners in the foresaid Synodall Conuentions, and there receive solution; Or if any question shall be hard for them, the Superintendent or Commissioner shall present these hard questions unto the next generall assembly, and there receive solution; With certification, that none shall hereafter be received in the gen. assembly from a particulare Minister. 5. All Superintendents and Commissioners of visitation are ordained to advise with their first Synodall Conuention, and as they shall judge expedient, to appoint a fast within their own bounds in respect of the present troubles of the Country; And also that they appoint certain Brethren to use all means of unity and concord among the Nobility. 6. Where Ministers have not been in practise of excommunication, or their execution is like to be contemned, the Superintendent or some other sufficiently qualified and authorized by the Synod, shall execute the same. 7. Promise of marriage should be made *per verba de futuro* before the Minister, taking caution for abstinence untill the marriage be solemnized

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zed. 8. If a man ravish a young woman against her will and the will of her parents, and strick her parents under silence of night; and the Magistrate correcteth not the offender; whither may that particular Church proceed with admonitions unto excommunication, for removing the scandall? *Ans.* It is lawfull. 9. If a woman commit fornication, and suffer the same man thereafter to marry her own sister. And hearing their bans proclaimed, by concealing the crime, shee is guilty of the incest following: and both she and he should be censured as incestuous; and the second woman can not be his wife. 10. It is altogether unlawfull, that any Minister of Gods Word shall receive any Benefice by presentation under paction made with the Patron, tending to Simony, rowir, that the Patron shall have a great part of the tiths, and a Minister shall have a small portion thereof. It is to

Observations.

be marked, that where the appointing of a fast is referred unto the advice of the Provinciaall Synods, this was done, because in some Provinces the party adverse unto the King was so strong, that Ministers durst not pray for conservation of his Authority. Secondly it may be seen in all these Assemblies, that superintendents and commissioners of visitation had a lyke power in their own bounds, and neither the one sort nor the other had power to do any thing (belonging to discipline) by themselves or without advice of their Synodall conventions; yea and sometime what was done by the Superintendents, was referred unto some Ministers, to be examined and censured. Thirdly observe, that howbeit the country was divided, and both parties were strong, yet they both gave way unto the Assemblies, and professed to maintain the true religion and liberties of the Church. The Assembly

*The 21. Assembly.
A Letter from Iohn Knox.*

convenes at Sterline August. 6. Gilbert gairden Ministers at Monifieth is chosen Moderator. A Letter was delivered unto the Assembly, and sent by John Knox: this is printed with some omissions; I set it down as it is in the books of the Assemblies, thus; The mighty Spirit of wisdom and comfort in God remain with you Dear brethren, if ability of body would have suffered mee, I would not have troubled you with this my rude ditement. I have not forgote, what was layd to my charge by infamous libels in the last Assembly, and what a brag was made to accuse mee personally at this Assembly: which I pray you, to hear patiently, judge of mee, as yee will answer unto God: for unto you in that matter I submit myself, being assured, that I neither offended God nor good men in any thing, that hitherto hath been layd unto my charge. And now, Brethren, because the dayly decay of naturall strength thereatneth unto mee certain & sudden departing from the misery of this life; of love and conscience I exhort you, yea in the feare of God charge and command you, that yee take heed unto yourselves and to the flocks over which God hath placed you Pastours. To discourse of the behaviour of yourselves, I may not: but to command you to be faithfull unto the flock, I dar not cease: unfaithfull and traitors to the flock shall yee bee before the Lord JESUS CHRIST, if with your consent directly yee suffer unworthy men to be thrust into the Ministry of the Church, under whatsoever pretence it shall bee. Remember the Judge, before whom yee must make account, and resist that tyranny, as yee would avoide helles fire. This battell I grant, will behard; but in the second point it will be harder, that is, that with the like uprightness & strength in God, yee gainstand the merciless devourers of the patrimony of the Church. If men will spoil, let them do it, to their own perrill & condemnation: but communicate yee not with their sins, of whatsoever estate they bee, neither by consent nor by silence, but with publick protestation make this known unto

unto the world, that yee are innocent of robbery, which will, ere it be long, provoke Gods vengeance upon the committers thereof, whereof yee will seek redress of God & man. God give you wisdom and stout courage in so just a cause, and mee an happy end. At Sant Andrews August 3. 1571. Your Brother in Christ Jesus. 2. The Assembly appoints certain commissioners to reason and conclude upon the heads, articles and desires, presented in the Regents name, unto this assembly; and to propound the humble requests and desires of the Assembly in such articles, and redresse of complaints, as shall be given unto them by the Church: the one and the other to be concluded conform to the instructions, that shall be delivered unto them, *These Commissioners were three Superintendents, four Commissioners of visiting Churches, two other Ministers, and eight Barons, or any eleven of them, To compeare in Stirling, the 22. day of this instant, to Counsell and reason, &c.* As in the commission given in the last assembly, &c. The first part of this Letter, is to be understood of the threatnings which the adverse party unto the King, had belched out against Joh. Knox, and as it seemes, they thought to had an assembly of their own color. But he could not live in Edinb. for fear of them, and went to Santandrews: there also he had litle rest, and was vexed by some of that sort. For understanding the rest of that Letter, and also the Commission granted by the Assembly, I shall here first marke an Act of the ensuing Parliament, num. 33. *For so much as diverse subjects have sundry lands and possessions, obtained by them or their predecessors in heritage, of Priors, Prioresses, Mothers & Convents of sundry Friers or Nunnes places. . . and now . . . these Superiors are for the most part deceased, and no others placed nor to be placed in their rowms. . . . whereby the heires of these sewers. . . . shall get no entry to their lands & heritages. . . . for remedy thereof, it is statut & ordained, that all suers or heritable tennents of such Friers & Nunnes places, and their heires. . . shall hold their sues and tenendries, of our Sovereain Lord and his successors. . . . and the sue maills, services & duties. . . shall appertain unto our Sovereain Lord &c.* Hence it appeares, that at that time, they were thinking upon security of the possessions, which before did appertain unto these that were called *the Spirituality*, and here the sues, services and such petty things are declared to belong unto the King: but at that time weightier matters were in hand: for others had gotte the Lands and rents, stock and tiths, which they would not quite unto King nor Church: and thereupon the doubt arose, by what title and right they may possessethem. Hither belongeth what is written in *The Historicall Narration of the Governement of the Church* (which is common now in writ, and said to have been penned by William Scot, that eminent Minister at Couper, title *The second course for Bishops, Superintendents and Commissioners.* 1. Mathew Earle of Lennox, Regent holding a Parliament at Sterlin in August, year 1571. the Superintendent of Fife inhibited Master John Douglas Rector of the Universtity of Santandrews (who a litle before was presented unto the bishoprick of Santandrews by meanes of the Earle Morton) to vote in Parliament in name of the Church, untill he be admitted and allowed by the Church, Under pain of excommunication. The Earle of Morton commanded him to vote as Bishop of Santandrews, Under the pain of treason. The Regent was killed, and John Earle of Marre was chosen Regent. About the beginning of November, the Collectors of the Church were discharged by Letters proclaimed at Santandrews, to gather the thirds, because (as was alledged) Ministers stipend were not paid, nor the Super-

plus which was allotted to the Kings house out of the thirds. But it was judged that that Proclamation was procured at the instance of the Earle Mortoun, whom Master John douglas had informed by Letter, that the Collector would not suffer him to uplift certain duties belonging to the Bishoprick. The Superintendent of Anguise in a prolix Letter unto the Regent, complained of that inhibition, and that Benefices are conferred, and Bishops set-up without advice & consent of the Church. In another he complains of the great misorder at the last Parliament, in creating Bishops, planting them, and giving them vote in Parliament as Bishops, in despite of the Church, and high contempt of God, the Church opposing against that mis-order, Seing the Church hath the power of examination & admission to Ecclesiasticall offices & Benefices of spirituall cure, whither Bishopricks or inferior Benefices. Lest it should seem, that Ministers out of avarice or ambition sought the possession of great Benefices, he lettereth his Gr. understand, that the Church hath continually suted in their Articles (consented-unto & subscribed by the most part of the Nobility) that when any Benefices shall vake, having many Churches, joyned there unto, all the Churches should be divided, and conferred severally to severall men, and every man to serve at his own Church: in which mind all that beare office, do continue. If the dismembriing of great Benefices can not be granted at this time, he doubteth not, but the Church will consent, that if the Benefices and offices belonging their unto; be conferred according to the order before mentioned, to assigne such portion, as may be spared above the reasonable sustentation of the Ministry, of such Benefices, to the maintenance of the Kings house, and common affaires, till further order be taken in these matters. The Regent answereth, Their meaning was mis-taken: their meaning was and still is, to procure the reforming of things dis-ordered any way, als far as may bee; and the fault is this: the Policy of the Church is not perfected, nor is there any sort of conference among godly men well minded according to Gods judgement, how the matter may be amended: He sent also a discharge of that inhibition lately made. The Superintendent of Anguise at the Regent's desire wrote unto other Superintendents & Commissioners, that they would convene, to consult, what order shall be taken for provision to the Kings house out of the thirds, and upon some particulars concerning the Policy of the Church; and disposition of some Benefices. Upon the twelfth of January 1572. (or 1571. according to the olde reckoning the beginning of the year) the Superint. and Comm. of visitation, and Commissioners from some towns and Churches convene at Lieth. This meeting in the Register is called *A convention*: but in the second Session they concluded, It should have the force and power of a G. Assemb. Nevertheless they ordain, that the Moderator of the last assembly shall continue till the next ordinary assembly, and that all who are present now shall repair to it also. They declare in the third Session, that they had not time to stay, and therefore upon the 15 day gave power and commission to the Superintendents of Fife & Anguise, William Lundy of that ilk, Andrew hay Commis. of Cliddsdales, Da. Lindsay Commis. of Kile, Ro. Pont Commis. of Murray, John Craig one of the Ministers at Edinburgh, or any four of them, to compare before my Lord Regent and so many of the Secret Counsell, as he shall appoint in this month of January, to conferre and reason upon such heads & articles as shall be propounded unto them by him, and the Counsell, to conclude conform to the Instructions given unto them by this assembly, and to report their conclusions to the

next

1572.
The Con-
ference, at
Lieth.

next Assembly. Morton Chancellor, William L. Ruthuen Treasurer, Robert Commendator of Dumferlin Secretary, James Macgill Clerk-register, Sir John Balantine Justice-Clerck, Colin Campbell of Glenurquhy, and Adam Bishop of Orknay were sent Commissioners from the Counsell on the 16. day of January, To convene all or any four of them with the Commissioners named by the Church, to treat and conclude on all matters tending to the ordering & establishing the Policy of the Church, the sustentation of Ministers, support of the Kings house, and common affaires of the realm, to continue in such order as shall bee agreed upon, untill his Highness perfect age, or till the same be altered by the three States of Parliament. The same day the Commissioners convene, and conclude, that the names and titles of Bishops and Archbishops be not altered, nor the bounds of the old Diocies confounded; That there be a Chapter of Ministers annexed to every Metropolitane and Cathedrall See, thath during the vacancy the Dean, or failing the Dean, the next in dignity of the Chapter, use the Jurisdiction in *Spiritualibus*, which the Bishop might have used; That the Archbishops and Bishops exerce, no farther Jurisdiction by their spirituell function, than the Superintendents had, and presently exerce, till the same be agreed - upon; The Archbishops and Bishops be subject to the Church and G. Assemblies in *Spiritualibus*, as they are unto the King in *Temporalibus*: That they have the advice of sixe (at least) of the most learned in the Chapter, to the admission of such, as shall have function in the Church, and that als many other of the Chapter as please, may be present, and vote at the said admission; That Ministers and Readers be planted throughout the realm, and Readers especially be appointed at every church, where it may be done conveniently, who being found qualified by the Bishop or Superintendent, and entring by the lawfull order of the true reformed Church, shall Minister the sacrament of baptism, and solemnize marriage after the lawfull & orderly proclamation of bans; That all Common churches be disposed as Benefices to qualified persons: That no disposition be made of any Deanry, Provestry, collegiat church, or other Benefice whereunto other churches are annexed, till it be provided, how the Ministr. of every one of these severall churches shall be sustained of the fruits of the same churches (if it be possible) by speciall assignation of so much yearly stipend, as shall be found reasonable; that who shall have the title of Abbot, Prior or Commendator be learned or well qualified, because he must have place in Parliam. That the King's Letters commendatory under the Signet being directed to the Archbishop or Bishop of the bounds, where the Abbay or Priory lyeth, he shall try his ability & learving, and upon his testimoniall from his Ordinary shall compear before the King or his Regent, and give his oath in form as the Bishop gives; And because the persons of the Convent are departed this life, the Ministers serving the Churches of the Abbey or Priory, shall be the Chapter or assessors to the Commendator, in giving any infeftments, racks, rights or dispositions of rents concerning the living; That the person admitted Commendator, may be promoted, if he shall be found worthy, to be a Senator in the Colledge of Justice, or employd by the King in necessary affaires of the Common wealth; That first of all it be provided, how the Ministers of the Churches belonging to the Abbey or Priory shall be sustained of the fruits belonging to the same Churches. Sundry other articles & conclusions were agreed upon, concerning the disposition of Provestries, prebendaries, collegiat-Churches founded upon temporall landes or annualls; as also of chaplanries of the like foundation, for support

of the schools; the chapters of Metropolitan and cathedrall churches; the Kings recommendation with licence to chuse a bishop; the form of the edict, to conveen the Chapter for his election; the testimoniall of the Dean and the Chapter to be returned unto the King or his Regent; the confirmation, provision & regall assent upon the Chapter's certificat; the Kings command to consecrat him; his oath to be taken before the King or his Regent; the Kings restitution of the temporalities; the form of a Letter to be directed to the Ordinary, or (the See waking) to the Dean of the Chapter, in favors of a person to be promoted unto an Abbacy or Priory; the testimoniall of the Ordinary returned to the King or his Regent; the gift of provision upon the Ordinarie's certificat: the form of tryall of Bursares (or Fellowes) and their gift or provision: the form of oath to be given by any person provided to any Benefice of cure at his admission, and of Bursares of Arte, of Theology, Lawes, Medicine at the time of receiving them into the Universities. These Articles and forms were considered by the Counsell, and approved by the Regent in the Kings name upon the first day of February following. This gallimafray (made with such haste) could not be well made: here a fair shew of restoring Benefices unto the Church: but in effect it was only to put Church-men in titles, to the end, Noble men might get the greater security from the Titulares, of the temporall landes to be sued unto them, ease of the tiths, and pensions to their seruants and dependants. It had been good for the well fare of the Church, that such titles had never been hatched or suffered to keep any life. The Bishop of this forge were called *Tulchan Bishops*. A tulchan is a calves skinn stuffed with straw to cause a cow give milk: so the title of Bishop helped to cause the Bishoprick yeeld commodity to the Lord, who procured it unto him. Edicts were affixed upon the churches-door and Abbey gate of Sant-andrews upon the Lords day February. 3. By the Earle Mortons direction. On fridday February. 8. Patrick Adamson in his Sermon spake of three sorts of Bishops, *My Lord Bishop, My Lords Bishop, and the Lords Bishop*. My Lord Bishops (said he then) was the Bishop in time of Popery: my Lords Bishop is now, when my Lord gets the Benefice, and the Bishop serves for a portion, to make my Lords right sure. The Lords Bishop is every true Minister of the gospel. Master John Douglas was chosen, howbeit many opposed to the election. George Scot Minister at Kirkady took instruments that he consented not: John Knox preached on February. 10. in presence of the Earle Mortoun, and refused to consecrat or ordain (as they called it) John douglas, yea therepublickly he denounced anathema to the giver and to the receiver. After noon the Superintendent of Fife went up to the pulpit, he taught on *Tit. c. 1.* And after Sermon he followed the same order, which was used at the admission of Superintendents. But when the Bishop was demanded, Whether he would be obedient unto the Church, and usurpe no power over the same? he answered, I will claim no greater power, than the Counsell and generall assembly shall prescribe. It is likely that these bb. and the Court aimed at a greater power, than was already agreed upon; and that they hoped to obtain at the generall assembly what they pleased, having sped so well at the Convention in Lieth: where it was agreed that Archbb. should exerce no greater jurisdiction in their spiritual function, than the Superintendents: but marke what followes, Whill the same be agreed upon. Hence appeares, that farther was intended John douglas answers unto every demand out of writ. The Bishops of Cairnes, the Superintendent of Lothian and David Lindsay sare by him, and rising layd their

three sorts
of Bishops.

their hands on him, and embraced him in signe of admission. When John Rutherford Provest of the old colledge had said, that Master John Knox's repining had proceeded from malecontentment; the next Lords day John Knox said in Sermon, I have refused a greater Bishoprick than ever it was, and might have had it with the favor of greater men, than he hath this: but I did and do repine for discharge of my conscience, that the church of Scotland be not subject to that order. *So far in that historicall Narration.* Hence appeares. 1. What John Knox meaneth in his Letter unto the assembly by the word tyranny (towit, episcopacy) and; by the two points of the battell. that this work of setting up Bishops at that time was done without the knowledge of the assembly, seing it was not proponed by the assembly, nor specified unto the assembly, but only unto these few at the Convention in Lieth, and agreed unto by their few deputies: and hastened before the Assembly did convene again. In the Acts of that convention it is also written this; The Church understanding, that my L. Regent and Counsell was desirous, that Robert Pont should accept the place of a Senator in the Colledge of Justice, which he no way will accept without the advice of the Church; therefore all the Brethren assembled give licence unto the said Robert, to accept & use that place of a Senator in the said Colledge of Justice, at what time he shall be required there unto; Providing, that he leave not the office of the Ministry, but that he exercise the same, as he shall be appointed by the church; And this their licence unto the said Robert, be no preparative unto any other Minister, to procure the like promotion without the advice of the church, and licence had before and obtained there unto. The first part of this provision would seem to be *oppositum in appposito*. The Generall Assembly convenes at Santandrews March. 6. where besides the ordinary members is mention of John Douglas archbishop of Santandrews. Robert Hamilton Minister at Santandrews is chosen Moderator. In the extract of the Assemblies is no more written of the first and second Sessions: but the *historicall Narration* saith, 1. The Assembly holden at Santandrews in March next following, appointed twenty or any eight of them to convene in Masters Knox's house, to revise and consider the articles & conclusions agreed-upon at Lieth, and to report unto the Assembly: but wee find no report made, or insert in the Register [*But in the next is some mention.*] In *Seff. 3.* Was a contest betwixt the Superintendent of Fife and the Masters of the old Colledge concerning the Vicaradge of Kilmeny: and the Superintendent was blamed for giving that Vicaradge to one, who is not a Minister, nor hath any function in the church, and so the Minister of that church (planted by himselfe) is frustrat thereof. *Seff. 4.* The Assembly ordaines the Superintendent of Fife to use his own jurisdiction as before, in the Provinces not yet subiect unto the Archbishop of Santandrews, and also requests him to concurre with the archbishop when he requires in his Visitation, or otherwise within his bounds, Vntill the next Assembly; And the said Superintendent to have his stipend as before; and in like manner shall the Superintendents of Auguise & Lothan without prejudice of the said Archb. It followes in the *Hist. Narration*; When Master Knox heard, that the Assembly had continued the Bishop not withstanding a Bill given-in by some of the Uniuersity against him, he regrated, that so many offices were layed on an old man, which twenty men of the best gifts were scarcely able to bear: for he now was Archbishop, Rector of the Uniuersity, and Provest of the new Colledge; and as he was unable in body to make travell, so he was unable to preach. But little respect had the

The 22
Assembly.

Court to the ability of the person, if the commodity could be reaped by vertue of the title. This man had neither health nor wealth nor honor, as before. Mortoun and his friends took up a great part of his rent in fines, tacks and pensions. At that time Theodor Beza wrote his 79. epistle unto John Knox, dated at Geneva, Aprile 12. 1572. wherein he saith, This is a great blessing of God, that yee brought into Scotland both purity of religion and EUTAXIAN or good disciplin, which is the bond of keeping the doctrine. I beseech and obtest you, keep yee still these two, and remember, that if the one be losed, the other can not continue long. This doth very nature teach (for who of sound judgement can hope, that lawes can be observed, unless keepers or maintainers and avengers be established?) and the very teacher of fools, experience, by the exemple of these Nations, where it is certain, that they have chiefly erred in this which they will not suffer to be amended, that the Euangell is preached for iudgement rather than for mercy (I except a few; the chosen of God.) But like wise I would thee, my Knox, and the rest of the brethren remember, which is now as before our eies, that as the Bishops broght Papacy, so these false Bishops (the reliques of Papacy) will bring Epicureism into the Land. Let them be wary of this plague, whosoever wish the savety of the Church: and seing yee have once banished it out of Scotland, receive it never again, albeit it doth flatter with the shew of retaining unity where by many of the best Antients were deceived &c. The Generall Assembly convenes at Perth August. 6. John Erskin is chosen Moderator. *Seff. 3.* Forso much as in the assembly of the Church holden in Lieth in January last, certain Commissioners were appointed to deall with the Nobility and their Commissioners, to reason and conclude upon diuerse articles & heads, thought good then to be conferred upon: according to which commission, they have proceeded in sundry conventions, and have concluded for that time upon the said heads & articles, as the same produced in this assembly propoert: In which being and considered, are found certain names, as *Archbishop, Dean, Archdean, Chancellor and Chapter* which names were ever thought scandalous & offensive to the eares of the brethren, and appear to sound towards Papistry: Therefore the wholl assembly in one voice, alswell they, that were then in commission at Lieth, as others, solemnly protest, that they intend not by using such names, to ratify, consent nor agree unto any kind of Papistry or superstition, and wish rather the said names to be changed into other names, that are not scandalous or offensive; And likewise protest, that the saids heads and articles be only received as an *Interim*, till farther and more perfect order may be obtained at the hands of the Kings Majesty, Regent and Nobility: for the which they will endeavour, as occasion will serve. Unto which protestation the wholl assembly presently convened, in one voice adhere. Hence it is cleare, that as these articles were concluded without the knowledge of the assembly, so the wholl assembly opposeth them earnestly, but for a time do yeeld unto Civill authority, yet so that they will endeavour to be free of these articles. In August was cessation of warre, and then agreement of the dissenting parties; the Queens faction left Edinburgh: and the Regent died at Sterlin in October. John Knox returned to Edinburgh, but preached little more because of his sicknes. At no time was he heard speak with greater feruency, and more content of the hearers, than in his last Sermon, at the admission of James Lowson: in the end of that Sermon, he took God to witnes, that he had walked in a good conscience among them,

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Assembly.

them, not seeking to please men, nor serving his own or other mens affections, but in all sincerity & truth had preached the Gospell of Christ: and with most pithy words he exhorted them, to stand fast in the faith, they had received. In time of his sicknes (which was not long thereafter) he ^{John Knox} was much visited by persons of all sorts, and spoke unto them comfortably. ^{exhortations} He said unto the Earle Morton, in the audience of many others, My Lord, ^{before his} God hath given you many blessing he hath givens you wisdom, riches, many ^{death.} good & great friends, and is now to prefer you to the government of the realm: In his name I charge you, that you use these blessings aright, and better in time coming, than you have done in times past: in all your actions seek first the glory of God, the furtherance of his Gospell, the maintenance of his Church and Ministry; and next be carefull of the King, to procure his good, and the well fare of the realm: If you shall do this, God will be with you, and honour you: if otherwise you do it not, he will deprive you of all these benefits, and your end shall be shame and ignominy. John Knox two days before his death, sent for Da. Lindsay and James Lowson, and the Elders of the Church, and said to them; The time approaches, for which I have long thirsted, when I shall be relieved of all cares. And be with my Savior Christ for ever, And now God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the Gospell of his Son, that I have preached nothing but the true and solide doctrine of the Gospell, and that the end I proponed in all my preaching, was to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the consciences of these, who were humbled under the sense of their sins, and beat down with the threatnings of Gods judgements such as were proud & rebellious; I am not ignorant, that many have blamed, and yet do blame my too great rigor & severity: but God knowes that in my heart I never hated the persons of these, against whom I threatned Gods indgements: I did only hate their sin, and laboured with all my power to gain them unto Christ; That I forbear none of whatsoever, condition I did it out of the fear of my God, who had placed mee in the function of the Ministry, and I knew would bring mee to an account: Now, Brethren, for yourselves, I have no more to say, but to warn you, that you take heed to the flock, over which God hath placed you overseers, and whom he hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son: And you, Master Lowson, fight, do the work of the Lord with courage and with a willing mind, and God from above bless you and the Church, weereof you have the charge &c. Then he dismissed the Elders, and calling the two preachers, said, There is one thing, that grieveth mee exceedingly: yee have sometime seen the courage & forewardness of the Laird of Grange in Gods cause, and now unhappy man, he hath cast himself away: I pray you two, take the pains to go unto him, and say from mee, that unless he forsake that wicked course, wherein he hath entred, neither shall that rock, in which he confideth, defend him: nor the carnall wisdom of that man whom he countereth half a God [*this was young Lethingtoun*] make him help, but shamefully shall he be pulled out of that nest, and his carcase hang before the sun; The soul of that man is dear unto mee, and if it be possible, I would faine have him to be saved. The two went, and conferred with Grange: but prevailed not: which being reported to John Knox, he took it heavily. The last night of his life on earth, he slept some hours together, but with many sighs and groans: when he awoke, they asked him, how he did find himselfe, and what had moved him to mourn in his sleep? He answered, In my time I have oft been assaulted by Satan, and oft hath

he cast my sins in my teeth, to bring mee into despair; but God gave me grace to overcome all his tentations: And now that subtle Serpent, who never ceaseth to tempt, hath taken another course: he seeks to persuade mee, that my labours in my Ministry, and the fidelity, I have shewed in in that service, hath merited heaven and immortality; But blessed be God, who brought to my mind these Scriptures, *What hast thou, that thou hast not received? And, Not I, but the Grace of God in mee.* With which he hath gone away ashamed, and shall no more return: and now I am sure, my battell is at an end, and that without pain of body or trouble of Spirit I shall shortly change this mortall life with that happy & immortall life. When the prajer was made, one asked, Whither he had heard it? He answered, Would God, yee had heard it with such an eare and heart, as I have done. Then said he, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* After these words he spoke no more, but without any motion he ended this life. Within three days the Earle Morton was chosen Regent by consent of the States. The Laird of Grange was Captain of the castle, and when others of that faction did yeeld unto the agreement, he would not agree, because the Estates would not yeeld unto some high demands of his own: he gave a proclamation from the castle-wall, commanding all the Queens subjects, to depart out of the town within 24. hours: after which time he thundered with cannons against the town, to their great terror, yet not great hurt. In May following an assault was made upon the castle; the beleeged rendred themselves. Lethinton was sent to Lieth, and died suddenly through grief, and Grainge with his brother and two others were hanged in the market-street of Edinburgh.

1573.

The 24
Assembly.

X. A Parliament was held in January: wherein many Acts were made, partly for maintaining the Kings authority, and partly for maintaining the true Religion: these two causes at that time were so linked, that the enemies of the one were esteemed enemies of the other. Therefore it was enacted, that none should be reputed loyall subjects unto the King or his authority, but be punished as rebels, who made not profession of the true Religion; And that all who made profession thereof, and were not obedient to the Kings authority, should be admonished by their Teachers, to acknowledge their offence, and return to his Majesties obedience, or els should be excommunicated, as putrid members. The Nationall Assembly convened at Edinburgh March 6. here were members according to the order, and John Archbishop of Santandrews. David Ferguson Minister at Dumfermlin is chosen Moderator. 1. Where as a complaint was made against John Row for solemnizing the marriage of the Master of Crawford with the Lord Drummond's Daughter without proclamation of bans; and he did alledge, that he did it by the order of the Session of the Church, whereof the Lord Ruthuen was one and present at that time; The Assembly ordaines, that the Act made against Ministers solemnizing mariage of other parishoners without proclamation of bans, to have strength against John Row, and him to underly the censure, enduring the Church's will. 2. No collection for the poore shall be gathered in time of Sermon nor administration of the Sacrament, but only at the Churchdoor. 3. If any Minister reside not at the Church, where his charge is, he shall be summoned before the Superintendent or Commissioner of the Province, to whom the Assembly gives power to depose him; and ordaines, that they report their diligence unto the next Assembly. 3. All Superintendents & Commissioners of visitation shall proceed summarily against all Papists within

within their Province, and charge them within eight dayes to join themselves unto the Religion presently established, by learning the Word of God, and then by partaking of the Sacrament; and to give their oath, and subscribe according to the Act of Parliament, and Acts agreed-upon betwixt the Regent, Counsell and Commissioners of the Church: and if any shall refuse, to proceed, &c. 4. All Bishops, Superintendents, and Commissioners of visitation shall be present the first day of the Assembly before noon, and continue untill the end, Under pain of losing half of their stipend for a year, and nevertheless to continue in serving, during that time. 5. Concerning the desire of the Lord Regent to place some of the learned Ministers, Senators in the Colledge of Justice; The Assembly after long reasoning hath voted and concluded, that none is able to beare these two charges: and therefore inhibites all Ministers, that none take upon them to be a Senator, except Robert Pont only, who is already entred by advice, &c. 6. Five articles are presented by the Superint. & Ministers of Lothian; towit, 1. All the Actes of the G. Assembly should be copied and sent to every Exercise. 2. Such matters as fall out betwixt the Synodall conventions and the Generall Assemblies, shall be notified to every Exercise twenty dayes before the Generall Assembly, and be reported by them. 3. Such matters as are referred by the subordinat assembly unto the Generall, shall be penned faithfully by the Superintendent's Clerk, and reported unto the Generall assembly by the Superintendent. 4. that the Generall assemblies be frequented by the Nobility and Barons as in former times. 5. Ministers, who have not money to buy books, may at this time, have them lowsed unto them by the Collector, and the prices of them to be allowed in their stipends. The Assembly ratifieth all these as profitable. 7. Bishops, Superintendents and Commissioners shall without delay purchase Letters, commanding all men to frequent preaching and prayers, according to the order established in particular congregations; And to charge the Inferior Magistrat, to put into execution the Acts concerning the observance thereof, and for execution of disciplin and punishing of vice. 8. If a man passe out of the country, and leaving his wife shall marry another woman; and his wife shall marry another man in his absence, both are adulterers, unless the sentence of divorcement hath been pronounced by the Judge. Whereas in these Acts mention is made of Exercise, it is to be mar- that at that time Prsebyteries (or Classes, as others call them) were not erected but the Ministers of a burgh and circumjacent churches did convene of their own accord on a certain day of the week, in the burgh, and did preach publicly in the Church *per vices* for mutuall edification and manifesting the increase of their gifts: and this meering was called *The Exercise*. The Assembly convenes at Edinburgh August. 6. Here were many Earles, Lords, Barons, some Bishops, Superintendents &c. Alexander Arbuthnot Principall of the Coledge of old Aberdien is chosen Moderator. 1. The books of Bishops, Superintend. and Commissioners of visitation were produced, and certain Ministers are appointed to examin their diligence in visitation. John Douglas Bishop of Santandrews was accused for admitting a Papist Priest into the Ministry, to whom the Superintend. of Lothian had prescribed certain injunctions, and he had not obeyed them; for not visting, nor preaching that half year; for giving collation of a Benefice (which was before bestowd on a Minister) to another suspect of Popery; for suffering the Exercise to decay through his default; for admitting some to function in the Church, who were unable and not examined, namely some coming out of Mers &

Lothian; for visiting by others and not by himself. He answered unto the first, he admitted not that Priest, untill he had recanted Popery openly in the Church of Saint Andrews. The Assembly enjoynes the Priest, to satisfy the injunctions prescribed in Lothian, which he had not obeyd: and in the mean time inhibites him, to exercise any function in the Church. To the next he answered. He had preached personally where he did visite: but for sickness did not visite since the last Assembly. And for other things he pretended ignorance, or weaknes, &c. James Patoun B. of Dunkell was accused, that he had accepted the name of a Bishop, but hath not used the office of a Bishop: he had not proceeded against Papists within his bounds: he is suspected of Simony betwixt the Earle Argile and him, concerning the profits of the Bishoprick: yea and of perjury, in that contrary to his oath at the receiving the Bishoprick, he gives Acquittances, and the Earle receives the silver. Alex. Gordon B. of Galloway is accused that he intruded himself into the office of the Ministry within Edinb. he enticed the people to rebellion against our soverain Lord: he refused to pray for our Sovereign, and approved another authority; he being forbidden by the G. Assembly to have any intromission with the parishoners of Halirudhouse, yet compelled them to receive the Sacrament, and caused pretended Balies and men of war to compell the poore people; being sworn by solemne oath unto due obedience unto our Severain and his Regent and authority; he had broken his oath by sitting in the pretended Parliament for dispossessing our Sovereign of his royall Crown & authority; he had given thanks publicly in pulpit for the slaughter of the Regent Mathew Earle of Lennox, and exhorted the people to do the like: he was a perverter of the people, not only before the Reformation, but at sundry other times. He answered, He was free of all these by the Act of pacification. It was replied, The States had not absolved him (a Bishop) from the censure of the Church *in talibus*. So he was ordained under the pain of excommunication, to make publick repentance three severall Sundayes, one in the Church of Edinburgh, another in Halirudhouse, and the third in the Queen's-colledge-church. Robert Pont was accused, that being Commissioner to visite Murray, he resideth not there, nor hath visited Churches these two years, except the chief four he hath visited once. He alledgeth want of leisure, because he was ordained to attend the Colledge of Justice. Whereupon the Superintendent of Lothian moveth the question, Whither it be lawfull by the Word of God, that the administration of the Word and Sacraments, and the administration of criminall and civill justice be so confounded, that one man may occupy both the charges? It was answered, It is neither agreeable with the Word of God, nor practise of the primitive Church. 2. In *Seff.* 3 They who receive excommunicate persons should be censured with excommunication after due admonitions, if they desist not: and if they be guilty after admonition, though thereafter they desist, yet they shall make publick repentance of that fault. 3. The Secretary of the Countsell presenteth certain heads concerning the assignation of Ministers stipends. 4. Licence is given to Bishops, Superintendents and Commissioners of visitation, to take notice of the situation of parish churches, and to change them for the commodity of the people: as also of the glebes. 5. They who consult with witches or enchanterers should be censured. 6. Great or rich men being guilty of crimes, should be censured even alike as poor men, and no dispensation should be granted unto them for money though *ad pios usus*. Where mention is made here of Bishops

hops and Superintendents, it is to be observed, that at that time the Bishop of Santandrews had the visitation of Fife only; and John Winram had the visitation of Perth-shire; and John Spotswood continued in Lorthian as before. Next concerning these assignations and change of Parish-churches, Bishop Spotswood in *Histor. Libr. 5.* Shewes, that this Regent subtilly drew out of the power of the Church the thirds of Benefices, promising more sure and ready payment unto the Ministers, and to make every stipend locall; with express promise, that if they shall find themselves prejudiced they should be reponed to their possession, whensoever they shall require it. But so soon as hee was possessed of the thirds, he took course to joyn two or three or four churches to one Minister (who wastied to preach in them by turns); and he placed in every parish a Reader, to read prayers and the word, in the Ministers absence: and the Reader had 20. or 30. pounds Scots: and the Ministers were put to a necessity of attending the former assignation, and then a precept for payment: or if their necessity did urge to seek augmentation, a petty thing that was granted, was dear bought by the losse of time and charges in seeking it. The Superintendents were no better used: when they complained, that their portion was with-held: it was sayd, Their office was no more necessary seeing, bishops now are in the Diocies, and the ecclesiasticall jurisdiction belongs unto them. So the Regent seeking to enrich himself, losed the Church: and when they sought to be restored to their former possession according to the Act of Parliament and his promise; after many shifts and delayes he told them, Seeing the *Superplus* belongs unto the King, it was fitter, the Regent and Councill should modifie the stipends of Ministers, than that they have the designation of the *Superplus*. Thirdly observe, that when the proposition was made fairly, to change and unite churches for the expediency of the people, the Assembly gave not power unto the Commissioners, to unite parishes at their pleasure, but gave way unto the proposition, in so far as expediency of the people required; as appeares clearly by a Letter writt by John Erskin (the Superintendent) unto the same Assembly, in these words: Hearing that in my absence a complaint was given upon mee, alledging that I had destroyed or caused destroy the church of Inshbrayak, and to have joyned that parishon to the Church of Maritoun: I have thought good, to declair unto your Wi. my part in that cause: I never did destroy a parish-church, but would had the reparation of all; As to that church of Inshbrayak, I in my visitation finding it spoiled, and broken down. did request the parishoners there of, to resort unto the church of Maritoun, being neare unto them, untill their own church were bigged and repaired: to which they did consent, not to continue ever so, but for a time, untill their own church were bigged: the which I wish to be done shortly; and what in mee lyeth to further the same, shall not be omitted; This is the trueth of that matter: And if it be found otherwise, I shall build the church on my expences; If your Wisedomes think any fault here-in, I am subdued, and shall obey your godly judgement. Under this Letter is written, thus; At Edinburgh August 10. 1573. The Church presently assembled findeth no fault in the premises done by the Superintendent, but all his proceedings therein worthy of praise. And it is subscribed by the Clerk of the Assembly, J. Gray.

XI. The Assembly convenes at Edinburgh March 6. 1574. where were Earls, Lords, Bb. Superintend. &c. Androw Hay Minister is chosen Moderator. 1. The Bishop of Dunkell is ordained to confesse his fault publicly in the church of Dunk. for not executing the Sentence of the Church

(v d d d d)

against

1574.
The 26.
Assembly.

against the Earle of Athole. 2. George Bishop of Murray is ordained to be summoned to give his purgation of the fornication alledged to be committed by him with the Lady Ardros. 3. Commission was given to certain Ministers to summon the Chapter of Murray before them, to examine their proceedings, and what ground they had, to give unto the foresaid George douglas their testimoniall without due tryall of his conversation and literature. 4. Unto the L. Regent and Lords of the Privy Counsell with others of the States now convened with his Grace, the Church generall now assembled wisheth everlasting health in Christ; That holy mystery of God is not unknown, who hath chosen unto himselfe a Church, and that from the beginning, which shall continue for ever; And the same is the company of the faithfull professors of Christ Jesus; And in his Church God hath appointed his holy mysteries to be ministred, and calleth men to be Ministers of them, that by the same Ministry the elect of God may be called, regenerat and nurished unto everlasting life; For preservation of the holy Ministry and Church in purity, the Lord hath appointed Assemblies & conventions not only of the persons appointed unto the Ministry, but also of all the members professing Christ: which the Church of God hath continually used, and useth the same assemblies sanctified by the word of God, and authorized by the presence of Jesus Christ; It is also known unto your Gr. that since God hath blisfed this Country with the light of his Euangell, the wholl Church most godly appointed, and the same by Act of Parliam, was authorized, that two Assemblies of the wholl generall Church within this realm should be every year, alswe of all members thereof in all States, as of the Ministers: these assemblies have been continually from the first ordinance kept in such sort, that the most Noble and of the highest estate have joined themselves by their own presence in the assemblies, as members of one Body, concurring, voicing and authorizing in all things their proceedings with their Brethren; And now at this present the Church is assembled according to the godly ordinance, and looketh to have concurrence of their Brethren in all estates, and wisheth from God, that your Gr. and Lords of Privy Counsell will authorize the Church in this present Ass. by your presence or by yours having your Commission in your Gr. and LL. names, as members of the Church of God: for as your Gr. presence and the Nobilities should be unto us most comfortable, it is most earnestly wished of, So your Gr. absence is unto our hearts most dolorous, and lamented: whereupon follows the want of a great part of the members, that can not well be absent from treating these things, that appertain unto the Church & policy thereof, in assembly all together, to be handled by advice of all; and to which end the assemblies are appointed: the authority whereof, your Gr. knowes to be such, as the contempt of it tendeth to the very dishonor of God: And therefore as yee esteem yourselves to be members of Christ and of his Church, shew the fruits thereof, which it is not the least, to ioyn yourselves unto the Church, not only by hearing the word, and receiuing the Sacraments, but in conveneing also with your Brethren the holy assemblers; The which to do, wee give you admonition in the name of the Lord, extending this our admonition to every person of whatever estate, that are present with your Gr. and L. L. and especially wee admonish the Bishops and such as are of the Ministry, to ioyn themselves with us according to their duty: Otherwise they will be thought unworthy the office they beare: The time the Church will sit, will be short, and time would not be neglected: and yet the Church is not so precise, but that men may, after their presence given

given in the assembly, have liberty, as time requires, to wait upon their lawfull business: And this admonition wee give your Gr. with all reverence & humility: and chiefly in respect, your Gr. by your own articles & questions sent to the Church, desireth first to be admonished charitably, whensoever offence ariseth, before the same be otherwise traduced. 5. Some were appointed to penne the heads of the jurisdiction of the Church, and to present them unto the assembly. 6. Concerning the jurisdiction of bishops in their ecclesiasticall function, it is concluded, that the same shall not exceed the jurisdiction of Superintendents, which heretofore they have had, and presently have: And they shall be subject unto the discipline of the generall assembly, as members thereof, even as the Superintendents have been heretofore, in all sort. 7. No Superintendent nor Commissioner of planting churches shall give Collation of Benefice, nor admit Ministers, without the assistance of three qualified Ministers of their Province, who shall give their testimonialls to the Superintendent or Commissioner, subscribed with their hands in signe of their consent: And likewise that no bishop give collation of any Benefice within the bounds of Superintendents within his Diocye, without their consent and testimonialls subscribed with their hands: And that Bishop within their Diocies visite by themselves, where no Superintendents is: and give no collation of Benefice without consent of three well qualified Ministers, as said is of Superintendents &c. 8. Commissioners were appointed to convene with the L. Regent and the Lords deputed by the Counsell, To conferre and reason upon the heads of the jurisdiction and policy of the Church, and other heads & articles that shall be propounded by his Gr. unto them. 9. Concerning the appointing of many Churches unto one Minister, that the matter may be more plain, the Church declares, that howbeit sundry churches are appointed to one Man, yet shall the Minister make his residence at one Church, which shall be his charge properly, and he shall be called Minister of that Church: as for the others unto which he is nominat, he shall have the oversight of them, and help them so as the Bishop, Superint. or Commissioners shall judge expedient, and occasion shall permit from his principall charge, which he may no way neglect; And this order to remain only, whill God of his mercy send more labourers into his harvest. *For clearing the history*, observe first; by comparing what is done in this assembly with what is written immediatly before, we see a variance betwixt this Regent, and the Church: This variance was not reconciled all the time of his Regiment. It was for Episcopacy, and the uniting of Churches; and both these the Regent affecteth upon account of the Church-rents. And Bishop Spotswood *in the Histor. Tag. 273.* saith, Nor left he any means unassayed, that served to bring moneys into his cofers: which drew upon him a great deal of hatred. Secondly as the Bishops were intruded upon the Church unwillingly, howbeit way was given for a time, yet (as they said in the Act of accepting them) they delay not to curbe the Bishops both in their jurisdiction and conversation. Thirdly when the Bishops were so hemmed-in, they are not contented, but seek to put away Superintendents (as appeares by denying their stipends) and the liberty of meeting in Assemblies: and therefore this assembly do so much urge the authority and necessity of Assemblies. Fourthly they alledge an Act of Parliament for assembling twice in the year: certainly they would not have alledged it in such a manner, if such an Act had not been: but whither it was in the Queens time, or in King James time, it is uncertane, because such an Act is not printed. Fifthly because it was

alleged in the end of the former year, that the jurisdiction of the Church belongeth unto the Bishops, therefore the assembly sets upon a constant policy of the Church; and this was a work of some years, as followes; and the result was the Second book of Discipline. Sixthly the Nationall Church was so far from barring the Supreme Magistrate and Counsellors out of the Assemblies (as a railler against the Scots discipline hath lately vented in print either ignorantly or impudently) that they did not only lament his and their absence, but charged him and them, in Gods name, to be present, &c. And what was the practise after that time, *de facto* it will appear hereafter. The

The 27. Assembly. convened at Edinb. August 7. here were Barons, Bb. Superinten. &c. John Duncanson Min. at Tranent is chosen Moderator. 1. Because Alexander Bishop of Galloway had not satisfied according to the injunction of the Assembly in the year 1573. John Brand Min. at Halirudhouse is ordained under pain of deprivation, to excommunicate him, if he satisfy not. 2. If any Bishop, Superintendent or Commissioner of visiting churches shall be found negligent, or not to exerce their debtfull charge in visitation and teaching, or be culpable in life, he shall be censured according to the quality of the offence, either by admonition, publick repentance, deprivation for a time or *simpliciter*. 3. No Minister shall use or exerce the office of Collectory or Chalmerlanery under any Bishop or Beneficed person whatever, because it is a distraction from his vocation, Under pain of deprivation. 4. Some articles were sent unto the Lord Regent, namely, that stipends be granted unto a Superintendent in every Province, whither it bee, where no Bishop is, or where is a Bishop who can not discharge his office, as, Santandrews, Glasgow, That in every Church destitute of a Minister such persons may be presented, and stipends be granted unto them, as are here present, and whose names shall be delivered by the Bb. Superint. or Commissioners. 5. A complaint was made against the Bishop of Dunkell for ministrat[i]on of the Lords Supper upon work-dayes; and he is forbidden to do so again, but only upon the Lords day, according to the order of other Churches. 6. If any Parliament shall be called, or any other weighty cause require the presence of the Body of the Assembly, the Superintendent of Lothian, James Lowson Minister at Edinburgh and David Lindsay Minister at Lieth, shall give timous premonition unto the Brethren, to convene; and that Convention shall be reputed an Assembly. 7. The absents from the assembly shall be charged, to compear in the next, to be censured for their absence. Note, 1. James Boyd was enduced by the Lord Boyd to accept the title of the Bishoprick of Glasgow, which that Lord had purchased for his own gain of the revenues: and in the former Act he is named as unable unto the office: and in the same assembly he excused his negligence in the Church-affaires, because he was employd in other affairs of that office. 2. Within some weeks after that assembly John called Archbishop of Santandrews, went into the pulpit to preach, and falling down died. 3. By an Act under the privy Signet of the date November 21. 1574. it appeares, that John erskin, so long as he had been Superintendent, had not been in the Shiref-court, though he was a Baron; and at that time had exemption granted both for time by past, and to come, during his continuance in that office.

1575.
The 28.
Assembly.

XII. The Nationall Assembly convened at Edinb. March. 7. (as they then did reckon) year 1574. where were Earles, Lords, bb. Superintendents &c. James Boyd Bishop of Glasgow is chosen Moderator. 1. The bb. of Dunkell, Brechin, Murray and of Glasgow were removed, and complaints

complaints made against every one of them. Alexander Bishop of Galloway now submitteth himselfe. Upon his submission and by solicitation of the Lord Regent, he obtaines dispensation to be accepted, if he will confesse his offence in the church of Halirudhouse only. 2. It is ordained, that none be admitted unto the office of a Bishop, unless he be examined and approved by the Assembly. 3. No Comedies nor tragœdies or such playes should be made on any history of Canonick Scriptures, nor on the sabboth day: If any Minister be the writer of such a play, he shall be deprived of his Ministry, As for playes of another subject, they also should be examined, before they be propounded publickly. 3. Whereas Andrew Graham hath been presented unto the bishoprick of Dunblain, under the name of a Preacher, albeit he be not one; and it is alledged, that there hath been no conclusion, that all Bb. should first be Preachers; and so if he be qualified to be a Preacher, the presentation should be accepted; therefore the assembly appointeth him to preach on wednesday upon Rom. 5. 1. and nameth certain persons to be present. 4. Bishops, Superintendents and every Minister are enjoined, to admonish all such as were Papists within their bounds, and have subscribed the Confession of faith, according to the Act of Parliament, that they should also participate of the Sacrament duly with their own congregation, under pain, that they shall be held Relapse, and be censured with excommunication. It may appear from these, what manner of Bishops these were, and that the Presenters of them, aimed at their own advantage, and not at the good of the Church. In the Assembly at Edinburgh August 6. were Bb Superintendents, &c. Robert Pont is chosen Moderator. 1. When Bb. were removed to be censured, John Dury Minister at Edinburgh protesteth, that the tryall of Bishops shall not prejudice the opinions and reasons which he and other Brethren have against the office of such Bishops. 2. Alexander Bishop of Galloway delivereth an attestation of his satisfaction according to the ordinance: he is restored to the liberty of preaching; and standes still suspended from commission of visitation: but is ordered, to assist John Row Commissioner of Galloway *pro hac vice*. 3. The Bishop of Dunkell is ordained, to reside with his family at Dunkell before the next Assembly, Under pain of deprivation. Hee is also accused of dilapidation of his Benefice: hee craves, that he may have the liberty of an Advocate to plead for him: this is refused; but he should answer for himself, or chuse a Minister, to argue for him, within three days. 4. Because comely and decent apparell is requisite in all men, especially in these, which have function in the Church; therefore all Ministers and Preachers are forbidden to have any broudering, bagaries of velvet on gown, on cloke or coat, or have any cutting out of their cloaths, stitching with silk, pefiments or lace; all variant colours on shirts, rings, bracelets, buttons of silver or of any metall, all velvet, satine, tafety, any light color, but that all their habite be of grave color, to the end, the good word of God be not slandered by them and their immoderateness; And that their wives be subject unto the same ordinance. 5. Because the long continuance of Commissioners may induce some ambition & other inconvenients; after long reasoning, it is concluded by the greater part, that the Commissioners shall be changed yearly. 6. Eight Articles to be presented unto the Lord Regent. 1. for planting the word throughout the realm, it is petitioned, that such Ministers as are not as yet placed, may be received; Ministers which have many churches, may be relieved, and Commissioners be eased, and Bb having too great a charge may be helped; And prouision of Commissioners may

be payd for these two years bypast, and in time coming. 2. That such impediments may be removed, which hinder the progresse of the doctrine, such as, abundance of vice unpunished, markets on the Lords day, and the troubling of Ministers in execution of their Ministry. 3. That the order concerning the poore, which before was begun, may be put to full execution: and to that effect, a portion of the tyths, which is the Churches parrimony, aswell of the two parts as of the thirds, may be employd for their sustentation, as necessity craves. 4. Because the Schools are the fountains, from which Ministers must flow, that provision may be made for them, not only for Students remaining within the realm, but for some men of good engine, which by this Church shall be found fit, to visite other Churches and Vniversities for their furtherance in learning: and namely for Glasgow, because it is lately erected, and hath not such provision as other Vniversities. 6. That all daies, which heretofore have been kept holy, besides the Lords day, towit, Iule-day, Saints-dayes and such others be abolished, and a civill penalty be appointed against the keepers hereof by ceremonies, banketting, playing and such other vanities. 7. That all Ministers and Readers, who by infirmity and age become unable, may have their stipends enduring their life. 8. That the Clerk of the assembly be answered of the ordinary stipend appointed before in respect of his labours multiplied by writing letters *Gratis* for use of Ministers, &c. Concerning the Question, Whither Bishops, as they are now in Scotland, have their iunction from the Word of God, or not? And whither the Chapters, that are appointed for creating them, ought to be tolerated in this Reformed Church? for better resolution heerof the Assembly appoints John Craig, James Lowson, and Andrew Melvin Principall of the Colledge of Glasgow on the one part; and George Hay, John Row and David Lindsay on the other part, To convene, reason and conferre upon these questions; and to report their judgement and opinion, &c. After two daies these make report, viz, They think it not fit, to answer unto the first question presently: but if any Bishop shalbe chosen, which hath not such qualities as the word of God pteferibes, let him be tryed by the Generall assembly *de novo*, and so let him be deposed. But the points wheron they agree concerning the office of a Bishop or Superintendent are. 1. The name of Bishop is common to all them, that have any particular flock, over which he hath a peculiar charge, aswell to preach the word as to Minister the Sacraments, and to execute ecclesiasticall discipline with consent of his Elders; and this is his chief function by the word of God. 2. Out of this number may be chosen some to have power to oversee and visite such reasonable bounds (besides his own flock) as the Generall Church shall appoint; and in these bounds to appoint Ministers with consent of the Miniiters of that Province, and consent of the flock, to whom they shall be appointed; also to appoint Elders & Deacons in every particular congregation, where are none, with consent of the people thereof; and to suspend Ministers for a reasonable cause, with consent of the Ministers foresaid. 8. The Church hath power to cognosce & decern upon heresies, blasphemy, witchcraft and violation of the Lords day, Not prejudging the punishment of the Civill Magistrate. 9. There is no law, that when two persons have committed fornication, nor promise alledged by the woman, the man may be compelled by any particular Church at the suit of the woman or her parents, to marry her, or pay her dowry. 10. Children begotten before marriage, are lawfull children. *Note.* If wee compare

pare what was done before in the assemblies, this question concerning the Bishops was not a new motion made by Andrew meluin comelately from Geneva: he had not power to command the meanest Minister, and far less to overrule the Assembly. The Church from the beginning of the Reformation did oppose that kind of Bishops: and howbeit some of the Popish Bb. had embraced the Reformation, yet had they not any power, but according to commission; and wee have heard, how John Knox in his letter carried the office of Episcopacy under the name of tyranny: and when the conclusions at Lieth were obruded upon the Church, thogh they did yeeld for a time, yet that office was limited, and in effect but the name remaining: nevertheless the Assembly did protest against the very names and whatsoever power was yeilded unto. Master Meluin said then, *The corruptions in the estate of Bishops are so great, that unlesse the Bishops be removed, it can not go well with the Church, nor can religion be preserved in purity.* But he said not so much, as Beza had written before in the year 1572. and experience hath confirmed their words: how far was these Nations gone in atheism, if God of his mercy had not stopped them? In that assembly were sixe Bishops besides Superintend. yet none of them did oppose the siting of the question nor the conclusions. 2. Howbeit in these conclusions they express not the negative, because they would not plainly oppose the particulare interest of the Counsell seeking security of the possessions by the title of Bishops: yet these affirmatives take away the pretended office: and more follows.

XIII. The Assembly convenes at Edinburgh Aprile 25. in the year 1576. were present sixe Bb, Superintendents, &c. John row is chosen Moderator. 1. Plurality of Offices is objected against Robert hamiltoun Minister at Santandrews: the matter was long debated, and concluded that in respect of that congregation two offices are incompatible in his person. 2. Concerning the advice of the Brethren in the former Assembly concerning Bishops, this assembly after long disputation upon every Article thereof, doe resolutely approve and confirm that advice and every article thereof: and for the better execution thereof, the Assembly ordaines Bishops, which have not as yet received the charge of a particulare congregation, to declare the next day, what particular flock they will take the charge of. 3. Sixe Ministers and the Superintendent of Anguise are appointed to visite the Colledges in the University of Santandrewes, and consider the manner and estate thereof, and make report unto the next Assembly. 4. It is concluded, that they may proceed against the unjust possessors of the patrimony of the Church, in respect of the notorious scandall; towit, by doctrine and admonition, and if need be, with other censure of the Church; And the patrimony of the Church, where upon the Ministry, the Schools and the poor should be sustained; is *ex Jure Divino*; leaving further disputation of this matter untill May. 1. and then the description of the patrimony of the Church to be enquired, and reasoning to be, for full resolution of the question. 5. Certain Brethren are appointed, to make Overtures concerning the policy and jurisdiction of the Church; some to convene at Glasgow, some in Edinburgh, some in Santandrews, and some in Montros upon the first tuisday of July; and to make a generall meeting of two or one at least from every one of these four, in Sretline the last of July, To communicate, and cognosce of all their travells: and to conferre universally together, and to report, what they shall conceive in this matter, unto the next Assembly, which is appointed to be in Edinburgh October 24. or if a

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Parliament shall convene, the assembly ordaines the Ministers of Edinburgh to make intimation thereof unto the Bb. Superintendents and Commissioners of visitation, that the Assembly may be convened four daies before the Parliament, and that the Barons or other Commissioners appointed by the Provinciaill Assemblies, be exhorted to be present. *It is to be observed,* that the wholl matter of jurisdiction was no committed unto every one of these four parties: but particular heads was committed to every person; and their conceptions were to be examined in their particular convention, &c. as will appear by the next Assembly: which convened at Edinburgh October 24. where were two Bb. Superintendents, &c. John Craig is chosen Moderator. 1. Three Ministers were sent to petition the Lord Regents presence, or some authorized by his commission: they report his answer, that this advertisement was come so suddenly, that he could not be present, nor address Commissioners: but if the Assembly think it meet, he shall appoint some of the Counsell, to convene with their commissioners, To conferre upon such things as may tend to the furtherance of Gods glory. 2. It is thought good, that the things already penned concerning the Policy of the Church (as was ordained in the late assembly) should be revised, and other particulars, which now may be given-in should be heard and put in good form: The Assembly requesteth the Lord Chancellor, the Laird of Lundy, Ministers Andrew Hay, Andrew Melvin, James Lowson, John Dury, Robert Pont, James Wilky, George Hay, and Clement Little, To convene after noon dayly, during this assembly, and conferre what is already penned, with other things that may be given-in: advise thereupon, collect, and put in good form: and report the same unto the Assembly before dissolution hereof. 3. Because the multitude of particulars in the books of Commissioners spend much time, and they who are deputed to revise them, know them not so weell as the provinciaill Synods; It is appointed, that the books of the Visitors or Commissioners be tryed in the provinciaill Synods, and subscribed by their Clerks, and reported again to each Generall assembly by the Commissioners, that the Church may know their diligence. 4. It is ordained that all Ministers within eight Myls or otherwise at the discretion of the Visiter shall resort unto the place of Exercise each day of Exercise, and especially the Ministers, who are appointed to prophecy and ad: where in if either of these two shall faile, he shall be censured by the Exercise for the first fault: and by the Synod for the second fault: and if he incurre the third time, he shall be summoned before the Generall assembly. 5. Whereas Patrick adamson is presented to the bishoprik of Santandrews, some do propound, that according to the ordinance of the Assembly concerning Bishops, he should be examined by the Assembly, before he be admitted by the Chapter. The said Patrick answereth, The Lord Regent had discharged to proceed in that manner, because the Act is not consented unto; And the Assembly consents, that answer shall be given to the Lord Regent by the Chapter. 6. Three are sent unto the Lord Regent, for provision to be made unto the Visitors, according to the order. Answer was returned the next day, that the Lord Regent will advise with the rols and the generall Collector. 7. The Clerk of the Secret Counsell presenteth some questions, for the better expedition of Ministers stipends, and craves in the Regents name, the decision of these questions, at least, of so many of them, as may bee for the time. The assembly appoints sixteen Ministers and the Superintendent of Anguise, to convene this day after the dissolution of the

of the assembly, To visite and consider the Heads of the Policy, advise and consult diligently thereupon, and upon these questions, and report their judgements in write unto the next Assembly. 8. Androw hay Commissioner of Clisdale was summoned to compear before the Regent and the Counsell, and to bring with him the ordinance made by the Synodall assembly concerning the excommunication of the Captain of Crawford, with the Act whereupon it hath proceeded, that the verity may be known. The Assembly ordaines him and others that were summoned, to give obedience. They went, and when they returned, they declare, that because they had not produced the ordinance and act foresaid (which they could not do, because the Clerk was taken up for the time) the Counsell had suspended the Sentence of excommunication, untill these were produced; and they had protested for the liberty of the Church. 9. Thomas hepburn was accused for teaching, Never a soul goeth to heaven before the later day. After reading of this article, the assembly without any exception condemneth it as hereticall, and contrary unto the reueeled word of God; and inhibites all persons to maintain it privatly or publickly; and appoint certain Brethren, to confer with this Thomas, for his resolution; and in the mean time discharges him from entering into the Ministry, untill the Church see further concerning him. 10. The Chapter of Santandrews gave up the examination of Patrick adamson, unto the assembly: and he refuses again, to submit unto the the Assembly. 11. Salt pans and other work which drawes away people from hearing the word of God should not be permitted on the Lords day; and the violaters to be debarred from the benefits of the Church, untill they shew their repentance. 12. No burials should be withim the walls of a church, and the contraveeners should be suspended from the benefits of the Church, till, &c. 13. James Bishop of Glasgow being required, to declare of what particular flock he would take the charge, gave this answer in write; Forso much as it is not unknown unto your W. that yee gave commission unto certain godly and discreet Brethren, to treat and conclude with certain Noblemen appointed Commissioners by John Earle of Marre the Kings Regent: in which Conference it was agreed by the Commissioners of both sorts, that the names, style and jurisdiction of Bb. with the form and manner of institution was ordained to remain and stand, enduring the Kings years of minority, or untill a Parliament shall decide otherwise; and conform to that order I was received into the Bishoprick of Glasgow, and gave my oath unto the Kings Majesty in things appertaining to his Highness; and if I would change any thing appertaining to the order or power or priviledges thereof, I should be afraied to incurre perjury, and may be called by his Majesty for changing a member of his State: But to the end, your W. may know, that I desire not to be exceemed from bestowing such gifts as God hath communicar unto mee, I am content at your command to haunt a particular Church, and teach there; when I shall be in the Shirefdom of Aire, at the sight and discretion of the Brethren of that Country; and when I am in Glasgow, to exercise likeways at some part where the Brethren there shall thinke most necessary without the prejudice of the power and jurisdiction, which I received with the Bishoprick, untill the time prescribed in the said Conference at which time I shall be content with all reformation, as shall be found expedient. The assembly is content with this answer untill the next Assembly. *Observe* 1. That the articles of the discipline were debated at this Assembly, and further consultation was appointed.

2. Before this Assembly the Chancelor Lord Glamms had written unto the Church of Geneva for their advise in the point of jurisdiction: and after this Assembly Beza in answer sent his book, *De triplici Episcopatu, Divino, Humano, & Satánico*. It is true, that Saravia wrote an answer unto that book afterwards: but how therein appeares the weaknes of his judgement, and the partiality of his affection, I leave it to be considered. I add only, 1. It can not be denied that those three sorts of Bishops have been in the Church. 2. When the device of man justleth out the appointment of God, that device can not bring a blessing with it, but is rather permitted for a judgement.

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XIIII. The Assembly coveenes at Edinburgh Aprile 1. year 1577. were present Bb. of Glasgou & Dunblain, Superintendents, &c. Alexander arbutnot Principall of the colledge of Aberdien is chosen Moderator. 1. Because the Moderator was not in the preceeding assembly, and so knowes not what was done; at his desire it is appointed, that the Superintendent of Anguise and other sixe Miniters shall concurre with him at seven hours in the morning, to advise upon the things, that shall be thought good, to be handeled in this assembly. 2. The principall matter to be handled is the policy of the Church: so the Brethren were called to give account of their diligence. The heads penned by John Row and James Lowson were read, and nothing was gain said, but only one argument was referred to further disputation, and all were required, if they had any argument in the contrary, to propound it; or if they would not argue publickly, to resort unto these Commissioners, for their satisfaction; Leaving also liberty to propound their argument in publick, before the heads be recollected, and ordered in one body. The Superintendent of Anguise said, the head that was assigned unto him, was obscure: The assembly ordereth him, to conferre with the other Commissioners the next morning at seven hours. The heads committed to Andrew Hay were read, and nothing was opposed: only the article of suspending Ministers was referred to further reasoning. David Ferguson's part was approved; only one article was referred. Of what was committed to John Craig, some were ordered to be contracted, and others referred to further reasoning. When all was read, four Ministers were appointed to dispose them all in a convenient order; and if any man would object against any particular, he should have place. 3. Accusation was layd against Patrick Adamson, that he had entred into the Bishoprick of Santandrews against the acts of the Generall assembly, and had usurped, the office of Visitation without commission, and left his office of Ministry. Because he is not present to answer, the assembly gives their full power to Robert Pont, James Lowson, David Ferguson and the Superintendent of Lothian conjunctly, or in case of the Superintendents inability to David Lindsay or John Brand, To direct summons against the said Patrick to compare before them at such day or dajes, as they shall think good, Within Edinburgh, To try & examine his entry and proceedings to the said usurpation of visitation, and deserting his ordinary Office of the Ministry; With power unto them, to summon the Chapter of Santandrews, or so many of the Chapter, as they shall judge expedient, if need be; and the Ordainers or inaugurers of the said Patrick, as they shall think good for the better tryall of the premisses; and what they shall find heer-in, by process of examination report unto the next assembly; And in the mean time to discharge him of further visitation, untill he be admitted by the Church. 4. James blakwood having two Benefices, the personage of

of Sawchar and Vicaradge of Salin, is ordained to dimit the one. 5. Certain Min. were directed, to inform the Lord Regent, that the Church is about the matter or argument of the Church-policy: and when they shall have proceeded in it, they will give him advertisement. They went: and returning, report, that the Lord Regent is well pleased with their travells, and exhorts them to exped: And if any thing occurre in the mean time, let them give him information, and they shall have his answer. 6. Some petitions were sent unto the L. Reg. as, that provision may be made for Visitors: that persons deprived by the Church for not doing of their Office, may be deprived of their Benefice: that he would put order to them who sell their Benefice: that when a Benefice, shall vake, it may be bestowed on him who serverth at that Church, and not on another not so well qualified, &c. These who were sent with these petitions, after they had waited some dayes for answer, return and report, that because they had not commission in writ, his Gr. would give them no answer. 7. The Brethren that were appointed to collect and digest the heads of the policy, deliver them, and all men are required to propound, what argument they have against them. Three of them, *de Diaconatu, de Divoritiis & Jure Patronatus*; were called into doubt, and nothing objected against the rest. These three were disputed *In utramque partem*, and it was appointed to argue more of them the next day. 8. The Assembly considering the iniquity overflowing the wholl face of this common-wealth in so great light and revelation of the true religion; and provoking the justice of God to take vengeance on so unthankfull a Nation: And the many and perillous stormes and rage of persecution against the true members of Christ in France and in other parts, Likewise the establishing of a settled order and policy in the Church being now in hands: Have thought good, that earnest recourse shall be had to God with common supplications: and so that a generall fast be observed in all the churches of the realm with doctrine & instructions unto the people, to begin the secondsonday of July, and to continue untill the next Sonday thereafter, &c. 9. Because the matter of the policy is not as yet in such form as is requisit, and some heads must be contracted, and others enlarged, for avoiding superfluity and obscurity, the substantials being kept; Some Ministers are appointed to use diligence in the premisses; And that the work may be the more perfected before the next assembly (which is ordained to begin at Edinburgh Octob. 25.) other Ministers are appointed to convene there Octob. 19. to consider the travells of the before named Ministers; And the Visitors of Provinces are ordained to make intimation unto the Noble men and Barons, that this work is in hand, and to be treated in the next Assembly, desiring their presence and concurrence, &c. *Observe* 1. In the first particulare a litle thing was begun for a personall use, and thereafter the same was continued and turned to a common evill. These who were appointed to informe the Moderator at that time, in the assemblies following were chosen under the name of *The privy conference*: and power was given unto them, to conferre with the Moderator upon the purposes to be treated in the assembly, and to form the Acts before they were read in the assembly. This was like unto that, which in the Councell of Trent was called *The Congregation*. Within some years all matters were debated and concluded in the Privy Conference; and the body of the assembly had litle to do: namely, after the year 1597. such men were named to be on the Privy Conference, who for the most part were known to favour the purpose intended: and one

or two whom the chief leaders knew to be contrary minded, were also named to be there, to the end, they might know, what the contrary party would object: and when the acts were in voting and penning, these two or mo could do nothing by their few votes: and when their conclusions were propounded in the open assembly, it was called presumption, to oppose what was debated and concluded by the Privy conference: especially after the erection of Bishops, the Archbishop of Santandrews by his power did name the Privy conference: and so were things carried both in the Generall and Episcopall or Diocesane Synods. 2. The Authour of *Vindicia Philadelphi*, Pag. 53. Shewes, that Patrick adamson was a Minister soon after the reformation, and because of the small stipends at that time, left the Ministry, and went to France, to study the lawes: and when he returned, he became an Advocat: thereafter he turned again into the Ministry, at Paisly: from that he removed to be Chaplain unto the Court, that so he might attain a Bishoprick: for then the Courtiers sought men unto the name of Bishops, whom they could find contented with a cheap portion: and he accounted that portion better then a Ministers stipend; he got the Bishoprick of Santandrews, when he knew that the assemblies were going to abolish that Office (and wee have heard before from *The historickall narration* how he distinguished the three sorts of Bishops.) At that time when he was summoned before these Commissioners, he dissembled his mind, and promised to obey whatsoever the Church shall discern of Episcopacy: and nevertheless did (so far as he could) undermine what the Church was a doing. In the year 1582. he was taken with a lingering sicknes, and sought the aid of a witch: when he had kept, within doores almost a year, scarcely having recovered health he in a Sermon before the King did inveigh bitterly against the Order of the Church & assemblies: towit, being guilty of his offences he both privatly and publickly did strive against the Church as his mortall enemy. *So far there.* and more followes afterwards. In the next Assembly at Edinburgh

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October 25. David Lindsay was chosen Modarator, and the Privy Conference set, as is said before. 1. The assembly directed some Ministers unto the Lord Regent, entreating his presence or Commissioners in his name. Three severall dayes they sent, and his answer still was, that he was so taken up with publick affaires, that he could not be present, but he willed them to continue in the matter of the Policy. and put it to an end. 2. What was done in that matter, was propounded in the second Session, and all men were required, to declare the next day any other head or particulare, if they knew any meedfull to be disputed. These heads (but no new ones) were disputed again and again in severall dayes. 3. Patrick adamson brings from the Lord Regent, a Letter which was sent unto him from the Queen of England, shewing that a Councell was to be at Magdeburg, for establishing the Augustin Confession: and craving the advice of the assembly, whither they think good to sent thither any Ministers of this Nation, and whom they will name. The next day were named And. Melvin, Patrick adamson, David Cuninghame, George Hay, David Lindsay, William Cristeson, Alex. arbutnot, and Rob. Pont: John Craig was sent to shew this nomination unto the Regent, that he may choose any two or three of them for that end. After two days John Craig reports, that the Regent was well pleased, they had given him the choice, and in his opinion Andrew Melvin, George hay and Alexander arbutnot were meet: yet craving the advice of the assembly herein, that thereafter he may re-

solve with the Counsell. Three were sent again to know the Regents will concerning Andrew melvin & George hay: and that he would appoint the Modifiers of the Ministers stipends to conven for ordering the Roles. They report, he was pleased with these two, and had appointed the Modifiers to conven. 4. In Session 13, the heads of the Policy of the Church were read publickly, and agreed upon, except that head *De Diaconatu*; as also that they shall be presented unto the Regent, as agreed upon, as said is: without prejudice of further reasoning. So James Lowson, Rob. Pont, David Lindsay and the Clerk of the Assembly are ordered to put them in *mundo* according to the originall; and John Duncanson, David Ferguson and John Erskine of Dun are appointed to revise them; and being found, conform unto the originall, the first three are ordered to present them with a Supplication in name of the Assembly. And if the Regent will crave conference upon these heads, the Assembly nameth Patrick adamson, John Erskine of Dun, John Craig, John Row, Alexander arbutnot, Andrew meluin, James Lowson, Ro. pont., David Lindsay, An. Hay, Geo. Hay and John Duncanson to wait upon the Conference, when the Regent shall advertise.

XV. The Assembly convenes at Edinb 24. 1578. And Melvin is chosen Moderator. 1. Some are sent unto the King and Counsell, to petition, that he would send Commissioners in his Ma^e name to assist the assembly with their presence and counsell. The answer was, Two shall be deputed the next day. 2. It is appointed, that Bishops and all others bearing ecclesiasticall function shall be called by their own names, or Brethren. 2. The Brethren, that were appointed by the preceeding Assembly, declare that as they were ordered, they had presented unto the L. Regent the book of Policy and the Supplication; and a day appointed for a Conference: but the alteration of Authority hath interveened; and for preventing corruption in the the beginning of his Ma^e Government, they had presented unto his Ma. and Counsell a Supplication with four articles, one for observing the Act of Parliament concerning these who beare Office in the realm; another for putting order to the late murder in Sterlin; a third for the policy of the Church: and a fourth for support against the appearing famine. The Lord Heres and the Abbot of Deir (who were sent by the Counsell) were asked their opinion concerning these Articles. They answer, They were sent, not to vote or conclude, but to heare and see the proceedings of the Assembly: and they would insist at the hands of the Counsell for answer unto their Articles. In the next Session some were directed unto the Lord Heres and the Abbot, to put them in remembrance of the answer unto the Articles that were sent unto the Counsell: and also to demand of the Counsell, Whither they were directed unto the Assembly to give their advice in all things tending to the glory of God and well of his Church, or only to hear? and if the Brethren find it expedient, themselves to propound unto the Counsell both the one and the other. When they returned, they reported, Some difficulties were in the Articles, and the Counsell hath appointed two to conven the next day at eight of the clock in the morning with such as the Assembly will appoint to argue: but they give them not power as Commissioners from the King to vote in the Assembly, because the King is not present, and they had not spoken with him of this point, yet as brethren and members of the Church they shall give their advice, & vote. The assembly appoints six Brethren to conven too morrow, to counsell and reason with the Commissioners of the Counsell. 3. A day was appointed, when every man, who had any doubt or argument against the book of

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disciplin, should propound his argument. And at that time none offered any argument in the contrary. 4. The brethren that were appointed to conferre with the Deputies of the Counsell, report that the Deputies willed the Assembly, to name the persons whom they do suspect of Papistry, and by some of their number to admonish these persons to subscribe the articles of Religion, or Confession; and if they be disobedient, to intimate that unto the counsell, and also to proceed against the disobedients with the censures of the church. The assembly nameth the Chancellor, the Earls of Caitnes & Mongumery, and the L. Ogilvy; and sent J. Row & Ja. Lowson to deal with the Chancellor; and J. Craig & J. Duncanson unto the others. In the the fourth Session thereafter, these brethren report, that Earle of Caitnes desireth to see and read the Confession. Ogilvy declares, that he had subscribed it before he went out of the country, and is willing to subscribe it again: and they had not occasion to meet with the others. The Ministers of these parts, where they shall make their repair, are ordained to admonish them; and if they find disobedience, to proceed with the censure of the Church against them. 5. Because there is great corruption in the estate of Bishops, as they are now made in this realm whereunto the Church would provide remedy in time coming; therefore it is concluded, that no Bishops shall be elected before the next Gen. Assembly; and discharges all Ministers & Chapters to proceed in the election of a Bishop in the mean time, Under the pain of perpetuall deprivation from their Office; And that this matter be proponed first in the next Gener. Assembly, to be consulted what further Ordershall be followed herein; And if any Benefice waikes where is a qualified Minister serving the Church, it is ordained, that no Visitors give Collation of these Benefices to any other person but unto the Minister of that church, before the next G. assembly. 6. It is appointed that Robert Pont, James Lowson, and David Lindsay, shall review the book of disciplin, and being written according to the Originall, one copy to be presented by them unto the King, with a Supplication penned to that effect, and another Copy unto the Counsell; The time to be at their opportunity, so that it be before the publick fast; And if conference shall be craved, these brethren shall advertise John Craig, Alex. arbutnot, John Erskin of Dun, W. Cristeson, John Row, David Ferguson, Ro. pont, James lowson, David Lindsay, John Duncanson, An. melvin, An. hay, To convene at the time appointed by the King & Counsell, &c. 7. The Assembly considering the universall corruption of the body of the realm; the great coldness and slackness of religion in the greatest part, with the dayly increase of fearfull sins, as incest, adultery, murders and namely recently committed in Edinburgh & Sterlin, cursed sacriledge, ungodly divisions within the bowels of the realm, with all manner of disorderly & ungodly living, which hath provoked our God although long-suffering, to stretch out his arm in anger, to correct and visite the iniquity of the Land, especially by the present dearth and famine, Joyned with the civill and domestick seditions, where upon doubtless greater judgements must succeed, if these corrections work not reformation or amendement in mens hearts: Seing also the bloody conclusions of that Romane Beast tending to raze from the face of Europe the true light of the blest word of saluation: For these causes and that God of his mercy would blesse the Kings Ma. and his regiment, and make his Government happy & prosperous; As also to put in His heart and the hearts of the States of Parliament, not only to make & establish good Politick lawes for the

the we of the realm but also to set & establish such discipline in the Church as is craved by the word of God, and is already penned to be presented unto his Ma. and Counsell, That in the one and other, God may have his due praise, and the age to come may have an example of upright & godly dealing: Therefore it is ordained that a fast be kept in all the churches, to begin the first Sunday of Juny and to continue untill the next Sunday *inclusivè*, with accustomed exercise of doctrine & prayer, &c. 7. The next Assembly is appointed to be July. 7. if the Parliament hold, which is already proclaimed Or if it hold at any other time before October 24. that the brethren shall convene in the place four days before, and otherwise, to convene Octob. 24. at Edinburgh. Because the Parliament held at Sterlin in Juny, therefore the Assembly convenes at Sterlin Juny 11. John Row was chosen Moderator. 1. Some were sent unto the King craving that Commissioners might be sent in his name unto the assembly. 2. The Act of the former assembly concerning the election of Bishops, this assembly in one voice concludes to be extended into all time coming: and that all Bishops already elected, shall be required particularly to submit themselves unto the Generall assembly, for reformation of that estate of Bishops in their persons, and if they refuse, after admonitions the censure of excommunication shall proceed against them. The Bishop of Dunblain offered his submission presently. 3. The act of the former assembly concerning Collation of Benefices, is confirmed untill the next Assembly. 4. These which were appointed to present unto the King and Counsell, the copies of the book of disciplin, shew, that they had done according to the Commission; and his answer was, that not only would he concur with the Church in all things, that may advance true religion presently professed, but would also be a Proctor for the Church; and then he had presented their Supplication unto the Counsell; and they had appointed some unto a Conference, and what was done there, is ready to be shewd. The next day these things were publickly read. I. In the beginning of the Conference it was thought good, that a Supplication be penned by the Assembly concerning those that shall vote in Parliament in name of the Church. This is appointed to be penned by John Row and Robert Pont, and be brought unto the Assembly on Mooneday. II. Concerning the Observations, the Assembly proceeds as followes. In Chap. 2. the 3. article is agreed-upon conform to the conference. In Chap. 3. the 7. article is to be further considered: the tenth article is thought plain in itselfe. Concerning the advice, what censure shall be put to non-residents, the Church thinks meet, a civill law be craved, decerning the Benefice to vaik for not-residence: In Chap. 4. the 9. article agreed conform to the conference: and desiring the penalty of persons excommunicat to be horning or caption, by speciall act of Parliament, to be executed by the Treasurer or others, whom it will please his Majesty to appoint. In Chap. 5. agreed with the two supplications desired. In Chap. 6. the perpetuity of the persons of the Elders agreed conforme. *Here the book of the Assembly wants two leaves.* Then is some what of visitation of colleges, schools and hospitalls, and the *book wants other two leaves.* Then concerning commissioners of countries or Provinces: and other *two leaves* are wanting. The next assembly is appointed to convene at Edinb. Octob. 24. *The historicall Narration* saith, All that could be obtained in this Parliament was a Commission to conferre upon the Heads of the book: the Commissioners, which sought the ratification of it, took this for a shifting, seeing the book was before allowed in the conference, except four particulars

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wherein was no difficulty, and were now explained by the Assembly: and therefore they craved, that at last so many may be ratified as were agreed upon: that was not granted: for Morton was the chief leader in this Parliament. In the assembly October 24. David Ferguson is chosen Moderator. 1. The Noble men in the town are desired to be present. 2. At the desire of the assembly came the Lord Chancellor, the Earle of Montrose, the L.L. Seton & Lindsay. It was shewed by the Moderator, what care and study the church had taken to entertain and keep the purity of the sincere word of God unmixed with the inventions of their own heads: which their special care was to reserve unto the posterity: and seeing true religion can not continue long without good Discipline, in that part also they have employed their wit & study, and drawn forth of the pure fountain of Gods word such a discipline as is meet to remain in the church: this they have presented unto the Kings M. with their supplication: at whose direction certain commissioners were appointed to reason with these who were appointed by the church: therethe wholl matter being disputed, it was resolved and agreed, except a few heads: and thereafter being presented unto the Lords of the articles, that the same discipline might take place, and be established by acts & lawes of the realm: but their travells have not succeeded: praying therefore the Nobility present aswell openly to make profession to the assembly, if they will allow and maintain the religion presently established within the realm, as also the discipline and policy already mentioned: and to labour at the Kings and Counsells hands for answer unto the Heads after following, that is, that his Gr. and Counsell will establish such heads of the policy as were already resolved and agreed-upon by the Commissioners, and cause the others to be reasoned and put to an end: and that his Gr. and Counsell will restore the church unto the act of Parliament concerning the thirds: and that none vote in Parliament in name of the church, but such as shall have commission from the church for that effect: and that presentations of Benefices be directed to the commissioners of countries, where the Benefices lye: And to the end, the matter may be the better and sooner exped, that their Lordships would appoint a time convenient thereunto, as they may best spare, that such brethren as shall be named, may wait upon their Honours. The Noble men answered, that some of them had made publick profession of the Religion heretofore: and all now declair, they embrace the religion, and shall maintain the same to their power: and in the other particulars, they think, that supplication be made unto the King and Counsell, and they will insist with the King for his answer: and they will shew them to morrow the time for that effect. 3. The act of the preceeding assembly concerning the suspension of Benefices, the Assembly ordaines it to stand in full strength untill the next Assembly. 4. James boid Bishop of Glasgow being required to submit according to the Act of the last assembly, gave his answer in write as follows: I understand the name, office and reverence born to a Bishop to be lawfull by the Scriptures of God: and being elected by the Church and King to be Bishop of Glasgow, I esteem my calling and office lawfull: and as for my executing of that charge committed unto mee, I am content to endeavour at my utmost ability, to perform the same and every point thereof, and to abide the judgement of the Church from time to time, if I offend in my duty: Craving always a brotherly construction at their hands, seeing the charge is weighty, and the claimes to be layd to my charge are to be examined by the Canon left by the Apostle, 1 Tim. 3. as that place was pointed unto mee at my reception

reception, thereby to understand the duties of a Bishop; As for my living and rents and other things granted by the Prince unto mee and my successors for serving that charge, I reckon the same lawfull; As to my duty unto the Supreme Magistrate in assisting his Gr. in counsell or parliament, when I am craved thereunto, my subjection compelles mee to obey it, and it's no hurt but good to the Church, that some of our number be at the making of good lawes and ordinances; in the doing whereof I protest before God, I intend never to do anything but what I believe shall stand with the purity of the Scriptures and a well reformed country; As also a good part of the living, which I possess, hath been given for that cause. This answer was read, and after voting is judged not satisfactory: and therefore he is ordered to return after noon with better resolution. *Here the books of the Assembly want two leaves: and it appears, that a supplication was sent unto the King and Counsell by these imperfect words following, Vices universally abounding within this realm may be punished and bridled; and to insist with convenient, diligence with his Ma. & Counsell for granting the premisses: And to reporte* 5. All that are now, or hereafter shalbe deposed from the Ministry for their offenses, shall be charged by the commissioners of the bounds to dimitt their Benefice.... and if they disobey, to proceed against them with censures of the church.... 6. Because Bishops are to be charged, to remove the corruptions of that estate; the particulars are named, to wit. 1. That they be content to be Pastors or Ministers of a flock. 2. They shall usurp no criminal jurisdiction. 3. they shall not in Parliament vote in name of the Church without commission from the Church. 4. That they take not up for maintenance of their ambition and riotousness the emoluments of the Church, which may sustain many Pastors, and help the Schooles & poore, but be content with a reasonable living according to their Office. 6. They shall not domineer over the particular Eldership, but be subject unto it. 7. That they usurp not the power of Presbyteries. 8. They shall not take further bounds of visitation, than the Church commits unto them. Withall they shall promise, that if the G. Assm. shall find any other corruption in that estate, they shall be content to be reformed by the assembly according to the word of God. VII. Because many send their children over sea into places where superstition and Papistry is maintained, Under pretence of seeking further learning; And others of perfect age go away under the same pretense; and become (for the most part) corrupt in religion; It is ordained, that the parents of these children, or that heerafter shall send their children into such places, shall be charged by their own Ministers, to call their children home again with all convenient expedition, Under the pain of excommunication; And they, who being of perfect age, have gone or shall go into such places, shall be charged in like manner to remove themselves out of these places. *Observe.* 1. how these leaves of the books were taken away, it will appear hereafter at the year 1587. 2. *The historical Narration* shewes, that James Bishop of Glasgow did not submit at that synod; but at last he did yeeld, and his submission in write was brought unto the next assembly; As also Commission was given in that Octob. unto certain Ministers to charge Patrik Bishop of Santandrews for transgressing the tenor of his former submission, and to charge him to forsake the corruptions of the estate of a Bishop in his person, as they shall be particularly specified unto him: and if he refuse after due admonitions, to excommunicat him. That commission was renewed in July, year 1579. to charge him *de novo*, to quite the particular corruptions: and to charge him with these offences.

1. That having submitted unto the assembly, he went thereafter and voted in Parliament. 2. he gave Collation of a Vicarage, having no power where the Vicaragelyeth. 3. albeit he had consented unto all the Heads of the Policy but four, yet he opposed it in the Parliament. In a word all the Bishops were brought into subjection, did submit, and quite the corruptions of that estate, and obeyd the Act, that was made against Bishops in July 1580. In that assembly the Bishop of Dunkell, who had been deposed before, for not recovering a Tack made to the Earle of Argile was charged to dimitt his Bishoprick, and report the losse of dilapidation of the rents, Under the pain of excommunication. *So far* there: which for brevity I conjoin here. Seing Bishops had never the allowance of the Nationall assembly, and being intruded were subdued in this manner at that time; how can any man say (unless he be ignorant of the estate of the Church, or perverse in mind) that the only government of the Church of Scotland was by Bishops and Superintendents, when the second Confession of faith was subscribed, towit, in the year 1581?

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XVI. The assembly convenes at Edinburgh July. 7. year 1579. Thomas Smeron is chosen Moderator. 1. John Duncanson the Kings Minister brings a Letter from his Ma. in these words; Right trusty and well-beloved, wee greet you heartily well. Understanding of your present assembly at Edinburgh and for the rumors, that pass of some things, that are to be treated among you, that may seem prejudiciall to that good order of government of the church and ecclesiasticall policy heretofore long travelled-in, and hoped-for; Wee have taken occasion to shew our mind in this behalf, unto the Minister of our own house and some other of your number, hapning to be present with us, in this cause We have thought meetest to use them as our Messengers, to carry our letter, whereby wee will heartily desire and affectionously admonish you, that in this our young age, the time being subject to so many difficulties and imperfections, to bestow your common care and good wills, to entertain peace & quiernes in Gods fear and Our due obedience, forbearing any proceeding at this time, that may touch matters heretofore not concluded by Our lawes, or received into practise: but whatever in the former Conferences touching the Policy of the Church was remitted to be reasoned and decided by Our States in Parliament, let it rest without prejudging the same by any of your conclusions at this time, seing Our Parliament now so shortly approaches, and that Wee are well pleased and content, that before the same, such matters as are not yet fully reasoned, may be further consulted upon, and prepared to pass in form of lawes; And the meetest for that work to be expressly employd therein, to the end, the things conferred & agreed upon, may be presented to Our Estates, to be approved in Our said Parliament, and due execution to follow for the advancement of Gods true religion, and the repose of you and other our good subjects the members of the church of God within our realm; and for this cause that yee will not only be the authors and persuaders of common peace & concord among all of your own function, but among all other Our subjects generally, as in the particular Churches, where yee travell, that some men too busy to work the contrary effects, may find themselves disappointed, and that Our wholl Estate by your exemple may be rather disposed to conform themselves to a godly & peaceable course of living, which wee are assured, shall be pleasing to God, and to us it will be most acceptable, as yee may persuade yourselves of our willing inclination, to set forward this action according

cording to Gods will and word, with all the diligence and good means, that may be used: and so looking to be informed of this Our reasonable request & admonition, Wee commit you unto the protection of God. At our castle of Sterlin July 5. 1579. It was directed, To our trusty and welbeloved the Ministers and others of the Church presently assembled at Edinburgh. This Letter was humbly received, read, and ordained to be registred. In answer, after some dayes Commission and full power was given first unto ten Barons with all the Commissioners of Provinces and fixe other Ministers and such as shall be directed from the Burghs or the most put of that number, To convene where the Parliament shall hold, two dayes before it's meeing, and there advise, conceive and form such heads and articles as they shall think meet to be proponed in name of the Church unto the Parliament, for maintaining Gods glory and the good of the policy of the Church; To desire with all humility and affectuously to crave the same to be granted: To conferre and reason there, upon the said heads and such as shall be proponed unto them, Even so as the assembly might do, if they were present. Likewise power was given to John Erskin of Dun, John Dunkanson, Andrew Hay, John Craig, Thomas Smeron and And. Melvin to passe unto the Kings Majesty and Counsell in Sterlin with convenient expedition to present the heads, articles and complaints [after following] with humble reverence and instance.

1. The Church craves, his Majesty make generall prohibition, that none of the inhabitants of the realm send their children to Paris or any other University or town professing Papistry, under such pain as his Majesty and Counsell shall think expedient. 2. That his Majesty would cause the Provosts and Masters of the Colledges of the University of Santandrews, to produce the foundations [or primary Grants] of these colledges, to be considered by his Ma. and such as he shall appoint; that these may be sighted, and reformation made therein, as shall be judged expedient. 3. Because some Jesuits are already within this country, that order may be taken with them, as is requisit. 4. Because one Minister is not sufficient to wait upon his Majesty and house, To crave that his Majesty would be content another of the best qualities within the realm to be joined with John Dunkanson in the whol Ministry of his house. 5. Because in the last Conference at Sterlin at his M^s command concerning the Policy of the church, some articles were referred to further conference, To crave that persons unspotted with such corruptions as are desired to be reformed, may be named by his Majesty to proceed in further conference of the policy, and time and place to be appointed for that effect. 6. Because the Church understandes, that his Majesty by advice of his Secret-counsell directeth Letters to stay the execution of the Acts of the Generall assembly: As also summoneth Ministers, that proceed in tryall of excommunication, (which is pronounced by them, according to the word of God and disciplin of the Church) And stayth the pronouncing of the same (as the Commissioners will declare particularly;) therefore his Ma. hereafter would suffer the Acts of the Generall assembly to be put to execution, and namely, that excommunication being pronounced may have due execution. Likewise the proceedings of the former Conference at Sterlin, were now read and conferred with the booke of discipline. 2. The assembly weighing the apostasy of Ninian dalie Master of the grammer-school of Dumfrise, deposeth him simpliciter from the function of the Ministry, and suspends him from teaching the School, untill als good experience be had by them of his good life as they have of his
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defection; And in the mean time ordaines one of the Doctors of the school (if he be found in religion) to teach that schoole; And ordaines him to confesse his offence, in the face of the assembly; and thereafter in the Church of Dumfrise, and other parts where he hath abused the simple people; and also publickly in presence of the Commissioner to revoke his errors, and profess the contrary truth, craving God and his Church pardon; And that immediatly after his and the Commissioners passing home, Under the pain of excommunication, &c. This Ninian Dalziel delivereth unto the assembly his judgement concerning the heads of religion, subscribed with his hand, protesting before God, that not for favor nor fear of flesh he affirmed the doctrine contained therein, and is minded to live alwayes and dy in it. This paper is found to agree in all points with the judgement of the the Church. 3. Some questions were propounded by the Provinciaall Synods. 1. Because great inconvenients have ensued; and dayly do ensue by Readers, a wholl Synode hath inhibited all Readers to Minister baptism, or solemnize marriage, permitting to them, but the proclamation of the banns, and simple reading of the text of Scripture; And now that Synod desireth an uniform order may be established through all the Provinces. *Resp.* So many Readers as any Synode findeth unmeet to solemnize marriage, let them be inhibited by them. 2. Sundry Ministers have plurality of Benefices, where by some Churches are disappointed of Service; It is craved that an universall order may be prescribed, that the Minister shall serve where his Benefice lyeth or that he make provision for the same. *Resp.* It is agreed. 3. Presbyteries would be erected, where the Exercise is used, untill the Policy be established by a law. *Resp.* The Exercise is a Presbytery. 4. Whether any may be suffered to read in a Church, in case of necessity, without admission, although he be an Elder or deacon. *Resp.* *Negatur simpliciter.* 5. Whether it be lawfull to marry on week-days, a sufficient number being present, and joyning preaching thereunto. *Resp.* It is lawfull. 6. What order shall be taken with these who absent themselves from the Communion, alledging the cause to be envy against their neighbour? and whether others that will not salute nor bear familiar company with their neighbours, and being required by the Minister, should be admitted? *Resp.* the first should be admonished, and the other should not be admitted without reconciliation, if it stay on his side. 7. Persons that after admonition go to May-playes should not be admitted to the Sacrament without declaration of repentance for that fault. 8. If persons go to a Popish priest to be marryed, they should be called to satisfy as fornicators, and after proclamations they should be married again, the other being null; and the priest should be punished. Lastly the next assembly is appointed to beginn at Dundy the second tuisday of July next. *According to these Commissions*, in the Parliament at Edinburgh October 20. it was. 1. Declared, that the Ministers of the blest Euangell of Jesus Christ, whom God of his mercy hath now raised up among us, or hereafter shall raise, agreeing with them that now live, in doctrine and administration of the Sacraments, and the people of the realm that profess as he now offereth in his Euangell, do communicat in the holy Sacraments (as in the Reformed churches of this realm are publickly administrat) according to the Confession of faith, To be the true & holy Church of Jesus Christ within this realm; And decernes and declares, that all and sundry, who either gainsay the Confession of faith, professed in Parliament in the year 1560. as also specified....., Or that refuse the parti-

participation of the Sacraments, as they are now ministrat, to no member of the said Church. so long as they keep themselves so divided.

2. The King with advice of his three Estates declares and grants jurisdiction to the Church, which consists and stands in preaching the true word of J. Christ, correction of manners, and administration of the holy Sacraments; and declares, that there is no other face of Church nor other face of religion, than is presently by the favor of God established within this realm: and that there be no jurisdiction ecclesiasticall acknowledged, than which is, and shall be within the same Church, or which flowes there from, concerning the premises.

3. All markets and faires were forbidden to be kept on the Sabbath-day, or in any Church or churchyard; so all handy-work on the Sabbath-day, all gaming, playing, passing to taverns and ale-houses, and wilfull remaining from their parish-church in time of Sermon or prayers; and a pecuniall mulct layd upon the transgressours *respective* to be paid for the use of the poor of the parish.

4. An Act was made concerning these, who send their children out of country.

5. Every householder having lands or goods worth 500. pounds was obliged to have a Bible (*which at that time was printed in folio*) and a Psalme book, in his house, for the better instruction of themselves and their families, in the knowledge of God.

6. In the table of Acts not printed is mention of a Commission anent the Jurisdiction of the Kirk, the last part thereof. *Observe.*

1. The Parliament in the year 1560. is acknowledged to have been a lawfull Parliament.

2. We may see, that the disciplin at that time in the Church, was authorised, and ordained to continue, *Moreover* what was the estate of the Church at that time, wee may learn from an Epistle of Andrew meluin unto The. Beza, dated Nouember. 13. *An. 1579.* Wee have not ceased these fyue years to fight against pseudepiscopacy, (many of the Nobility refusing us;) and to presse the severity of discipline: wee have presented unto his Roiall Majesty and three Estates of the realm both before and now in this Parliament, the form of discipline, to be insert among the Acts, and to be confirmed by pulick authority: wee have the Kings minde bended toward us, but many of the Peers against us: for they alledge, if pseudepiscopacy be taken away, one of the Estates is pulled down: if presbyteries be erected, the Roiall Majesty is diminished: if Church-goods be restored unto the lawfull use, the Kings treasury is emptied: Seing the B. with Abbots and Priors make up the third Estate: and all jurisdiction both ecclesiasticall and politicall belongeth unto the King and his Counsell: and things ecclesiell should by their Sentence be adjudged unto the Kings treasure. That they do speak or think so, the cause in many is ignorance; in others, a wicked life and evill manners; and in many, a desire to catch the goods of the Church, which yet remain; or fear of losing what they have taken: and what shall I say of that, they hold, that the Sentence of excommunication is not lawfull, untill the cause be known by the Kings Counsell: for they knowing their own guiltiness, are feared for the Sentence of the Presbytery, not so much for fear of Gods judgement, as for terror of the civill punishments, which by our lawes and practise do follow: lastly whill they have regard unto the wisdom of the flesh, more than unto the reveeled word of God, they wish, that all things should be carried in the name and at the beck of a Bishop or one perpetuall overseer, and would have nothing administr'd by the common sentence of the Presbytery.

The Lord in mercy sweep away these evils from his Church. This epistle is in *Vindic. Philadelph. Pag. 41.* Immediately before this Parliament the Duke

d'Obigny, (afterwards styled Earle of Lennox) came into Scotland, to-wit, in the last week of Septemb. as Spotswood shewes in *Histor. Tag.* 308. Now if we conferre that time with what is written in that page, his spleene may appeare against the truth: for he makes the Duke's coming to be a cause of variance betwixt the King and the Church, at the Assembly preceeding; where no difference was appearing: but afterwards some what followes. Jelousies and emulations were in the winter following among the Noble men, as the Earle of Athol Chancelor was envied, and died; and others fled out of the Country: but no variance did as yet appeare betwixt the King and the Church-men.

1580.

XVII. In Aprile, 1580. a Proclamation was made in the Kings name *ex deliberatione Dominorum Consilii*, charging all Superintendents and Commissioners and Ministers serving at Kirks, to note the names of all the subjects allweel men as women suspected to be Papists or And to admonish them To give confession of their faith according to the Form approved by the Parliament, and to submit unto the disciplin of the true Church within a reasonable space; And if they faile That the Superintendent or Commissioners present a catalogue of their names unto the King and Lords of the Secret Counsell where they shall bee for the time between and the 15. day of July next to come, to the end, that the Acts of Parliament made against such persons may be executed. The

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Assembly.

The Assembly conveys at Dundy July 12. here was the Laird of Lundy Commissioner from the King, Commissioners, &c. James Lowson is chosen Moderator. 1. Some spake against the Privy Conference, as if tyranny and usurpation might creep-in by it, and liberty were taken from other members: nevertheless after reasoning it was judged expedient to continue. 2. John Craig one of the Kings Ministers delivereth this Letter from the King; Trusty and welbeloved friends, Wee greet you well. Wee have directed toward you our trusty friend the Prior of Pettinweem and the Laird of Lundy, instructed with Our power, for assisting with their power and counsell in all things that they may, tending to the glory of God, and preservation of Vs and Our Estates; desiring you heartily to accept them and Our good will committed to them for the present in good part: so wee commend you to Gods blest protection. From our palace of Falkland July 11. 1580. 3. Forsomuch as the Office of a Bishop, as it is now used and commonly taken in this realm, hath no sure warrant, authority nor good ground out of the Scriptures of God, but is brought in by folly and corruption of mens inventions, to the great overthrow of the Church of God; The wholl assembly in one voice, after liberty given to ail men to reason in the matter, and none opposing himselfe to defend the said pretended Office, Finds and declares the same pretended Office, used and termed as is above said, Unlawfull in itselfe, as having neither ground nor warrand within the Word of God; And ordaines all such persons as use or shall use hereafter the said Office, shalbe charged, to dimit *simpliciter*, quite and leave-off the same, as an Office whereunto they are not called by God, And to desist and cease from all preaching, ministration of the sacraments, or using any way the office of Pastors, untill they receive *de novo* admission from the Generall assembly, Under the pain of excommunication, &c. And for better execution of this Act, it is statute, that a Synodall Assembly shall be holden in every Province, where any usurping Bishop is, and to begin August 18. next, where the Bishopps shalbe called and summoned by the Visitors of these countries,

countries, To compear before the Synodall assembly: namely, the Bishop of Santandrews to compear in Santandr. the Bishop of Aberdien. To give obedience unto this Act: which if they refuse to do, the saids Synodall assemblies shall appoint certain Brethren of the ministry, to give them publick admonition out of the pulpit and warn them if they disobey, to compear before the next Gen. Assembly, which shalbe holden at Edin. O^cob. 20. next, to hear the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, for their disobedience. Unto this Act the Bishop of Dunblain consenteth, submitting himself to be ruled thereby. 4. Albeit sundry Acts have before been concluded in sundry assemblies, to stay unjust alienation and wasting the Church-rents & patrimony by such of the Ministry as have Benefices: and yet neither respect or fear of God, nor reverence to his Church, nor good lawes set out in the contrary hath represented their unsatiable and cursed avarice from so inordinate dealing, to the heavy prejudice of the Church, and common grief of all good men: For remedy thereof, the Brethren assembled, after reasoning and mature deliberation, with uniformity of votes have thought meet and concluded, that all persons within the Ministry, both they who usurp the style of Bishops, and others that shalbe tryed hereafter, to diminish the rents of their Benefice either by diminution of the old rentall by setting victuall for small prices, or within the worth, or any other way unjustly dilapidating and putting away the rent thereof, by the sight and judgement of the Generall Assembly, shall underly the Sentence of excommunication without further process. 5. For purgation of the Church from scandall, the Assembly requires in the name of God, and desireth all men either gentle Men or others, convened at this time, if they know any within the Ministry scandalous in life, unable to teach, unprofitable or curious teachers, negligent in preaching, non-residents or desertors, having plurality of Benefices and offices, dissolute in manners, having mixt jurisdictions, givers of pensions out of their Benefice, or receivers thereof: To give their names in writ unto the Moderator and his assessors to morrow at seven hours in the morning, that order may be taken with them, &c. 6. The Assembly after long reasoning hath concluded, that the Office of Readers, who have no more gift but simple reading of the Scriptures, is not an ordinary Office in the Church: and because some have moved the question, Whither in respect of necessity and circumstance of time they may be suffered to continue? the disputation of this is delayed untill the next day: and then it was concluded, that all Readers shall be tryed *de novo* by the Commissioners of Countries and their assessors so far as possibly they may, before the next Generall assembly: and so many as shallbe found to have travelled in reading two years, and have not so profited, that they are able to be Pastors, shallbe deposed from their reading by the Commissioners, as is said: And their diligence to be reported. And because such Readers have no ordinary office within the Church, no simple Reader shallbe capable of any Benefice, nor possesse any in time coming, nor possesse the Manse or gleeb, where is a Minister actually serving. 7. *In Sess.* 7. A Letter was brought from the Earle of Lennox, as follows: It is not (I think) unknown unto yow, how it hath pleased God of his goodness, to call mee by his grace to the knowledge of my salvation, since my coming into this Land: wherefore I render most earnestly humble thanks unto his Divine Majesty, finding my voyage towards these parts most happily bestowed in this respect: And albeit I have made

open declaration of my calling first by my own mouth in the Church of Edinb. and next by my handwriting in the Church at Sterlin, where I subscribed the confession of faith; yet I have found, it was my duty, yee being generally convened, to send this G-Man my Cousin and friend accompanied with my Letter, towards you, to make unto you free and humble offer in my name of due obedience, and to receive your will in any thing that shall please you. I did farther in the accomplishment of my said confession, assuring you, that I shall be ready to perform the same with all humility; as also to procure and advance all other things, that may further the glory of God, and increase of his Church, the common well of the Country, and of the Kings Ma. service at my utter possibility; And so hoping in all time coming to be participant in your godly prayers and favor, I salute you most lovingly in Jesus Christ our Savior. From Santandrews July 14.

8. The Assembly hath recommended the execution of the Kings proclamation concerning Papists, unto all the Commissioners, as they will answer unto his Hieness and the Church. 9. It is thought meet to crave of his Hieness, that the Church may be restored unto the benefite of the Act of Parliament concerning the thirds, &c. 10. Compareas Henry kier Servitor to the Earle of Lennox, and declares, that albeit he had long remained in blindnes and papistry, it hath pleased God to illuminate and call him to the knowledge of the true word, wherein by his grace he is now resolved, acknowledging the same word to be truly preached & professed within this realm, and by Act of Parliament established; and to be the only true religion of God: wherein he is content either now or when the Kings house shall be settled, with his heart to subscribe at the will of the Church, &c. 11. After long disputation it is concluded, that it is not lawfull by the word of God, that a Pastor be burdened with the charge or feeding of two sundry flocks, nor bear the name or be called Pastor of more congregations than one. 12. Compareas Captain Anstruther, and lamented that he being in France some years since had given his bodily presence unto the Masse. albeit in his conscience he hated it as idolatry, and alwayes kept upright mind toward the religion professed in this realm; and feeling grief in his conscience for his defection. is come to declare his repentance unfainedly for the same; submitting him to whatsoever correction the church will enioyn him; desiring to be reconciled: And in token of his sincere meaning he held up his hand: As to the butchery and massacre of Paris, he declares, hee kept the Kings gate of Lour at that time, but went no further. 13. The Act made before concerning the suspending of Collation of Benefices shall stand in full strength, with this addition, If any Collation or admission shalbe given by any Visitor against the tenor thereof, it shalbe null: And all Collations or admissions, that shalbe given heerafter by any pretending the style of a Bishop, shall be null in itself. 14. It is ordained - that all Pastors or Ministers shall diligently and zealously travell with their flocks, to conven unto Sermon after noon on Sunday, both they that are in landward, and in Burgh, as they will answer unto God. 15. In every provincially assembly certain assessors shall be named by them, to concur with the Commissioner, and shall subscribe with him in all weighty matters. 16. Commission and full power is given to five Barons, eleven Ministers, and three Commissioners of burghs or any sixe of them, to passe with all convenient diligence unto the King and his Counsell, with these heads and supplications. 1. that order may be taken with these, who put violent hands in Ministers, or trouble them in

exerc-

exercise of their office. 2. that these who are deposed from the office of Ministry, may also lose their Benefice, and other qualified persons be provided thereunto. 3. That punishment may be inflicted on them, who go in pilgrimages to churches or wells, as they who went lately to the rood of Wicls. 4. that presentations be directed to none other but them who have commission from the Gen. assembly according to the Act of Parliament. 5. that all Benefices vaiking be given to Ministers serving the cure, unless they be found unworthy, &c. 6. That order be taken with the Printer, who hath printed the Bibles, and cause him deliver them, &c. 7. In respect the Earle of Arran hath alwayes shewd godly zeal in defence of the religion and the common wealth, It would please the King and Counsell to resolve upon some good order, that may serve both for health and cure of his body, and comfort of his conscience. 8. That the book of discipline may be established by act of Privy Counsell, untill it be confirmed by Parliament. 9. To recommend a Printer Vantrollier, who is banished for religion, that he may have licence. The next assembly convenes at Edinburgh Octob. 20. Androw Hay is chosen Moderator. 1. The Bishops of Santandrews, Glasgow, Aberdien and Murray ar called, and compear not. Because the act of the last assembly hath not been followed against the Bishops of Murray & Aberdien, the assembly ordaines (as before) the Commissioners of these countries, to put that act to execution, With certification, if they fail, they shall make publick repentance before the assembly; and certain persons are appointed to summon all the other Bishops, to compear before the next assembly, to give their submission unto the speciall heads conferred and agreed-unto by the Bishops of Santandrews, Glasgow and of the Isles, and these conditiones to be expressed in the summons, With certification, &c. 2. Some petitions were sent unto the King and Counsell, and the next day the brethren report, that the King will give a resolute answer the sixteenth day of the next month: and desireth to delay the plat or model of presbyteries till then. 3. Henry Kier comes, and in name of the Earle of Lennox, shewing, that he hath been disappointed of a Minister for his family, craves, that the assembly would writ unto the French Church at London, for a Minister, for whose entertainment he will provide; as also he promifeth. that in the affaires of the Church either generall; or what particular shall be recommended unto him, he shall affectuously employ his labors; and desireth, that no other opinion should be conceived of him, but as one, that meaneth truly toward God. James Lowson is ordered to writ and direct a Letter, as was craved. 4. Whether a Minister may be removed from his flock without consent of the flock? *Resp.* for good and necessary causes the assembly may remove him. 5. It is evident, that lately many apostates are received into the country, and are spread, namely in Anguise and other parts: therefor the Commissioners of Countries are ordained to put former Acts to execution against them in all points. 6. Concerning the Visitor of Countries, it is thought to sound unto corruption and tyranny, that such power standes in the person of one man, which should flow from the Presbytery; and nevertheless the estate for the present time, and want of order for constituting Presbyteries, suffereth not present alteration, It is judged meet, that the Clerk-Register shall be requested to concurre with John Erskin of Dun, Ro. Pout, James Lowson, David Lindsay, John Craig and John Duncanfon, or any thry of them, to lay and advise a modell of the Presbyteries and constitution of them, and re-

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port their judgement unto the next assembly; And in the mean time the Visitors shall continue in their Visitations. 7. Full power and commission is given to four barons, to John Craig, John Duncanson, Ro. Pont, Ja. Lowson, Pa. Adamson, James Boid. Da. Lindsay, Tho. Smeton, Ge. Hay, An. Hay, Adam Johnston, David Ferguson, David Macgill, and the Commissioner of Edinburgh or any sixe of them, To compear before the King and Counsell November 15, and crave answer unto the articles given since the former assembly, and to conferr and reason upon them, With power unto them or the most part of them to resolve, decern and finally conclude in name of the Church with the King and his Counsell thereupon, &c. 8. The Assembly (having received the Kings consent in writ) removes Andrew Melvin from the Colledge of Glasgow unto the new Celledge of Santandrews; and Thomas Smeton from the Church of Paisley unto the Colledge of Glasgow. 9. Whither a Minister leaving his Ministry. and applying himselfe to a Civill office, may be chosen an Elder of a Church? *Resp.* he should not, but rather be challenged for his desertion. 10. John Brand is ordered to deliver unto the Justice-Clerk the Kings command in writ for raising Letters against Nicol burn. *Observe.* 1. How freely the assembly goeth-on in establishing the disciplin: it was not done rashly, but after many reasonings and conferences both in publick assemblies and other meetings appointed by the Chief Magistrate and the Church; liberty of opposing and arguing being granted to every man; and at last episcopacy was condemned, the Kings Commissioner consenting in the assembly, and four Bishops submitting, one in Dundy; and three expressly mentioned in this at Edinburgh, of whom we find two employd as Commissioners, to treat for closing the remaining differences. 2. If wee look back to the years preceeding, we may understand, what was the power of Superintendents, towit, more and more power was committed (according to the necessity of time) unto them, yer not unto them personally, but with concurrence of others; and so, that in every assembly they made their accompts of fidelity and diligence: but after the year 1576. they and others, which were called Commissioners of Countries, were called Visitors; and in this last assembly their power is declared to sound unto corruption & tyranny: and because of present necessity are continued for a half year, untill the Presbyteries were universally modeled. The Presbyteries were ever aimed at, and in some parts begun: but this winter following with consent of the King and by his commission they were constitute through all the realm, as followes in the next assembly. 3. Wee have heard a complaint here of many Apostates come into the country, and namely in the end is mention of Nicol burn: he was a professor of Philosophy in S. Leonards Colledge, and became a Papist. At that time were found some dispensations sent from Rome, permitting Papists to promise, swear and subscribe, and do what other thing might be required of them, so that in mind they continue firm, and vse diligence to advance privily the Roman faith. These dispensations were shewed unto the King: for remedy at first he gives order unto one of his Ministers John Craig, to writ a form of abiuration of Papistry. In obedience John Craig writes a Confession relative unto the former Confession (which was wholly positive) and abjuring all the corruptions of Rome, both in doctrin and superstitious rites, and wholl hierarchy, together with a promise, to continue in the obedience of the doctrin & disciplin of this Church, and to defend the same to out vocation and power all the dayes of our lifes, under the paines contained

contained in the law, and danger both of body and soule; *And he addeth,*
 „and seeing many are stirred up by Satan and that Roman Antichrist, to
 „promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the holy sacraments in the
 „Church, deceitfully, against their own consciences, minding thereby first
 „under the externall cloak of religion to corrupt and subvert secretly
 „Gods true religion within the church, and afterward when time may
 „serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain
 „hope of the Popes dispensation, devised against the word of God, to his
 „greater confusion and their double condemnation in the day of the Lord.
 „Jesus, Wee therefore willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy and
 „such double dealing with God & his Church, protest and call the Searcher
 „of all hearts to witness, that our minds & hearts do fully agree with this our
 „Confession, promise and subscription, so that we are not moved for any
 „worldly respect &c. *These words were added for the better tryall of*
 „Papists, and the sincerity of professors. This Confession was subscribed
 by the King & his household January 28. 1580. or (according to the reckon-
 ing of other Countries) 1581. and a charge was given by the King March.
 2. and it was proclaimed, commanding Commissioners and Ministers to
 urge their parishoners, to subscribe this Confession, and to delate the
 Refusers unto the Ministers of the kings house; that the K. and Counsell
 may take order with them; and more of it followes. In the mean time to-
 wit, December. 31, the Earle of Morton was challenged; Januar. 18. he
 he was imprisoned at Dunbarton: Juny 1. he was arraigned and condemned
 (for that he knew the plot against the kings father, and did not reveall it;) and
 the next day beheaded. A rare exemple of humane frailty: he who lately was
 Governor of the realm, and in the preceding year was the object of the great
 Ones envy, was brought so unexpectedly to such a death. Before his execu-
 tion he remembered what John Knox had said unto him, and called him a
 true Prophet.

XVIII. The Assembly convenes at Glasgow Aprile 24. year 1581. where
 was Will. Cuninghame of Caprintoun Commissioner from the king, Com-
 missioners from Synods, &c. Robert pont is chosen Moderator. 1. For-
 somuch as for purgation of the Ministry from unworthy persons in that
 function, Order was taken in the last Assembly, that all men whither Mini-
 sters or others should give up the names of scandalous Ministers, as they
 will answer unto God; yet by shortness of time no great effect followed;
 Therefore (as before) the Assembly requires all men, as they tender the
 glory of God and the weell of his Church, that they delate and give up
 the names of such persons in writ tomorrow after noon, &c. *The Orig-
 nall Register wanteth the third and fourth Sessions.* 2. Whereas in the Assem-
 bly at Dundy in the Act against Bishops some difficulty appeared unto some
 brethren by the word *Office*, what is meant by it; The Assembly present
 consisting (for the most part) of them, who were present, and voiced in that
 Assemb. to resolve men of the true meaning of that act, Declares, that they
 meant, wholly to condemn the estate of bishops as they are now or lately
 were in Scotland, and the same was the determination of the Church at
 that time. 3. The Kings Commissioner delivereth the Kings Letter, to-
 gether with certain rolls containing a form of planting particular churches
 and the number and names of the presbyteries, with the names of churches
 within every Presbytery. The Assembly appointes certain persons within
 severall Provinces to conven tomorrow at fixe a clock in the morning, to
 sight these rolls, and report, &c. 4. The Assembly having received

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from the King some demandes propounded in writ, with the answers unto the Articles, that were presented unto his Ma. by the Church; and a Copy of a Letter to be directed unto Barons, and Ministers for union and division of Churches, with the names of the persons, that were appointed to travel in that work; And thereby understanding the godly and zealous mynde of his Ma. did praise God heartily, the He had moved the Kings heart to have a care of his Church; And first entering into consideration of the Answers thought good, to insist with the King and Counsell in these articles.

1. That it would please his Ma. to appoint a Judge in Edinburgh to cognosce and judge of injuries don to Ministers in execution of their Office, and to punish according to the quality of the crimes; and appoint a Proctor for the Ministers injured. 2. That an act of Parliament may be made, concerning the deprivation of scandalous Ministers, and the causes of deprivation to be expressed in the act. 3. That the Benefices vaking may be disposed unto the Ministers, where the Benefice vakes, if they be able, as it was agreed in the Conference at Sterlin. Followes the tenor of the Kings propositions given by his Commissioner, with this inscription; Instructions to our trusty and welbeloved Willam Cuningham of Caprintoun, directed by Us with advice of the Lords of the Secret Counsell, Unto the Assembly of the Ministers of the Church convened at Glasgow Aprile 20. 1581. You shall deliver Our Letter unto them, and let them understand, that such of their number, as travelled with Us having desired Our answer unto their Articles sent from the Assembly in Dundy in July last, Wee caused some of Our Counsell conferr with them at severall times in October last, as also lately: which all find the matter concerning the thirds of the Benefices mentioned in the first of these Articles, as there required, not to be the readiest means either to make the Ministers assured of their stipends, or to make Us any reasonable support thereby for relieff of the common charges of ourestate, there being so great alteration and diminution of the Rents, and so great confusion other ways entred in that matter, during these 20. years and more now by past; And therefore a form and order must be prescribed, likly to have continuance unto posterity, to the removing of all occasions of complaint: For furtherance thereof, there is (by commandement, and advice of such of our Counsell and Ministers, as conferred on this purpose) some form drawn, how Elderships may be constituted of parishons lying together; small parishons to be united, and the great divided for the better sustentation of the Ministers, and the more commodious resort of the people to their churches. There is also the form of Our Letter, to be written to some of the principall Noble and Gentle men and certain of the Ministers within the bounds of every Eldership, To convene advise and report unto Vs their advice in things required by Us in Our said Letter betwixt and the 24. day of Juny next. This wee thought convenient, to communicat with you unto the assembly to be convened at Glasgow: Requiring them in Our name to consider thereof, and to send Vs their opinion and judgement concerning this intended work, and of any thing, that they would wish either to be added or diminished in the form of Our Letter, or otherwise, before the same shall be directed: where in if care & diligence shall be taken by them, as Our intention (God willing) is to do for the furtherance thereof, as becomes Vs, Wee have no doubt, but God shall send frurefull success of Our travells, to the removing of the great disorder & confusion now standing, for want of reformation. These grounds advised well, and agreed-upon, apparently it shall not only

only with reasonable time make the Ministers to be finally provided of thier livings, but it shall bring the Ecclesiasticall disciplin to be far better exercised and execut over all this realm, than it is presently: It being declared first, what every Presbytery may cognosce-upon; next what shall be in every Synodall Assembly: and last what causes shalbe devolved to the Generall assembly, and what persons shall orderly need to repair thereunto, and have vote There. The report of these Our Letters returning the sooner, it may be provided by diligent travells so, as the good order now intended may take beginning at the first day of November next without longer delay; and if our Parliament upon any necessary occasion shall be conveyed in the mean time, the said order, or so much thereof as shall be in readines, may be past and approved in form of law. The second article was answered in such sort, as Wee trust they were satisfied with it. To answer the third Article, the desire thereof must be more speciall, before it receive a speciall answer: They have to consider, in whose default and negligence the persons complained-upon in the fourth Article, remain unpunished. Our answer to the fifth Article is sufficient, untill upon farther advice it may be made more speciall. Order is taken concerning the desire of the seventh article. There is some order already begun for the further help and comfort of the Earle of Arran. which shalbe followed, as occasion shall serve. Wee have caused and still will cause the Conference to be kept for furtherance of all things requisite, that may set foreward the Policy, whill the same may be established by law. Our former answers are reasonable, and no opposition hath been in the contrary. Moreover you shall let the assembly understand, that in the particular conference bypast, sundry matters have been agreed-on in generall terms, as they were talked-of, and put in memory; but not put in such form & termes, as is meet to be put in Articles unto Our Estates in Parliament, to be approved as particular lawes: and therefore let the assembly appoint some of their number to extend and put these articles in such form and order, as they would wish them to be past in Parliament, specially in these Heads, That the assembly will enquire and cause inform Vs, of the speciall names of persons culpable in the faults noted in the Act of their assembly at Dundy, towit, That the Bishops and Commissioners may be admonished, to refuse Readers the titles of Benefices vaking since November 1. although presentation hath hapned to bee. That the assembly declare, how many sufficient and welqualified Ministers are presently in Scotland, and in what place they wish them rather to serve; And that they give their advice, how other churches, whereunto Ministers can not be had presently, may be served, untill mo Ministers may be had, and the present old possessors of the Benefices be departed this life. That they give us their opinion and advice of that portion of the rents pertaining to the Churches before the alteration of religion, which they think shall fall unto Us, if all Benefices were now vaking; And in the mean time what wee shall have yearly for suport of Our estate and publick affairs of Our realm; that they consider the form and proceeding, how the taxation for the spirituall mens part, shall be payd in time coming; as also to make us some likely & good overture for the persons, that shall occupy the place of the Spirituall Estate in Our Parliament in time coming, and after the decease of the present possessors of the place, in respect of the great decay of the rents: That they send Us their good advice, how a form of judgement may be established (untill a Parliament) for calling of persons provided to Benefices

since our coronation, to be deprived therefrom, upon the clauses irritant contained in their provisions, for not doing their duty in their vocations, but leaving their charges, and meddling with secular business; That the assembly give their advice upon the form of presentation that Wee shall give unto these, that shall be provided to Benefices, if this Order take effect, to whom our presentation shall be directed; what shall be the form and order of the tryall or how shall the person be tryed, and what form of admission and Collation. In answer the assembly propoundes these Heads to be considered as a ground; That (besids the diocies of Argyle and the Illes, of which bounds rentalls were never given up) there are in Scotland about nyn hundred and twenty four churches: of these, fundry are small parishons, and some are of greater bounds, that the parishoners may not conveniently conveyen to their parish-churches: It is thought meet therefore, to reduce these 924. churches to 600. and every church to have a Minister; Their stipends to be in four degrees; an hundred at 500. Marks the peece; two hundred at 300. Marks the peece; two hundred at 100 pounds the peece; and one hundred at 100 Marks the peece; or somewhat more or lesse, as it may be modified according to the possibility of the rent paid in that place. These considerations are to be taken, although all the Benefices were presently vaking. Where the parsonage and Vicaradge at any church are now severed Benefices, to be all united or annexed unto one for the better sustaining the Minister there; These 600. churches to be divided into 50 presbyteries, twelve to every presbytery or thereby; Three of these presbyteries, or mo or fewer, as the Country lyeth to make one Diocye or synod, according to a form after following, to be considered: of this certain number of Presbyteries shall be the Synodall assembly: and every Synod shall appoint the place within that Province for their next Synodall meeting: Of persons directed from the Synodall assemblies, shall G. Assen. consist: Churches thus divided into quarrers to be provided unto one man; and if these quarrers be annexed to another Benefice, the quarrers to be dissevered out of the provisions of the persons to be provided unto these Benefices when they vake; The churches divided *inter Prebendarios*, to be given to the Ministers as they vake; All Benefices provided to Ministers, to be divided the year of their decease equally betwixt their wives, children or exequitors, and the Intrans Ministers; young men coming from the Shools shall be only promoted to the stipends or Benefices of the lowest degree: and the eldest or of greatest learning, judgement & experience to be promoted to the highest rank, and so to ascend gradatim, as they shalbe judged worthier from three year to three year for better eschuing ambition & avarice: and that the charge of the greatest congregations be not committed to the youngest Ministers at the first, nor they preferred to the eldest of gravity & judgement: the estate of the Prebendries to be cognosced & considered, which are founded upon the tiths of the parish, and which on temporall lands: to the effect that such as are founded upon tiths may accrease to the living of the Ministers serving at the churches, and the others to be provided for help of schools in the best form that may be devised: And always the Laick patronages to remain wholl and uniointed or undivided, unless it be with consent of the Patrone. *There followes a rolle of the Presbyteries, which I omitte, because afterwards was another Division, and in some Provinces three were divided into four, or five.* And to the effect this order may be established, certain brethren were named to call the Presbyteries before the last day of May in severall towns, ordaining every Presbytery, to chuse a Moderator, who shall continue untill

untill the next Synod. In *Seff. 9.* the Assembly concludes that the book of Policy being agreed-unto in diverse Assemblies before, should be registered *ad perpetuam memoriam*, and copies thereof to be taken by every Presbytery. And in the same Session the Confession of faith lately set forth by his Ma. proclamation, and subscribed by him; the Assembly in one voice acknowledges it to be a true Christian and faithfull Confession, and the tenor thereof to be followed out, as is ordered in the prolamation. Because Abbots, Commandators, Priors, Prioreesses and Bishops provided of old under the names of Ecclesiasticall persons, do possess the revenues of the Churches without exercising any spirituall function thereof, or acknowledging the true Church, and devore the patrimony, and are dayly diminishing the rents of the Benefices; the Assen. hath determined, that all such persons shall be cited by the Presbyteries to compare before the next G. Assembly to submit themselves, &c. Likewise ordaines the Commissioners of countries to give in the names (after noon) of the persons, they think meet to judge of the union and division of Churches: and certain persons are appointed to form the Articles agreed-on in the Conference; and the advice of the Assembly concerning the directing of presentations, is, that they be directed unto Presbyteries. For performance of the intended work, they crave of his Ma. that Prelacies be dissolved. The next Assembly was held at Edinburgh October. 18. where were Commissioners, &c. John Craig is chosen Moderator. 1. Adam Johnston and John Dury Ministers were sent to desire the King, to direct his Commissioners unto the Assembly: when they returned, they declare, that for sundry affaires of the Counsell, he could direct none before thursday, and then he will send some instructed with his Commission. 2. All the Bishops were called: none is present at first, but the Bishop of Dumblain. 3. They to whom the charge of constituting the Presbyteries was committed, shew their diligence, which is referred to further deliberation. 4. It is concluded, that no marriage be celebrat, nor Sacrament be administred in a privat house, but solely according to the good order hitherto observed, Under pain of deposition of that Minister, who shall do otherwise. 5. Commission is given to the Presbytery of Dundee, to call before them, the Master of Gray, to give Confession of his faith; and if he refuse, to proceed against him according to the Acts of the Church, and that with all possible diligence. 6. The Kings Commissioners inquire, If the Church condemn the office of Bishops, whereunto is annexed a temporall jurisdiction, wherein the Church hath served by voting in Parliament, assisting in his Highness Counsell, contribution in taxations, and such like: what overture they will shew, whereby the King be not prejudged by the taking away that Estate: For advising this Head, the Assembly nameth twelve Barons, five Commissioners of Burghs, and eight Ministers with sixe that were upon the Conference, To conferre, &c. Who thereafter reported, that after long reasoning they had agreed so far, that for voting in Parliament, assisting in Counsell, Commissioners from the G. Assembly should supplee the place of Bishops: And for exercising civill or criminall jurisdiction, the heritable Balives of the bishoprick should use the same, Reserving to the judgement of the Church to consider of their answer. The assembly allows the judgement of their Brethren, and think meet it be communicat unto the Kings Commissioners. 7. Whereas some Ministers have been negligent in prosecuting the Act of the last Assembly concerning the late Confession of faith, the Assembly enjoynes all Ministers within their bounds,

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with all possible diligence to execute the tenor of his Ma^s. proclamation, before the Synodall Assembly of every Province, and report to the Moderator thereof, and to be reported unto the next Generall Assembly, Under the pain of deprivation of the negligent Minister. 8. Compeares James Meluin Gentle man of the Kings Chamber, and presenteth a writing from the King, craving tryall to be taken of some words, & alledged to have been spoken by Wa. Balcanquell in a Sermon lately, against the Duke of Lennox, with credite to the bearer: who shews that he had so far credite to speak, that because of the late calling of John Dury and the said Walter before the Privy Counsell, upon account of their Sermons, offence was taken by the Church; therefore his Gr. now laments the matter unto the Assembly, willing them to try the matter, and to take order there-in. The words wherewith the Duke is offended, are these, that Walter had spoken in pulpit, That within these four years Papistry had entred into the Country, nor only into the Court, but into the Kings hall, and maintained by tyranny of a great Champion, which is called Grace: And if his Grace will oppone himselfe unto Gods Word, he shall have litle grace. And concerning the Bishop of Glasgow, the King desireth, that they stay from proceeding against him as Bishop: but if the Church hath any other things, to lay unto his charge, let them use their order. Hereunto Wa. Balcanquell answered, First he praiseth God that he is not accused of any thing, wherein he hath either Ciyily or criminally in his life & conversation, offended the King or his lawes, whereunto with all reverence and at all times he is ready to submitt himselfe; But he is accused of those things, which he hath spoken publicly in the pulpit, as being more plain in reproving vice than some men can well suffer, which is a main point of his doctrine: and howbeit he hear it now opposed, he must so justify the same, that although all the Kings on earth would call it erroneous, he is ready to prove it by good reason, to be the very truth of God, and if need shall require, to seall it with his blood. Secondly he praiseth God, for that by his last accusation God hath given so much victory unto his church, that howbeit then in was called into question, Unto whom the judgement of doctrine should appertaine? Yet as then by reason it was concluded by the Kings Majesty, his Counsell and Commissioners appointed by them, to confert with the Ministers in that matter, that in all time coming the tryall of a Ministers doctrine should be referred to the judgement of the assembly of the Church, as the only competent Judge thereof, So it is now performed, and because he seeth the promise now kept, he thanks God, and is the more glad to give his answer before the assembly: and that in this manner: These things he spoke in his Sermon on wednesday last, he spoke them not quietly, but all the assembly heard them, and so of all men can best judge of them: wherefore with all reverence he submits himself *simpliciter* unto their godly judgement; Nevertheless neither being ashamed of his doctrine, nor minded to give any advantage to his enemies (so far as he may) whose purpose he knows against him, in this matter he only requires this condition, that the Canon of the Apostle Paul be kept, towit, Against an elder receive no accusation but under two or three witnesses. This form of proceeding he craves in this matter: As yee are the assembly of the Church, and competent Judges unto him, so he is ready to answer before you, to all accusations that shall be layd against him, and underly your judgement: Let any man therefore according to the Canon of the Apostle, which in no way yee may break, stand up before you, and say, he hath any thing to accuse mee, and hath

two or three witnesses ready with him, to prove his accusation, then shall I answer him. And seeing James melvin heard not the doctrine, and therefore will not take upon him to accuse, I will [said he] supercede further answer, untill I see my accuser. The assembly sent Tho. Smeton and Da. Ferguson with this answer unto the King, that seeing Wa. Balcanquell is a brother of the Ministry, the Canon of the Apostle should be kept, and the accuser with two witnesses should be present; As also to desire his Ma. to send Commissioners to see this matter tryed, as the Church is most willing to try the same. In the sixth Session following. the same Wa. Balcanquell submits himself unto the judgement of the assembly, and craves that they would proceed therein according to the canon of the Apostle. The Assembly ordereth Da. Lindsay and Tho. Smeton to go unto the King, as before is said. The next day they report, that they could have no answer because of great affaires of the King and Counsell. In the Session following, Da. Lindsay is directed to go unto the Church-Session of Edinburgh and desire them to declare, whither they or any of them found any error, scandall or offense in the Sermon preached by Wa. Balcanquell upon the wednesday before named. In Session 18. the assembly willing to try the points of accusation given by James melvin in name of the Duke of Lennox, and having sundry times traveled with his Ma. that the rule of the Apostle should be kept, And that his Ma. would direct Commissioners, to understand their just proceeding; and no effect of their suit hath followed; And for satisfaction to his Ma. and for removing all scandall that may arise hereby, they had directed a Commissioner unto the particulare Church of Edinburgh, requiring them, if they had found or know any word spoken in that Sermon, erroneous or offensive; and their answer is reported by a member of the Session, that they heard nothing spoken by him that day, that was scandalous or offensive but good and sound doctrine; After voting in this matter without any contradiction, the assembly declares, that they nor any of them did find any fault in the said Sermon, either of error, scandall or just offence but solide and true doctrine, praising God, and justifying their brother of that accusation. 9. In *Seff.* 9. certain brethren were named, to travell diligently in erection of Presbyteries, before the next assembly; as they are directed into severall Provinces: and James lowson is ordained to penn a form of proceeding; that the brethren knowing the order, may keep an uniformity. 10. Articles, whereof Robert mon gomery minister at Sterlin was openly accused in *Seff.* 10. are. 1. that preaching in the church of Sterlin, he moved a question, Whither women were circumcised? and concluded, that they were circumcised in the foreskin of their head. 2. He teaching in Glasgow, said, The discipline of the Church is a thing indifferent, and may stand this or that way. 3. He accused the Ministers, that they used fallacious arguments, and that they were curious braines. 4. He sought to bring the Originall languages into contempt, to wit, Hebrew & Greek; to that end, abusing the words of the Apostle. 1. Cor. 14. and tauntingly asking, In what school were Peter and Paul graduat? 5. To prove the corrupt estate of Bishops in our time, he alledged the exempls of Ambrose and Augustin, &c. 6. It is sufficient to baptize in the name of the Father only, or in the name of the Son, Or in the name of the Holy Ghost, because they are all one God. 7. The matters of disciplin and lawfull calling in the Church, he called trifles of policy. 8. He accused the Ministers of sedition and Lase-Majesty, in exhorting them not to be seditious, nor meddle with high matters, nor put-off

crowns, or put-on crowns; and if they medle any farther there-in, they will be reproved. 9. He contemned the application of the Scripture to particular manners and corruptions of men, jestingly asking, In what Scripture could they find a Bishop for a thousand pound, horse-corn and poultry; and when they are teaching of love, how could they find Judas? 10. He oppugned the doctrine of Christ, who pronounces, that the most part are rebellious, and shall perish. 11. He denied, that in the new Testament is mention of a presbytery or eldership. 12. He accused the Ministers of pasquils, of grudging, of trouble and confusion, and said, Where is it? what fault can they find with the Court? as for my selfe, I finde none. 13. The Church being traduced by pasquills and infamous libells, not only purged he not the Church or himself, having good occasion, but rather approved the same. 14. In his preaching against the Ministry, he used the very words of the libells, that were casten into the Kings Chamber against them. 15. This quarter of year by past he hath been negligent in doctrine, disciplin, and assisting the eldership. In *Seff.* 18. whereas Andrew meluin had by word given these articles, now he gives them in writ: and the Assembly assigneth to him the next day, to prove the particulars: and ordaines, to warn Robert Montgomery, to compear the next day at ten a clock, to hear witnessess and probation received. In *Seff.* 20. the brethren, that were sent unto the King with these articles of accusation, return with answer, that he had accepted them very graciously; and is content, that the accusation proceed against Robert as a Minister: and more that in the heads of religion he agreeth with his heart with the Church of Scotland, albeit in some heads of policy he is not as yet resolved. Then Andrew Melvin produceth his witnessess in the accusation, towir, David Weemes Minister at Glasgow, John Craig, Pa. Adamson, John Howeson, &c. All (being eight in number) give their oath: and yet left the said Robert say, that he is defrauded of any lawfull defence in his absence, the Ass. reserves place to any objection he hath against these witnessess, if he come upon moonday at ten a clock; and ordaines the same Robert, because he hath departed out of the town, to be instantly examined by five Ministers and two Barons or any three of them, where they can find him, and his deposition to be put in writ, and reported unto the Assembly; And for further probation, if his accuser will take any other time, Ordaines the said Robert, to be warned unto that time. In *Seff.* 23. The Assembly gives Commission unto the Presbytery of Sterlin, to summon Robert Montgomery before them, to try & examin his life & conversation, and accusations to be given against him: and to report their diligence unto the next Synod of Lothian: Unto whom the Assembly gives power to proceed against him, according to the tryall and process deduced against him by the presbytery, Under the pain of disobedience; And also chargeth the said Robert to continue in the Ministry of the Church of Sterlin, and not to medle with any other function in the Church, namely, in aspiring to the bishoprick of Glasgow, against the word of God and Acts of the Church or to vex any of his brethren with his admission thereunto, Under the pain of excommunication to be deduced against him (in case of disobedience) by the said presbytery; and the sentence of excommunication to be executed by them with advice and concurrence of John Dury, David Ferguson, John Duncanson and John Dykes; And this charge to be intimated by the Moderator of the Assembly unto the said Robert, that he pretend not ignorance. 11. In *Seff.* 11. these heads were referred by the Synod of Lo-

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thian unto the G. Ass. 1. That an universall order be made by the G. ass. for examination, admission and ordination of Ministers. 2. To enquire, what persons of the Ministry shall designe gleebes and manses: and seeing the Synod of Lothian hath thought good, that every Presbyt. shall direct some of their own number for that effect within their bounds, Wee crave the consent of the Gen. assembly: and that the same may be universall: and where is not a presbytery, To appoint who shall design them. 3. Who shall wait upon the Platt [or Committee] for modifying of Ministers stipends. 4. What answer shall be given to the Kings Letter, concerning the union and division of churches. 5. That there may be an uniformity in summoning persons before the presbytery, and in the process there. 6. To suit, that the tryall and admission of all Masters of schools be now enioyned unto the presbyteries. 7. Seeing wee in our Synod have agreed, that disputation shall be every day of Exercise in every presbytery, especially upon the controversies betwixt us and the adversaries, for avoiding negligence in Ministers, and that we may the better withstand the adversary, That the Gen. assembly would appoint a generall order therein. 8. What order shall be used with Ministers and Readers, that set their gleebes and manse. 9. That an article be sought by the Gen. assembly at the Parliament, that all marriages without consent of parents, without proclamation of banns, or without other solemnities according to the order of the Church, be declared null. 10. To crave an Act of Parliament to be made against them, that pass in pilgrimages, and use superstition at wells, crosses, images or other Popish idolatry, or observe feasts or dayes dedicat to Saints, and set our fires for superstition. 11. Seeing the Act of Parliament appoints them, that are convict of notorious adultery, and by the ambiguous exposition of the word *Notorious*, no execution followes: Therefore for avoiding the plagues of God hanging over this wholl country for this crime, that the Gen. assembly would crave an Act of Parliament for punishment of all persons, whosoever are lawfully convict of adultery. 12. Seeing an Act of Parliament is made for discharging of markets on Sunday, and no execution followes, whereby people absent themselves from the Church, and continue in ignorance, and so atheism increases: Desire that some order may be taken in this Parliament, against Magistrats that put not the Act in execution, Notwithstanding any particular dispensation. 13. To crave an Act of Parliament for provision of gleebes and manses unto the Ministers at Abbey-churches, as others have. 14. Because there is an Act of Parliament, that all Provestries and Prebendaries shall be given to Students, to maintain them at a schoole; and very many of that sort are of cure of souls and parish-churches: And nevertheless they are given to Courtiers: Therefore wee desire that there may be an Act of Parliament, that all Provestries and Prebendaries joyned with cure of souls may be given to none, but to Ministers: and so many as are given, may be null in time coming. And that Prebendaries which were founded for Schools or Masters teaching there, be given according to the foundation to Masters for instructing the youth: and if these be disposed otherwise, the disposition to be null. Follow answers unto these. Unto 1. Will. Crysteson, Andr. Melvin, Thom. Smeron, Alex. Arbuthnot and James Lowson are appointed to consider of an order therein, and to report their judgement. 2. The first part is agreed unto: and where are no Presbyteries, the Commissioners are to continue for that effect as before. 3. The Church hath named Commissioners. 4. Ordaines to advise with the Clerk-Register upon an answer unto the Kings Letter.

ter. 5. Referreth the form to be conceived in writ by David Lindsay and Patrick Adamson betwixt eight and nyne. 6. It is agreed to be propounded. The 7. is referred to the particular elderships, and whensoever disputations may be had, the Church thinks them good. 8. The Acts of the assembly should be put into execution by the Presbyteries. 9. Ordaines this article to be craved, being first well qualified; and so the 10. and 11. and 12. and also that the Church proceed against the violators of the sabbath day, and maintainers of them. The 13. & 14. are agreed. 12. Because by the many divisions and deadly feades in all quarters of the realm, not only is the word of God and true religion burdened with slanders, but the Common wealth is enormly wounded, and all good disciplin and order confounded herefore the assembly enjoineth certain persons in severall places, to travell earnestly for reconciling the differing parties, and to require them in the name of God, to live in unity and peace, as it becomes the members of one body as they wold shew themselves sons of peace. 13. The assembly gives commission to two Barons, seven Commissioners of burghs, and the Ministers of the Kings house and of Edinb. with Ro Pont, Da. Lindsay, Pa. Adamson, An. Melvin and seven others or any eight of them, To present unto the Lords of the Arttels of the Parliament, such heads as shall be given unto them by the Church: these heads and a supplication unto the King were read and allowed: but are not in the Register: only in *Seff.* 22. ordaines a supplication to the King and Lords of the Articles, that no Act be past in Parliament repugnant to the true word of God, and namely concerning Bishops. *The Parliament* began at Edinburgh October 24. where first was an Act ratifying all former Lawes and Acts made for the liberty of the true Church and religion presently professed within the realm; and a particular enumeration of these Acts: another Act for provision of Ministers and certain stipends for them at all parish-churches, one against the dilapidation of the reats of Benefices, that are provided to Ministers; one, that all Benefices of cure under Prelacies shall be given to Ministers only, and all other gifts of them to be null: one, against blasphemy and oaths with penalties according to the quality of severall transgressors; one, against them that passe in pilgrimage or superstitiously to wells, chapells and croses, and the observers of papistickall rites; one for explication of the Act against notorious adultery, towit, it shall be judged notorious adultery, where children one or mo are procreat betwixt adulterers; or when they keep company & bed together notoriously known; or when they are suspect of adultery, and thereby give slander, and thereupon being duly admonished to abstain and satisfy the Church by repentance or purgation, and contemptuously refusing, are excommunicat for their obstinacy: all and every one being in any of these three degrees are made lyable to suffer death. Another Act was against all Papists practizing against the true religion, by dispersing libels in praise of the Pope; or seducing the people, &c. *Observe.* 1. That in all time preceeding was no opposition or variance betwixt the King and the Church: In the assemblies the Kings Commissioners consented unto their Acts, and namely unto these concerning the Policy of the Church (excepting that part *de Diaconatu*, whereunto neither did all the Ministers consent) and his Commissioner did consent unto the registering of the book of Discipline, in the Register of the Assembly: and the King appointed Commissioners, to concur with the Deputies of the Assemblies in the constitution of Presbyteries before the framing and publishing of the
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Second Confession of faith; as at that time was not a Bishop in the church, who was not subject unto the assemblies and presbyteries; yea and they were employed (as deputies) to procure and supplicate against the power of episcopacy. But neither could the book of disciplin be established, nor episcopacy be forbidden by Act of Parliament, not for any respect of discontent against the book of disciplin, or for any intention to restore episcopacy in the Church, but meerly upon account of Civill interest; and the main respect was the securing of possessions depending upon the title of Bishops.

2. Observe that the first variance between the King and the Ministers was upon respect unto the Duke of Lennox, and that was for two particulars; one, that when the Duke came into the country, many Papists came also into the Country and Court, and began to practize so, that (as Bishop Spotswood in *The History Pag.* 308. shewes) the Papists assembling together in Paisley, did in derision sing a *Soule masse* for the Ministers, as if they and their religion had been utterly gone. Wherefore the Ministers in their Sermons did regrave the countenance given to Papists in the Court; and the dangers whereinto both the King and country were brought by the secret practises of the French. John Dury and Walter Balcanquall were summoned, to answer before the Counsell for this their liberty of speaking in their Sermons: they obey, and compear, and alledge, that the Counsell was not their Judge in such a cause. The matter being notoriously known, and regrated by many, the Ministers were dismissed at that time. In time of the Assembly (as is before) Walter Balcanquall had spoken again to the same purpose; and when the gentle man was sent unto the Assembly, but would not be the accuser, and the Assembly would not proceed against the Minister without an accuser, the King was not well-pleased, but knowing the difficulty to find an accuser, would follow the business no more. The other particulare is related in the now-named *History Pag.* 316. The See of Glasgow being then void, it was suggested unto the Duke by some flatterers, that he had a fair occasion presented, to make himselfe Lord of that City, and of the lands pertaining to that bishoprick, if he would only procure a gift thereof to some one, that wold make a disposition thereof to him and his heirs. The offer was made to sundry Ministers who all refused, because of the required condition: at last the agents in this business fell upon Robert Montgomery Min. at Sterlin; he was content to accept it. Thereupon a gift was formed, and a Bond given by him, that how soon he shall be admitted Bishop, he should dispoñe the lands, Lordship and whatsoever belongs unto that prelacy, to the Duke and his heirs, for the yearly payment of a thousand pounds Scots, with some horse-corn and poultry. The Assembly hearing of this bargain, do charge this Robert to answer, as is before: and more followes. So particular respects of men unto the Church-revenues were the cause of difference betwixt the King and the Assemblies. 3. Wee see, that notwithstanding that litle variance betwixt the King and the Assembly, yet the the King deserteth not the Ministers, but in the Parliament by his zeal to piety he procureth sundry Acts in favors of Ministers, and against impiety and superstition and wickedness. 4. Wee have heard a modifying of Ministers stipends, which may seem very small: but I have seen assignations unto payment: and there they were assigned to a chalder of barley for 20 pounds: and to a chalder of oarmcall for 20 Marks; whereby the stipends then, may be compared to the stipends thereafter. 5. It is plain now, that what power was before given to Superintendents or Commissioners or Visitors, is declared

to appertain unto the Presbyteries, and provinciall Synods: and all power is taken from these Commissioners, where a Presbytery was. This was the estate of the Church, when the Confession was ratified by the Assembly.

1582. XVIII. The Assembly convenes at Santandrews Aprile 24. year 1582.

The 42. Assembly. Andrew meluin is chosen Moderator. 1. Because many Papists come into the country. notwithstanding diverse godly Acts and proclamations set forth by his Majesty, The assembly hath vored and thought meet, that a Supplication be sent to the Magistrates of burghs or sea-townes and Ports, that they will give charge and commandement unto all Masters and owners of ships within their bounds, to receive no Papists within their vessels, to transport them into the country; Or if any be received, to present their names immediatly after their arrivall, unto the saids Magistrats and Church of these parts, that order may be taken with them, Under such paines, as they shall devise; As they will shew themselves zealous of Gods glory, and promoters of the word of his Sonne Jesus Christ. 2. The assembly understanding, that certain Papists in Camphier, not only trouble the Scots congregation there, but likewise the Fleemines, and will not submit themselves to the censure of the Church, because of an alledged priviledge: In one voice gives their full power unto the Minister of Camphier to proceed against them, as the assembly might do: Requesting also the Conservator to joyn with the Church in taking order against them. 3. Mark Ker Lord of requests presenteth from the King a Letter unto the assembly, containing these articles. 1. Whither all Benefices under Prelacies should pay any third, or not? 2. If some should, what shall be the difference? 4. Should not all Benefices presented unto Ministers before Novemb. 1. 1581. be allowed in their years stipend from the same day untill Novemb. 1. 1582. Or if there be any difference in respect of the Annates, that yee declare it. 4. Should all persons presented and admitted to Benefices in this time, be placed in the book of modification, as Ministers of the churches belonging to these Benefices? 5. Should such (being Ministers) as have sufficient ecclesiasticall livings by reason of their Benefices, serve at other churches? 6. Think yee it not convenient, that the reports answering the Kings Letter sent over all the realm this last sommer, should be seen and considered at this time, for the better understanding the estate of the Church: and to see how many reports are in your hand, as so many which the Clerk-register hath, shalbe ready & patent. 7. that yee will let Us understand, what yee have concluded of Readers in generall, and specially these that are presented to Vicarages for lifetime. 8. Think yee it reasonable, that any who is provided unto a Benefice, and serving as Minister at the only church belonging to that Benefice, should have any more stipend, but the rent of that Benefice. 9. What think yee most reasonable to sustein the Colledge churches. 10. To whom should the King or laick patrones direct their presentation for admitting qualified Ministers, and that yee will name the persons in speciall. 11. Seing the dearth of vittails makes great inequality of stipends, some having victuall allowed for a marke or 20. Sh. and others having silver assigned unto them, are constrained to buy at five or sixe or seven marks the boile, were it not equitable, that all Ministers had their proportionable part of victuall and money, or that the victuall should be sold or allowed at the highest prices, and so these who have smallest stipends may be the better augmented. *Answers* unto these. The 1 & 2. before they be specially answered it is meet that there bee a form of assignation made by some to be appointed there-

thereunto before the next Assembly, Unto all Ministers and churches, that are likely to stand, respecting the answers & advice sent out from every country, and as if the present possessors were dead; and that charge be directed unto these, who have not their answers, to send them with expedition. 3. The Intraunt to any Benefice entring at November 1. after his admission, shall serve the cure, and shall have no more stipend at the next Whitsonday, but the superplus as it falleth, because his exequitors will receive als much, at his decease, according to the ancient order of the Annates; And that diligence be used to have Bagismond's Role of all Benefices and tacts; and what Benefices are not taxed, the rents thereof are the first year to be equally between the exequitors of the defunct, and the Intraunt, who shall have only the half fruits of the year of his entring; and so of the stipends. 4. We think, none should be placed in the books of modification, but qualified persons; and if any be presented to Benefices since the Kings coronation, that are unworthy or unable to discharge duty, that they be called and deprived by such order, as shall be condescended upon. 5. For the generall, Ministers that have sufficient Benefices, whereunto they are provided for life time, should not have stipends to serve at other churches, unless great necessity be seen and allowed by the gen. assembly, and order shall be taken to reform these, as appertaineth. 6. We think this is agreeable to that which is appointed in answer unto the first & 2. articles. 7. This shall be specially answered, how soon it can be advised by this assembly. 8. Upon the sight of the particular assignation to be made, special answer shall be made with the answer unto the first two. 9. We can not but think it reasonable, that Ministers of Colledge-churches should be sustained, as they of other churches; and if not of the fruits of the same church, yet he should have assignation other where. 10. The presentations are to be directed to the Commissioners of the Church within the bounds, where the Benefice lyeth. 11. This matter is weighty and can not be well answered without advice: it shall be propounded, and resolute answer thereafter shall be given. 4. As the admission and examination of Ministers is by act of Parliament, to be in the power of the Church now publickly professed within the realm, So the deprivation of Ministers is in the power of the same Church; As for the deprivation of Bishops admitted since the Kings coronation, it is thought meet, that the same bee likewise in the power of the Church; and the same deprivation to extend alswell from his function of the Ministry, as from the Benefice that the same may be declared vaiking, and conferred of new, as if he were naturally dead. V. Causes of deprivation are heresy, papistry, common blasphemy, periury, adultery, fornication, incest, slaughter, theft, common oppression, common drunkennes, usury against the lawes of the realm, notresidence, and absence from his flock and office by the space of 40. dayes together in a year, without a lawfull impediment allowed by the next gen. assembly: plurality of Benefices provided since the Kings coronation, is cause of deprivation from them all. except one, whereunto the possessor will adstrict himselfe: dilapidation of the rents of Benefices: Simony. The form of process to deprivation shall be a libell and precept on 40. days warning, if he be within the country, or 60. days if he be without, To be directed by the Church and such Commissioners thereof, that elect or admit the person complained-on, Summoning him to compear and answer unto the complaint: And in case of absence at the first summons, the second to be directed in like manner, With certifi-

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cation, if he fail, the libell shall be admitted to probation, and he shalbe held *Pro confesso*. After the decreet pronounced, if the person think him selfe wronged, it shalbe lawfull unto him, to use appellation unto the next generall assembly, and intimat the same within ten dayes: otherwise the decreet to have present execution'. 6. The summons raised unto this day by the Eldership of Sterlin against Robert Montgomery sometime Minister there, upon their sentence of suspension against him from the function of the Ministry, to be allowed by the Generall Assembly, and further tryall to be taken concerning his life, doctrin and manners and other things, that the Assembly shall lay to his charge; was read. The same Robert being present, is required to answer. He alledges, that the Church should not allow any thing deduced against him in that process, because he was never lawfully summoned thereunto: he knew nothing of that suspension from the Ministry, but only by bruit, nor ever was the same intimated unto him; and in so far as the process beares personall intimation unto him of the suspension, he takes instrument, and offereth to disprove the same in that point. The Assembly, notwithstanding these allegiances findes the said process, decreet and intimation to be orderly deduced, and the sentence of suspension well proceeded & given: Reserving unto the said Robert, in the second instance, liberty to seek reduction and remedy, as appertaines. He being further accused of contravening the said sentence of suspension, by preaching the word, and Ministration of the Sacraments: confesseth it, and pretends ignorance of the sentence given. Then the Lord of requests delivers a writing from the King, declaring that it is his will, the Church shall not trouble the said Robert for any thing concerning the bishoprick, or that may result thereupon, or for any other cause bypast committed by him, but that it may be handled before his Majesty. This Letter is reverently received, and read openly: and the Brethren praise God, that the King was pleased to send his Commissioner unto the Assembly: as for the action, by the assistance of God such attendance shall be given thereunto, in respect of his Hiencess, that nothing shall be handled, belonging to Civill power, and nothing but uprightly, sincerely and with just judgement shalbe pronounced against him, as they shall answer unto God and his Majesty. In *sess.* 7. a plain and large discourse was openly made of all the diligence of the Brethren, to whom Commission was given in the last assembly, concerning Ro. Montgomery, and the copies of the charge given to him with the execution hereof. With the which discourse, and former confession of the said Robert, that he had preached and ministred the Sacraments, after the decreet of suspension; the assembly in one voice findeth the said decreet and sentence contravened and violated by him; and delayeth to decern upon that contravention, untill the next day at their first convening. The said Robert demandes the answer of the assembly, whither they will accuse him upon any thing concerning the bishoprick. or any thing resulting thereupon: and he requires a copy of the large discourse made verbally by the brother, to the effect he may answer to every point thereof. He is bidden remove, till the assembly be advised, and give their answer. Within a litle space compeares John Burn Messinger, and by vertue of our Soverain Lords Letters delivered by the Lords of the Secret Counsell, dischargeth the brethren of the Generall Assembly, the Moderator and his Assessors, from directing any citations against Ro. Montgomery, or using excommunication, innovation, slander or troubling him in his ministry, for aspiring to the Bishoprick of

Glasgow

Glasgow, or for calling or persuing his brethren for the same, or for any promise made by him therein, or for any other thing depending there upon in time bypast, Under the pain of rebellion and putting them to the horn, Certifying them, if they fail, he will denounce them Our Soverain Lords rebels. Of the which charge he deliveres instantly a copy subscribed with his hand. The said Robert is called in again: but he was gone. Thomas maggy a Minister is ordained to warn the same Ro. mongomery, to compear the next day. In *Seff.* 8. Robert Montgomery is called, and compeares not, but by William Montgomery his proctor, who produces an appellation, whereof more followes. Thomas Maggy is called, and declares, that yesternight at command of the Assembly he had warned the said Ro. mongomery, to compear at this hour before this assembly, personally; in presence of Wa. Hay, Jo. Couper and An. Ker Ministers, and that he promised to compear personally. The same did these Ministers testify to be true. Then some enormities were produced and read, where of the same Robert was said to be guilty; to wit. 1. negligence and corruption of doctrine, also scandalous conversation, for the which he was suspended: 2. Contraveining of the suspension in Glasgow, Sterlin and in the Kings Chappell. 3. Violating of his promise made to the presbytery of Sterlin, that he should continue and wait upon his cure. 4. Horrible oaths in the face of the Assembly, denying with protestation before God, the intimation of the suspension. 5. Raising and executing letters, and procuring them by sinitrous information; for overthrowing the disciplin of the Church. 6. Usurping another mans flock, and that being accompanied with armed men; after the suspension. 7. Charging the wholl assembly under pain of horning, to cease from all proceeding against him to excommunication. 8. Blasphemous railing against the Ministers in pulpits since his suspension, and oft before; And in summa manifest contempt of the ordinance of the Church, and stirring up a fearfull schism betwixt some of the Nobility and the Church. All which being tryed partly by his own confession, partly by the process in the Gen. assembly last in Edinburgh, and by the process declared by the Eldership of Sterlin, and partly by testification of good and godly brethren, was found all to have fallen in his person; and him to be culpable thereof: for the which hainous and unworthy crimes, the Assembly voreth and concludes the said Robert not only unworthy to serve in the Office of the Ministry, but to be deprived thereof perpetually, & the sentence of excommunication to strick upon him, unless he prevent the same by repentance. The Lord of requests craves, that the pronouncing of the said sentence may be delayd, untill the King be advertised. The Assembly continues their answer till after noon. In *Seff.* 9. a letter being written in name of the Ass. unto the K. was read, and thought good to be delivered unto the Lord of requests, whereof here is the tenor: Please your Maj. Wee have received your Gr^s most loving letter, directed unto us by your Gr^s Commissioner Mark Ker M^r of requests, and are compelled to burst out with most humble thanks unto our good God, who of his mercy hath given us so godly a King, carefull and wel-willing that God be glorified, and his Church within your M. realm maintained, as plainly appeares by the articles by your G. propounded: whereunto with all diligence we began to make answer, but in such shortness of time, and such strait whereunto we were brought, by certain Letters raised at the instance of M^r Robert mongomery, wee are altogether stayd in that & many other godly actions: for upon the 27. day of this instant, the Assembly being occupied in godly and modest reasoning

of weighty matters, he caused an officer of armes to enter irreverently, and under pain of horning commanded the wholl Church from all proceeding against him, for whatsoever cause or enormity committed in his wicked attempts; A thing that was never heard nor seen since the world began; whereof we must lament unto your Gr. and having no other refuge under God, most humbly crave, that by these extraordinary charges directed against the word of God, and Lawes of your Gr^s Countrey, we be not constrained, either to betray the cause of God, by bearing with and winking at horrible crimes, manifest to all men in the person of the said M^r Ro. or to be reput and accounted disobedient to your Majesty, in whose service wee have been, are and shall be ready to spend our blood & lives; Beseeching your Gr. wee may find this grace and favor in your Ma^s sight, to keep our conscience cleane before God, and reserve ourselves unto him, who hath given us the charge of his inheritance: This most reasonably request, wee doubt not but to obtain at your Majesty, our particular reasons being heard and considered, which wee mind by Gods grace more largely to expound by certain brethren directed unto your Majesty, and with a full answer unto the foresaid articles. In the mean time wee beseech your Ma. not to give eare to the sinistrous report and wrangous information of men, who by such dealings go about to draw your Ma. heart from your true & faithfull subjects, and by this unhappy schism to overthrow the Church of God within your Gr^s country and for their own particular gain banish Christ and his word: which God of his infinite mercy forbid, and preserve your Gr. body and soull for ever. From Santandrews Aprile 27. 1580. When this Letter was directed, The assembly after voting concerning the sentence to be pronounced against Robert mongomery, deprives him from all function of the Ministry in the Church of God, during the will of the Assembly; and more decerned the sentence of excommunication to be pronounced in face of the assembly by the voice and mouth of the Moderator present, against him, to the effect, that his proud flesh being casten into the hands of Sathan, he may be winne again (if it be possible) unto God; and the said Sentence to be intimated by every particular Minister at his own particular church, in his first Sermon to be made by them after their returning; The pronounciation of the said Sentence being stayd untill moonday at nyne hours, because of the compearance of the said Rob. who hath renounced the appellation (interponed by his procurator in his name, and by himselfe that day before noon) from the sentence of the Church; and craves conference to be granted unto him, of the most godly and learned brethren: this the Church granteth untill moonday at nyne a clock, upon condition, he remain and wait upon the doctrin and conference of the brethren, and make no novation or new charge against the Church. He promisseth to attend upon the doctrin and conference of the Brethren the morne all day, and he shall neither use nor purchase any new charge in the mean time, if the Church use none against him. And moreover the Assembly ordaines prajers to be made to morrow after the sermon by him, who shall occupy the place for the time. In *Seff.* 12. to the end the brethren may know, what fruit hath followed upon the Conference with R. Montgomery, he is demanded to declare, in the presence of God, the simple truth of the accusations, that were layd to his charge. After prayer, that God would be mercifull to him, he confesseth as followes; 1. He confesses the command given to him by the Reader at Sterlin, to desist from his Office. 2. He grants that he had baptized childrengotten in fornication, but he took

Ro. Montgomery renounces his appellation.

And submits to the Assen.

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caution of the parents that they should satisfy the Church, but this was not in presence of the Elders or Session. 3. He remembereth not, that ever he preached the circumcision of women. 4. He made promise to the presbytery of Sterlin, to wait on his charge of the Ministry there; which he hath broken. 5. He confesses that on March 20. the presbytery of Sterlin told him of the suspension: but he was not certain of it, because hee had not heard the process of it. 6. He declares, that howbeit he knew not the raising of many Letters against the brethren: yet he kept the ordinary diets thereof. 7. He grantes the usurpation of David Weems flock, wherein he confesses, he had heavily offended. 8. He confesses, he had heavily offended against God and his Church by procuring and raising Letters against the Gen. assembly, and in accepting the Bishoprick of Glasgow without advice of the Assembly, and in proceeding by this form of doing which he hath used: for the which he submits himself unto the will of the brethren, and is willing to abide their judgement, and to obey and underly their iniunctions for these things. And being required to declare openly in the fear of God and in uprightness of conscience, his simple meaning concerning the estate of Bishops and the corruptions thereof; he craved conference with Ja. Lowson. Jo. Craig, Ro. Pont, Da. Lindsay and the Laird of Colluthy, that he might be further resolved, and give his simple meaning therein. The Assembly grantes this petition. And where as the Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Dalkeith and Lithgow had made protestation, against the Sentence, given by the King & Secret Counsell, in favors of Robert Montgomery. finding the Assembly Judges to the saids Presbyteries in that matter, as the Protestation beares; The wholl assembly after reading of that Sentence and protestation, in one voice adheres thereunto; and the said Robert for his part allowes it, and adheres unto it. In *Seff.* 13. Robert Montgomery compeares, and in face of the Assembly declares, and promisseth before God, that he shall not medle nor attempt more concerning the Bishoprick of Glasgow, nor braik, use or take upon him the same, nor any other office in the Church, without the advice and consent of the Generall assembly; and renounces the Letters and charge given to the Gen. assembly at his instance, and the Letters purchased by him against David Weemes; and protestes that in the matter of the Bishoprick of Glasgow he meaneth no other way, then all the Brethren do mean. VII. In *Seff.* 7. Seing sundry Ministers have been intruded upon the Church, and presented to Benefices having cure, who because of their young years and want of experience and judgement, can not be able to discharge that high & sacred Calling, The Assembly in one mind hath voted and concludes, that none be admitted unto the Ministry, nor Collationed to any Benefice of cure, unless he bee of the age of 25. years, except such, as for singular and rare qualities shall be judged by the Gen. assembly, to be meet and worthy. VIII. In respect of many inconveniences and mis-order fallen forth by the ambition, covetousnes and indirect dealing of many, who go about to enter into the Ministry, and being entred use, unlawfull meanes, to decline all correction and punishment for their offences, The wholl Assembly hath voted and concluded, conform to the word of God and most godly Acts of antient Councils, that no man pretend to ecclesiastiack function, office or Benefice by any absolute gift, collation or admission of the Civill Magistrate or patron, or by Letters of horning, or whatsoever other means, than is established by the word of God, and Acts of the Generall Church, and hitherto ordinarily used within the Reformed Church of Scotland;

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land; And also that none being received into an Ecclesiasticall office or Benefice, seek any way by the Civill power, to exeem and with draw himself from the jurisdiction of the Church, nor procure, obtend nor use any Letters of charge, either by themselves or any other in their name, or at their command or instance, To empair, hurt or stay the said Jurisdiction, disciplin or correction of manners, or punishment for their offences and enormities, nor to make any appellation from the Gen. assembly, to stop the disciplin and order of ecclesiasticall Policy and jurisdiction, granted by Gods word to the Office-bearers within the said church, under the pain of excommunication summarily and without any process, to be pronounced by the judgement of eldership, by Minister or Ministers to be appointed by them thereunto, how soon it shall be known, that any of the saids heads is transgressed. And this Act to be no way prejudiciall to Laick patrones in their presentations, untill the lawes be reformed according to the word of God. IX. Because the sabbothday is many wayes profaned to the great dishonor of God especially by holding markers both in burgh and in landward that day, the assembly enioynes straitly to every eldership, to take order therewith within their own bounds, as they may by the Law of God; as they will shew their zeal to God, and obedience to the Church. X. The Assembly in one voice gives commission to Ja. Lowson, John Craig, Ro. Pont, Da. Lindsay, John Brand & John Dury, To passe unto the King, and shew unto his Ma. that concerning the Articles sent by the Master of requests, to have been answered by the Church, being so weighty and important, a part of them also being obscure and captious; they could not presently resolve upon them all: But for the better resolutions, they have ordained certain brethren, to conferre upon them untill the next assembly, which they have appointed to convene the sooner for that effect; And more, lamentably to deplore unto his Gr. wherein the jurisdiction of the Church is and hath been heavily hurt & preiudged, and namely, by Letters given out in Glasgow, discharging the Presbytery, to proceed against M. Robert Montgomery: by charge of horning against the wholl Church of Scotland used by the decreet & Sentence of the Secret Counsell, finding them Judges in the action of Ro. Montgomery; by missives sent to gentle men, to assist the placing of him in the pulpit of Glasgow, against the will of the Church; by giving Benefices *pleno jure*, and abbacies in heritage: And with all humility, due reverence and gentleness that appertaines, to exhort his Majesty unto the reforming hercof, and maintaining the jurisdiction given by God unto his Church: And also to give admonition unto the Duke's Gr. Earls of Arran and Gourey in the premisses; And what they do heer in, to report unto the next Assembly. Like wise ordaines the particular Elderships to have a copy of the Articles sent by the King, that they may be the better advised, to give answer resolutely, in the next assembly. XI. The Assembly ordaines certain persons to erect presbyteries in all parts of the realm, where they are not as yet. And unto some doubts that are propounded concerning them, these answers are given. 1. The Moderator may continue from one Synod to another; and his election to be by the particular presbytery. 2. The number of such, as are associat to the Eldership for disciplin and correction of manners, which are not Pastors or Teachers, and not traveling in the word, be not equall in number with the other, but fewer; the proportion to be as the necessity of the Eldership craves. 3. The resort of the Elders who travell not in the word, shall be no more straited, but as the weightiness and occasion upon intimation & adver-

Rules ordering the Presbyteries.

& advertisement made by their Teachers, shall require at which time they should give their godly concurrence; yet exhorting them who commodiously may resort, to be present at all time. 4. The Ministers, who do not resort unto the Exercise and presbytery, shall be subject to the penalty atbitrall, to be appointed at the discretion of the particular presbytery, and the same to be agreed-upon by the subscription of every Minister thereof; and if any be found to disagree from a good order, to be complained on unto the Gen. assembly next coming; And the order which every presbytery takes, shall be sighted; and thereof one good order shalbe established for all. 5. The day of the Exercise shall be also the day of Ecclesiasticall proces: and if the brethren find it necessary for a proces, they may appoint days, times & places thereunto besids the day of Exercise. 6. It is not thought expedient, that the Presbytery shall be astricted to send their Moderator unto the Assembly, but liberty to chuse whom they think most expedient for confort of the Church. 7. It is not thought meet, that visitation be, excep *è re nata*, and the same not to be limied unto the Moderator, but to any two or moe as the Presbytery shall direct; for the necessity of the matter, according to the book of Policy. 8. The Clerk and Moderator shall subscribe in grave matters, and form of proceeding, in name of the eldership; and whill God provide some better contribution, every particulare Church of the Eldership shall contribute for the Scrib's entertainment. 9. The Ministers of the parish shall execute the summons concerning his parish, and bear the burden of the things, that are directed by the Presbytery, or some depute by him within his parish. 10. The order of admission of Elders is referred to the order used in Edinb. which is approved. 11. The Moderator of the Presbytery is to designe Manfes and glebs, where it is requisite: and for satisfaction of the Act of Parliament that they have a speciall commission for that effect, Untill it please God to move the King, that the Law may be reformed; Providing the Moderator do nothing without advice of the Presbytery. 12. How many Churches shall be in every Presbytery, it is referred unto them, who have commission, to establish presbyteries. 13. The form of proces in weighty matters is to be in writ at the discretion of the presbytery *pro re nata*; in lesser things, to be verball. 14. If any will not receive the office of an Elder, and travelth not in the word, wee may exhort, but not compell. 15. Ordaines every presbytery within their own boundsto try their Ministers; and if any offence shalbe found, to punish it according to the quality and estate of the crime, before the next generall assembly. 16. The Presbyteries shall try and examin the persons, desiring to enter into the function of the Ministry, and if they find them qualified, to provide them unto Churches. XII. Ordaines a fast to be kept in all churches of the realm; with doctrin and instruction of the people, to begin the first Sunday of Juny next, and to continue untill the next sunday *inclusivè*, using in the mean time exercise of doctrin according to the accustomed order: And the Kings Majesty to be certified by the Commissioners, that are sent to him, and to be supplicated, that he would be pleased, to authorize it by proclamation for that effect: The causes are 1. universall conspiracies of Papists in all countries against Christians, for execution of the bloody Acts of Trent. 2. The oppression and thralldom of this Church of God. 3. Wasting the rents thereof without remedy. 4. Falling from former zeall. 5. Flocking hither of Jesuits & Papists. 6. Manifest bloodshed, incest, adulteries with other horrible crimes defiling the land, and unpunished

nished. 7. The danger wherein the Kings Majesty stands through evill company about him, by whom it is feared, he may be corrupt in manners & Religion. 8. Univerfall oppression & contempt of the poore, &c. XIII. The next Assembly is to be at Edinburgh Octob. 24. unless some necessary occasion interveen, and advertisement to be made by the Eldership of Edinburgh and Ministers of the Kings house. For clearing the process against Robert Montgomery, it is heer to be added, that about February 22. he went to Glasgow, with purpose to preach the Sunday following: but a number of the Students in the Colledge, entred into the Church on Saturday at night, to hold him out, and kept the pulpit for their Principall Thomas Smeton: That day his Text was, *He that entereth not by the door but by the window, is a thief and a Robber;* and he inveighes against simoniacal entries into the Church. The next Sunday Rob. Mong. comes to the Church with a great number of Gentlemen, and displaceth the ordinary Minister David Weemes, and he made the Sermon. And because the Chapter of Glasgow refused to convene unto his election, he caused summon all them of the Chapter to compear before the Counsell. They again caused summon him, to compear before the Synod of Lothian, to hear the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him. He informs the King of this citation, and causeth warn the Synod to appear the 12. day of Aprile, before the King and Counsell at Sterlin, discharging in the mean time all proceeding in that business. Robert Pont with some others compearing at the day, in name of the others protestes, that albeit they had compared to testify their obedience unto his Majesty, yet he did not acknowledge his Majesty, and Counsell judges in that matter, it being a cause ecclesiasticall; and that nothing done at that time, should pre-judge the liberties of the Church, and Lawes of the Realm. The Counsell rejectes the protestation, and did inhibit the Ministers, to proceed against Montgomery. Because the Generall Assembly was at hand, they yeeld obedience in this; only they caused warn him, to compeare before the Assembly. B. Spotswood hath these particulars, but inverted: and it is clear by Mongomerie's words in face of the Assembly, that all these things were done before this Assembly. Here is not an end of this business: but after this Assembly he undertook to settle himself at Glasgow, and procured Letters from the King unto the Gentle men of these parts to assist him. The Presbytery of Glasgow knowing what he had done, intend process against him, for usurping the place of the ordinary preacher: Mathew Stuart of Minto being Provost of the City came, and presented a warrant from the King, to stay all proceedings against the Bishop, and willeth them to desist. John Howeson Minister at Cambuslang (being then Moderator) replieth, that they will proceed, notwithstanding that warrant. Whereupon the Provost pulleth the Moderator out of his seat, and carrieth him prisoner to the Tolbuirh. The rumor of this went quickly through the Kingdom; and in time of the fast (that was appointed by the Assembly) this fast was lamented by the Ministers. Among others, John Dury preaches against the Duke of Lennox, as the cause of all this trouble. Wherefore the King will have him removed out of the town, and caused command the Magistrates, to put him out of their town within 24. hours. They not daring to disobey, yet unwilling to use their Minister in that manner, dealt with him, to depart quietly. Upon this occasion, advertisement was sent unto all Presbyteries, to send their Commissioners unto Edinburgh, according to the ordinance of the last Assembly. Here by the way may be

be remembred, what is written in *Vindic. Philadel. Pag. 42.* The Duke of Aubigny was sent by advice of the Guisians from France into Scotland, and well instructed, to make change of religion by any meanes possible: which we found by experience two years after his arrivall: at first he professed, that he had embraced the true faith, and did subscribe the confessiō, as one of ours: but in the mean time he was plotting the ruin of Mortō: and because he did observe, that he was beloved of the church [towit, for his affection unto religion] he sawe, he could not beare him down, unless he profess the religion and some offices unto the Church. So when Morton was executed, and the Earle of Anguise was exiled, he was honoured with the spoile both of the one and of the other, and with two Prelacies *pleno jure*, towit, the Bishoprick of Glasg. and Abbacy of Arbroth: first he was entituled Earle of Lennox, then Duke, and at last Great Chamberlane of Scotland: and then he moved stur unto the Church & good men. *Sofar there.* The Generall Assembly convenes at Edinburgh Juny 17. *An. 1582.* where were Commissioners, &c. Andrew Melvin by plurality of votes is continued Moderator. In *Seff. 1.* John Dury shewes, how he was called before the King and Counsell, his answer, and whole process used against him; and also the charge to remove out of the town; and craves the good advice of the brethren, being ever willing (according to his calling) to follow their determination. The Assembly directes David Ferguson and Tho. Buchanan unto the King, to understand his mind and to crave the performance of the promise made to certain brethren, concerning him; As also to lament unto his Gr. the case of their brethren in Glasgow, that were charged to *compear* in Sant-johnstoun, And to make suit for them. And a missive was sent to John Duncanson, to concurr earnestly with them. In *Seff. 2.* Commissioners, that were directed from the Counsell of Edinburgh crave the Assembles advice, concerning the charge given to the Provost, Bailives and Counsell of the town, for removing John Dury. The assembly ordaines certain brethren, to meet with these Commissioners, and consult upon the matter. In *Seff. 3.* John Dury declares, that because his removing may be prejudiciall to the common cause, and his privy departing may seem to be an accepting of vice upon him, where with he is unjustly charged, that without their counsell here-in, his own deliberat mind is to abide, though with the hazard of his life; And seing his doctrin whereof he was accused in Counsell, was for the matter and substance justified in the Presbytery, and by the Session of Edinburgh; that the Brethren would give him testimoniall, that he had traveled faithfully in his vocation, no fault found with him in his doctrin, or imputed unto his life; and if it please God, that he be compelled to remove, that he may have liberty to preach the Gospell, where it shall please God, to give him time and place, for discharging his conscience and calling. The Assembly after deliberation in one voice thought it not meet, that he shall remove privily, but abide the charge to be given by the Magistrates; and they agree, that he shall have a testimoniall, as it was craved. Then they give commission unto three brethren, to go unto the Duke, and inform him of the great scandall in keeping Ro. Montgomery in his company, after the Sentence of excommunication pronounced against him; And to intimate that Sentence unto him, with gentle and discreet persuations, to shew the danger thereof, and what is concluded by Acts of the assembly against maintainers of excommunicate persons; and desire him earnestly, to remove him; and to give him admonition, that if he will not obey, the Church will proceed against him

according to their Acts. In *Seff.* 4, John Duncanson presenteth a Letter from the King [being then in Sterlin] concerning Minto and other burgeses of Glasgow, craving that matter to be handled before the Counsell, with credite to be given unto the bearer. The bearer declares his credite, and shewes, that his Majesty continues and shall continue unto the end in professing the true Religion presently established within the realm; and as for the action at Glasgow, upon supplication to be given in to the Counsell, such order shall be taken, that the Church shall be satisfied there-with. The summones were produced against some citizens of Glasgow, to hear tryall thereof of the violence used by them against Jo. Howeson, and to hear themselves convicted, &c. as the summones were duly execut and indorsed. The parties were called: none compeared, but John Graham: he denied the contents thereof for his part. The summons was given to probation. The witnesses John Davidson, John Hamilton, An. Knox, &c. were sworn and admitted. They were ordained to be present and depone the next day after noon before the Moderator and his assessors. In *Seff.* 5, the brethren that were directed unto the King concerning John Dury and the Ministers of Glasgow, report in writing, that at the coming of the Duke (who hath entresse in that matter) consideration shall be had of John Dury: and as for these of Glasgow (if the Assembly will delay the process against Minto and his colleagues) he will dispense with them, untill the 6. day of July next, when the Counsell is to convene. The same day the witnesses, that had sworn were examined at the time appointed. In *Seff.* 6. after publick reading of the process against Minto and his colleagues, and the probation thereof, and examination of both, The assembly findes the crime, as it is verified and proved, to deserve the punishment of excommunication: and nevertheless at his Ma^s intercession, the sentence against the persons is continued untill July 6. when hope is given of repaire, &c. Giving full power and commissiō to the Commissioners which are to be directed unto his Majesty and Counsell, that if they shall not find remedy put to that matter betwixt the said day and the 24. day of the same month, at their discretion to proceed, and give forth Sentence in the same cause; And to appoint severall persons to be executioners thereof: As they will answer unto the Church; And ordaines report of this continuation to be made unto his Majesty. Likewise whereas John Dury is now removed out of Edinburgh, the Church inhibites and discharges the Church and presbytery of Edinburgh to chuse or admitt any Minister in his place; and discharges all Ministers and these that are aspiring to the Ministry to usurp or take upon them his charge (except a Minist. of Edinb. imploy them for help at a time) untill the Gen. Assembly be further advised; and if any shall be chosen, that election or admission shall be null. The brethren that were sent to the Duke, report that his answer was at first a question, Whether the King or the Church were Superior? and then he said, that he had command from the King, and his Counsellors to entertain Mongomery; and untill he were countermanded by his Majesty, he will not remove him. The Church having considered his answer, ordaines the brethren of the Ministry, who shall go in commission to Perth, as they see occasion there, and the grief not remedied concerning his entertaining the said Robert; To proceed and appoint speciall men that shall proceed further against him with the censures of the Church, according to the Acts of the Gen. assembly: To whom the Church gives their full power to that effect. As also the Assembly gives their commission to John Erskin of Dun, the

Ministers of the Kings house, Ro. Pont, Ja. Lowson, Tho. Smeton, An. Hay, Da. Lindsay, An. Polvart, Peter Blackburn, Pa. Galloway, Wi. Crystefon, Da. Ferguson, Ia. Meluin, Th. Buchanan, Io. Brand, Pa. Gilespy, Io. Porterfield Ministers and And. Melvin, To repair toward the King and Counsell to be conveened at Perth July 6. and there with all reverence, due obedience and submission, to present unto his Majesty and Nobility the speciall grievances of the Church; conceived and given to them in write, and in their names to lament and regrave the same; Craving in the name and fear of the Eternall God, them and every one of them to be repaired and redressed, To the glory of God, and welfare of his Majesty, and comfort of his Church; And if need be, with humility to confesse thereupon, inform and reason; And what herein shall be done, to report unto the next assembly; Promising to hold firm and stable what soever their brethren in the premisses shall judge righteously to be done. In *Seff. 7.* is the tenor of the grievances, thus; Unto your Majesty humbly mean and shew your Gr^{ts} faithfull & obedient subiects the Ministers of Gods word within your Ma^s realm, conveened in the Generall assembly at Edinburgh June 17. that where as upon diverse & great & evident dangers, appearing to the wholl Church of God and professors of his true religion in this country, finding the authority of the Church abrogate, her censures contemned, and violence used against some of our brethren, without punishment thereof; the like hath never been seen in this realm nor in any place, where the truth hath been taught and received; And fearing, lest your Majesty for want of information; neglect in time to provide remedy for the inconvenients likely to ensue thereupon, We have conveened ourselves in the fear of God and your Ma^s obedience, and after diligent consideration of this present estate of the Church. and enormities falling forth in the same, With common consent, thought necessary by our Commissioners, to present and open unto your Gr. certain our chief & weighty griefs, without hasty redress whereof, the Church of God and true religion can no way stand & continue in this your country. 1. That your Majesty by advice of some counsellers is caused, to take upon your Gr. the spirituall power and authority, which properly belongs unto Christ as the only King and Head of his Church, the Ministry and execution thereof unto such as bear office in the ecclesiasticall Government: So that in your Gr^s person some men prease to erect anew Popedom, as if your Majesty could not be full King and Head of this common wealth, unless the Spirituall as well as the temporall power should be put in your hand: unless Christ be bereft of his authority, and the two jurisdictions confounded, which God hath divided: which tenderth directly to the wreck of all true religion, as by the speciall heads following is manifest: for. 1. Benefices are given by absolute power, to unworthy persons intruded into the Office of the Ministry, without the Church's admission, directly against the lawes of God; and Acts of Parliament, whereby church-livings come into profane mens hands and others, that sell their souls, and make shipwreck of conscience; for pleasure of men and obtaining some worldly commodity. 2. Elderships, Synods and Generall assemblies are discharged by Letters of horning, to proceed against manifest offenders, and to use the disciplin of the Church & censures according to Gods word. 3. Jo. Dury by act of Counsell is suspended from preaching, and banished from his flock. 4. Excommunicat persons in contempt of God and his Church are entertained in chief Lords houses, namely, R. Mong. is authorized and caused to preach, and brought to your Ma^s presence,

A Supplication unto the K. against his absolute power.

sence, which is a sore wound to the consciences of them, that love your Majesty, and know your upbringing, and an heavy scandall to all Nations professing the true religion. 5. An Act or deliverance of the Counsell is made against the proceedings of the Ministry, with a slanderous narrative suspending *simpliciter* and disannulling the excommunication justly and orderly pronounced against Robert Montgomery a rebellious and obstinate offender and troubler of the Church of God, and open proclamations made according therunto. 6. Contempt of Ministers, and bearing John Howeson out of the judgement-seat, where he was placed Moderator of the Presbytery; the cruell and outrageous handling of him, carrying him to prison like a thief by the Provost and Bailives of Glasgow and their complices; and after complaint, made no order is taken therein, but they are entertained as if that had been good service. 7. Displacing the M. of Glasg. out of his roome, which without reproach he hath occupied these many years: and convocation of the gentle men of the country that to effect. 8. Violence used by one of your own guard, to pull him out of the pulpit the day of the Communion, in presence of the wholl congregation and in time of Sermon: nor fault found therewith. 9. The officer of the Church was cast into prison, in your Gr^s presence, and there was kept a long time, for execution of Letters against a particular scandalous man. 10. Ministers, Masters of Colledges and Scholares of Glasgow in time of publick fast were by letters of horning compelled to leave their flocks & Schools destitute, and afterwards from time to time, and place to place have been delayd and continued, thereby to consume them by exorbitant expences, and to wreck the churches & Schools, where they should bear rule and charge. 11. The scholars of Glasgow were invaded, and their blood cruelly shed by the Bailive and community gathered by sound of the common Bell and stroak of drum, and by certain seditious men enflamed to have slain them all, and to have burnt the Colledge: and yet nothing done nor said to the authors of that sedition. 12. Hands shaken with the bloody murderers and persecuters of the people of God by gifts received and given. 13. The Duk's Gr. often promised to reform his house, and nothing is done there. 4. The lawes made for maintaining true religion and punishing the enemies thereof, are not put to execution. So that all things go loose, and worse like to ensue. Many other things there be, that crave present reformation, where with wee think not expedient to trouble your Majesty untill wee see, what order shall be taken with these grievous complaints; Beseeching your Majesty most humbly for the love of God, who hath placed your Gr. in this Royall throne, and hitherto hath wondrously maintained and defended your authority, carefully to look upon these matters, as becomes the Lieutenant of God and a Christian King; And with advice of them that fear God, and do tender your Gr. estate, & quietnes of this Common well, so to redress the premisses, that Christ be acknowledged above all, and his messengers without fear or stop, be suffered to execute their office; the course of the gospel advanced, and by the exemple of the worthy punishment on them, (who so licentiously and contemptuously have wronged and injured Ministers and Professors of Gods word,) that others hereafter be afrayd to enterprice the like. The next Assembly is appointed to be at Edinburgh October. 24. next. *It is objected against this Assembly*, that they did allow the Sentence of excommunication against Ro. Montgomery, whereas it was pronounced summarily by one man in a private congregation, towit, by John Davidson in the church of Libbertoun: and upon this ground, it was declared null by the

the Counsell. It is answered. 1. That he who hath often objected this, testifieth, that before the Assembly, it was allowed and intimated in all the Churches of the country. 2. In the Assembly of October year 1581. was a Generall Act, ordaining summary excommunication against these, who through ambition or covetousness did by such violent means intrude themselves into any function of the Church, or who did obtrude or use any Letters of charge to impede the disciplin: See before at the VIII. particulare. 3. When this was objected many years since, the author of *Vindici. Philadelph. Pag. 29.* answered for this instance, that the Assembly [in October] knowing the mans inconstancy did advertise the Presbytery of Glasgow, that they should diligently take heed, that he usurp not the power of a Bishop; and if he shall do so, they were ordered to condemn him of contemptuousness and perfidiousness: and to advertise the Presbytery of Edinburgh, unto whom the Assembly at that time gave power to excommunicate Robert Montgomery in this case: and so the presbytery of Glasgow (notwithstanding the opposition made by Minto) went on, and decerned against him: and the presbytery of Edinb. pronounced the Sentence of excommunication, and it was intimated in all the pulpits. *So forthere.* In the same place wee find, what was the success at Perth: When the Supplication was presented, James Stuart (a brother of Ochiltry, who had been Tutor of the Earle of Arran, and thereafter was made Earle of Arran: and at that time was Chancellor and fomentor of all these mischiefs) did menacingly ask, Who dar subscribe that Supplication? Andrew Melvin answered, Wee all will subscribe it: and so he did subscribe it; and after him John Erskin of Dun, Th. Smeton, Ro. Pont, Da. Lindsay, An. Hay, Pe. Blackburn, Tho. Buchanan and Pa. Galloway. English men, which were there, did admire their boldness, and thought that they had some privy attendants for their guard: but they were dismissed without answers. Bishop *Spotswood* omitting this passage saith, To their grievances they received Generall answers, and for the brethren of Glasgow, their tryall was continued to the tenth of September next: before which time the surprise of the Kings person at Ruthven fell out, which altered the state of all affaires; some of the nobility combining themselves for defence of Religion, and the liberty of the Kingdom (as they pretended, *sayth he*) upon notice of the Duke of Arrans [*I conceive an error in the print, for, the Duke and Arran's*] absence from the Court, placed themselves about the King, and detained him some daies at the house of Ruthven. The principalls were John Earle of Marre, William Earle of Goury, Patrick Lord Lindsay, Robert Lord Boid, the Mast^r of Glams & Oliphant, the Abbots of Dumferlin, Paisley, Driburgh & Camsbuskenneth, the Laids of Lochlevin, easter Weemes, Cliesh and the Constable of Dundy. At this time the Earle of Arran was taken and kept prisoner, and the Duke of Lennox (being advised by the Kings letters) went to France, and died at Paris in the beginning of the year following. These particulars are at length, *loc cit.* After the departure of the Duke, the town of Edinburgh brought back their Minister John Dury with great joy, singing, as they went up the striet, the 124. Psalm, *Now Israel may say, &c.* and as I heard some credible persons (which were there as that time) say, they added after the Psalm, *Now hath God delivered us from the Devill, the Duke and all his men.* The King went to Edinburgh in the beginning of October and there convenes the Assembly in a frequent number of Noble men, many Barons and Ministers Commissioners: David Lindsay is chosen Moderator. In *Seff.*

*A Change
of the
Kings
Court at
Ruthven
An 1582,*

*The 45.
Assembly.*

2. The Ministers of Edinburgh were sent unto the K. to petition, that he would send his Commissioners unto the Assembly. The Commissioners that were sent by the former Assembly unto the King with the grievances, report the answers in write: these were read, and judged not to answer the Articles: therefore it is appointed, that they shall be further insisted on, with other things that are to be craved: and four are appointed to form them in write. In *Seff.* 3. James haliburton Provest of Dundy, and Colonell Will. Stuart come and deliver their Commission from the King in this tenor; Wee by tenor hereof, with the advice of the Lords of our Secret Counsell, give, and grant authority, full power and commission to our right trusty and welbeloved friends, James haliburton And Col. Wi. Stuart coniunctly and severally, for us & in our name, To pass unto the Generall assembly of the Church of our realm, and there to hear and consider the matters propounded, tending to the advancement of Gods glory and his true religion, the correction of manners, and retaining the ecclesiasticall matters in decent & comely order, as the word of God allowes; and to report the matters propounded and treated, unto us for our allowance and ratification of the same, as appertaines, and generally all and sundry other things to do, that to the furtherance and assistance of all godly & good matters is necessarily required, firm & stable Subscribed with our hand at Halirudhouse October 10, 1582. and of our reigne the 16. year. IV. The places where the Provinciall synods shall convene, should be changed, as the brethren thereof shall judge, that no ambition growe by continuing in one place. V. Seing great scandall ariseth by the impunity of Bishops being altogether out of rule, the Church thinks expedient, that the Kings Commissioners the Lord Boyd, the Laird Caprinton with the Moderator and his assessors convene, and solidly advise upon some substantiall order. VI. The Lord of Paisley in name of some Noblemen, gives the Church to understand, the grounds moving them to that late action at Ruthven, towit, the danger they perceived of the Church and religion, the evident perill of the Kings Majesty and his estate, and the confusion and mis-order of the Commonwealth, whereof as they feell good testimony in their own consciences, So they crave the Assembly would shew their good liking of the same, and give ordinance to each Minister at his church, to declare their good ground and action, unto their flocks, exhorting all Noble men & others whatsoever, faithfully to concurr with them in this good cause, to the full prosecution thereof. Then it was enquired by particular voting, Whither these perills and every one of them, whereof the information was made, was seen or perceived by the brethren? It was voted universally, *affirmative*. And to the end, the Kings mind may be also known in this particulare, Ja. Lowson, David Lindsay and the Kings Ministers were directed to wait on the King to morrow after noon, to conferre of these dangers, and to report his answers. Their report was that his Maj. said, There was perill to religion, and indirect courses were taken to the hurt thereof, whereunto his own perill was joyned: for he esteemes his standing to be joyned with the standing of religion; As also he acknowledges sundry abuses in the realm, and that all good men should concurr of duty, to take away danger from the Church & from his person & estate; and to the reformation of the Common well. As for these things the Noble men craved, three were appointed to frame an Act concerning them, and shew it in the next Session. That form was sent unto the Commissioners of the town of Edinburgh to be advised by them
apart

apart : and then was voted and agreed unto by the Assembly. VI I. The Assembly considering the scandall by the impunity of Bishops, to the grief of good men, gives commission to the particulare presbyteries after specified to summon and call before them the Bishops in manner following, that is, the presbytery of Perth shall summon the Bishop of Murray; the presbytery of Edinb. the Bishop of Aberdien; the presbytery of Merns, the Bishop of Brechin; the presbytery of Dundy, the Bishop of Dunkell; the presbtery of Glasgow, the Bishop of Santandrews; the presbytery of Sterlin the Bb. of Dunblain and Isles; and to accuse them and every one of them in all or part, as they are guilty, towit, of non-preaching and Ministration of the Sacraments; of negligence in doctrine & disciplin, haunting or frequenting the company of excommunicat persons; wasting the patrimony of the Church; setting tacks against the Acts of the Church, giving Collation of Benefices against the said Acts; and finally for giving scandall any way in life & conversation; And after due tryall, process & conviction, to put order unto every one of them, according to the quality of their offense and Acts of the Assembly, Before the next meeting of the Assembly, As they will answer, &c. VII I. It is judged most expedient, that Colledges and Univesities be visited: and commission is given to certain Noble men and Ministers, to concurr with such as the King and Counsell shall direct with them in visitation of all the Colledges, And to consider, how the rents and livings of every one of them are bestowd; how the doctrine is used by the Masters and Regents; whether it be correspondent to the Act of Parliament; how order in disciplin is kept among the students; And as they find disorder or defection, to take order there with, according to the Act of Parliament. IX. In *Seff. 11.* the [Sumner, or] Officer of the Church declares, that whereas he was directed to summon the Kings Advocat to compear before the Assembly, he could not find him, for he is in Hermestoun. A citation is directed to summon him to compear on wednesday next, and answer, whither he was the Former of the slanderous proclamation in July against the Ministry, and for opposing the lawfull proceedings of the Church; Certifying him, if he compear not, the Assembly will proceed, as appertaineth. In *Seff. 17.* the Kings Advocat compeareth, and adviserh the Assembly to consider, whither they will allow their form of proceeding against him being a servant of his Majesty, that he only is called upon the asledged forming of a Proclamation given out in the K's name, under the title of A declaration, and concluded by authority of His Counsell; and as they shall find by their wisdom, he will not contemptuously refuse to answer. After consideration it was judged, that in respect of the slander arisen by his person, he may and should give his declaration, for removing the slander. He is content, and openly takes God to witness, that he neither invented nor formed nor penned that proclamation, but at the desire of the Duke he translated out of French into Scots the last part of it, and did nothing more in all that proclamation. Here with the Assembly was satisfied, for his part. X. The Earle Bothwell declares, that as he professed the true religion now preached within the realm, before his departure, so he hath continually lived, and minded to live and die with it by Gods grace. X. Some burgesses of Glasgow were summoned to compear. The Laird of Minto compeares, and confesses his fault. The disciplin and order to be used against him for the offense is remitted to the judgement and discretion of the presbytery of Glasgow: and so of John Graham elder; and the presbytery should report what shall

be done, unto the next Assembly. Archbald Hegget, John Graham younger, Hector Stuart, John Sprewell elder, Wil. Hegget and Robert Stuart are called, and compear not. They are condemned of contumacy, that being at severall times summoned to answer for haunting or using the company of Ro. Montgomery after his excommunication was intimated unto them, and for other enormities done against the Church, they have despised the voice thereof: they are ordained to make their publick repentance in the Church of Glasgowe, after the form to be prescribed by the presbytery, unto whom the execution of this sentence is committed. Colin Campbell, Malc. Stuart, Hect. Stuart, Jo. Graham elder, Gawin Graham and Archb. Hegget were summoned to answer for the violence done to Jo. Howeson in the presbytery: they are called: none of them compeares, except John Graham (of whom before) and Gawin Graham. The Assembly ordaines the others for their violence and disobedience to be excommunicat in the church of Glasgowe by D. Weemes, with advice of the Presbytery. XII. Articles were read and allowd as meet to be propounded; Seing the Jurisdiction of the Church is granted by God the Father throug our Mediator Jesus Christ, and given to these only, who by preaching and overseeing bear office within the same, To be exercised not by the injunctions of men, but by the only rule of Gods word; That an Act of Parliament concerning the liberty and jurisdiction of the Church be so plainly declared, that hereafter none other under whatsoever pretense have any color to ascribe or take upon them any part thereof, in placing or displacing Ministers of Gods word, in spirituall livings or offices without the Churches admission, or in stopping the mouths of preachers, or taking upon them the judgement and tryall of doctrine, or of hindering or dis-annulling the censures of the Church, or exceeming any offender there from. 2. That the Presbyteries consisting of Pastors or Teachers and such as are commonly called Elders according to Gods word, and now according to his Ma^{ties} direction appointed in diverse parts of this realm, for disciplin and keeping order in ecclesiasticall affaires, Be approved & established by authority; and paines prescribed against them that stubbornly oppose themselves. 3. That the Synodall assemblies consisting of fundry Presbyteries, and Nationall consisting of the wholl, be approved; and by vertue & Act of Counsell presently, and of Parliament hereafter, have power to convene so oft as occasion shall require, to advise, treat, conclude and make ordinances in such things as concern the well of the Church and their charge in doctrine and disciplin, with liberty to appoint times & places for that effect. 4. That Presbyteries and such as they will direct of their own number, have the same power in designing manses & glibs, and repairing of Churches, as Bishops or Commissioners had before. 5. That every Church have their severall Pastor, to be sustained on the tyths of the parish, where he serves; and to that end, the manses of churches, that are annexed to great Benefices or prelacies, be dissolved; pensions given out of the tyths, and tacks of the same set by the Collectors or possessors, may be revoked, &c. Likewise a Supplication unto the King and Counsell was read, for redress of many enormities. 1. That the slanderous proclamation at Perth July. 12. and published in all townes and parish-churches, and to the perpetuall infamy of Gods servants is printed, may be perused and diligently considered, and triall be made, whither any Minister be culpable of such odious crimes, and if they be culpable, that they be punished with all rigor of law; And otherwise, that the givers out of so blasphemous reports. and devisers and ditors of that infamous

libell, be punished accordingly; And that by Act of Counsell and open proclamation, the Ministry be declared innocent of such wicked and hainous crimes. 2. That the unaccustomed violence used against Jo. Howeson, drawing him out of the seat of the presbytery. And against David Weemes Minister, be so punished, that none be bold to attempt the like hereafter. 3. That Colin Campbell, Archbald, and Wi. Heggets burgeses of Glasgow with their complices be punished according to justice for the uproar made by them against the Students, and shedding their blood. 4. that the proclamation lately made for the liberty of the Assemblies may be enlarged and more plainly cleared. 5. That your Lp^s will give his Majesty to understand, how wicked instruments they are, who persuaded his Gr. to allow and take upon himself all the mischiefs and ungodly proceedings, whereby his Gr. and the Church & Country were brought into such misery and danger. 6. That all Acts of Counsell made against Presbyteries & assemblies, charging them to desist from proceeding in discipline and ecclesiastical censures against scandalous persons, be annulled and deleted; and the Act made against J. Dury. 7. That his Majesty and Lords will weigh what great inconvenients and absurdities fall out upon the Act of Counsell made concerning the absolute power; and for removing them, to delete that Act, never to be remembred. 8. That his Gr. and Lords provide & carefully foresee, that by wicked practise of dimission or association of authority, the Church, the Kings Majesty and country be not hurt, and that the same be stayd in time. 9. That the stipend appointed unto the Minister of Sterlin, and now wickedly purchased by Ro. Montgomery to his young son, be restored for sustentation of a qualified man, to teach that flock, which by his ungodly dealing and apostasy hath been destitute so long time. 9. That it would please your Majesty and Lords to have compassion upon that Noble and godly man James Hamilton Earle of Arran, somtyme a comfortable instrument in Reforming the Church of God, and now visited by the hand of God, and bereft under pretence of Law. 10. That Commissioners be deputed in each part for visiting the Colledges. The Assembly gives commission unto nyneteen Ministers with the Ministers of the Kings house, to present this Supplication unto the King and the Estates now convened at Halirud house, or unto the Parliament, when it shall be holden; crave answer, &c. In the next Session these brethren report, that the Lords crave the advice of the Church, who should sit in their names, to vote in Counsell and Parliament, seing now they are about the taking order for a Counsell consisting of three Estates. For better resolution in this particulare, it was thought meet, to enquire of the Lords what is their meaning in this proposition. In the following session, answer was returned, that the meaning is, Whither the Church will consent that some of the Bishops should for the Church be upon the Counsell. The assembly resolves, they can not agree, that any shall vote in name of the Church, but they who bear office ~~in the Church~~, and are authorized with commission thereunto. Two Ministers are appointed to return this answer unto the Lords. *In this Convocation of Estates nothing was done in the affaires of the Church: they were all for securing themselves.*

XX. On January 28. year 1583. the King withdrew himselfe from the Nobility, that had separated the Duke and Arran from him, and he went unto the Castle of Santandrews, untill he sent for other Noble men to be of his Counsell; and the entituled Earle of Arran was let out of Duplin, and came unto the King: whereupon in the end of that year followed great

1583.
Another
change of
Court.

The 45.
Assembly.

alteration. The Generall assembly convenes at Edinb. April 24. Tho. Smeton is chosen Moderator. I. Three Ministers were sent unto the King, to humbly desire Commissioners for assisting the assembly in treating and concluding, &c. And seeing his Majesty had sent Ambassadors into England, that he would be pleased, to endeavour an union be made betwixt the two Kingdoms and other Christian Princes and Nations professing the true religion, against the persecution of Papists and them that are confederat in that bloody League of Trent: and also that her Majesty would disburden their Brethren of England from the yoke of ceremonies imposed upon them against the liberty contained in Gods word. Likewise in *Seff. 5.* others were ordained, to supplicate his Majesty earnestly, that the French Ambassador may be sent away, because his travell is suspected to tend against religion and the Commonwell: That a Jesuit Holt may be tryed, and according to his offense punished: That the Lord Seton's son may be accused for his Letters unto Jesuits: That a brother of Cambo refusing the censure of the Church, violating the K's Lawes and practizing against religion, may be summoned according to the law: That the Abbot of Holywood have no licence to depart out of the country: And concerning D. Chalmers a Papist. II. The Provost of Dundy and the Laird of Coluthy his Mas. commissioners crave that breethen may be authorized with commission to treat and conclude in such particulars, as his Majesty hath to propound. The assembly answereth, They have found by experience that commission given to conclude, hath done hurt unto the Church. And where they are bidden, not to medle with novelties, they intend none. III. Sundry references from Synods and presbyteries are discussed, as one against the Bailives of Santandrews for a scandalous Letter published by them in presence of the congregation March 17; Another from Glasgow, where Gawin graham and his complices were excommunicate, and then upon repentance crave to be absolved: they are remitted to their own presbytery, after evidence of their repentance to be absolved, &c.

Nota.

The 46.
Assembly.

The assembly convenes at Edinburgh October 10. Robert pont is chosen Moderator. I. The assembly is thinn: Provinces are marked which have sent none; and commissiones, wherein all the commissioners come not, that order may be consulted upon to correct them. II. When an Act is concluded in the Generall assembly, and no just cause intervenes to make a change of it, it shall not be lawfull for any particular brother to call it into question in another Assembly. III. The Commission for visiting the Colledges is renewed. II II. Because Commissioners are appointed, and sometimes they depart before they have gotten their commission; It is ordained that the Moderator receive from the Clerk the extract of every commission, and send it timously unto the brethren. IV. Ordaines every presbytery to call before them the Beneficed men within their own jurisdiction, and take account, how they have observed the Acts of the Assembly, concerning the disposition of their church-livings, and a just report to be made unto the next Assembly by the Moderator or their Commissioners, as they will answer unto God and his Church. And whereas some old possessors of taks, pretend some particular reasons, why the Church should consent, It is ordained, that such exceptions shall be first examined by the presbytery of that place, and then returned unto the assembly, that the suit may be decided according to equity. V. The process led by the presbytery of Santand. against Alefson Pierfson, with the process led by the same presbytery against Pa. Adamfson, and the process of the Synod of Fife justifying the accusation

accusation led against the said Patrik, is exhibited, and continued. VI. In *Seff.* 5. a supplication is read and allowed, to be sent unto his Majesty, as followes; Sir, the strict commission wee have received from the Eternall our God, when in this your Ma^s realm wee were made watch-men of his people, and the fear full threatnings pronounced against these, who neglect to execute faithfully every part of their weighty charge, compell us, presently to have recourse unto your Majesty, perceiving things to fall forth to the great prejudice of Gods glory, and no small appearance of utter wreck of this Church and Common well, unless some remedy be hastily applied; most humbly therefore beseeching your Majesty to weigh diligently and consider these few heads, which with all reverence and observance wee do present, looking for a gracious answer and speedy redress thereof.

1. It is a great grief to the hearts of all them who fear God, to see apostates, sworn enemies to Christ, to your Gr. and all your faithfull subjects, (forfeited for their treason, some also suspected and heavily bruited for the murder of the most noble person your umquile Father, impugnors of the truth by word and writ) continuing still in their wickednes and unreconciled unto the Church, To receive from your Majesty the Benefit of pacification, to the prejudice of faithfull Ministers, whom they labour violently by that means to dispossesse. 2. That others from their youth nourished in the Church of God, and thereafter fallen back fearfully, and becom open runagates and blasphemers of the truth, and maintainers of idolatry and of the man of sin lieutenant of Satan, and oppressors of Gods people; and nevertheless are received into Court, authorized and so far countenanced, that they are become familiar with your Majesty, whereby (besids the grief of your faithfull subjects) many are brought to doubt, what shall ensue upon such beginning. 3. That an obstinat Papist sent into the Country, to practize against God and quietnes of your Gr. estate, and therefore as worthy of death was imprisoned at your M^s command with promise that he shall not escape punishment, yet (as wee understand) was by indirect means let depart, and no tryall made to find out the author of his delivery. 4. That your Majesty seemes to have too much liking of the enemies of God aswell in France as some within this realm, who have never given testimony of any good meaning either in religion or your Majesties service, besides the irreligious life and dissolute behaviour of them, which in your Ma^s service have succeeded to men, that were known zealous in Gods cause, and faithfull to your Gr. from your tender age. 5. Since your Majesty took the Government in your own hand, many promises have been made, to take order for preserving the Church of God, and continuance thereof unto posterity, yet after long and continuall suit, nothing is performed, but in place of redress, the Church is daily bereft of her liberties & priviledges. 6. The thirds are set in tacks for sums of money, in defraud of the Church, so that Ministers hereafter cannot be provided. 7. Abbacies are disposed, without any provision made for the Ministers serving at the churches annexed thereunto, directly against the Act of Parliam. 8. Church-livings are given to children, and translated into temporall Lordships. 9. There is no punishment for incest, witchcraft, murder, abominable oathes and other horrible crimes, so that sin encreases dayly, and provokes the wrath of God against the wholl country. 10. Oftymes your Majesty interpones your authority by Letters of horning, to stop the execution of the Acts made in the Gen. assembly, in matters belonging properly unto the Church, and no way concerning the

Civill estate. 11. There is a fore murmur among your Majesty lieges, and a lamentable complaint, that the Lawes of the Country have no place, and none can be sure of his life, lands nor goods: These things threaten a miserable confusion and the heavy hand of God to ensue. Lastly wee most humbly beseech your Majesty to suffer us lament this great division among your Nobility and subjects, the one part seeking by all means possible for their interests, to perswade your Majesty to undo the other, whereby continuall strife, malice and rancor is fostered, to the great danger of your Ma^s person, Whom God preserve unto his Church and this your country; Beseeching your Majesty for the tender mercy of God, to call unto your Majesty some of the wise, discreet and indifferent, and by their counsell to make a Moderate order, that unquiet spirits may be ruled, good men cherished, and the hearts of all your subjects united to the maintaining of Gods glory, preservation of your Majesty and estate, and the comfort of all them, who bewail this miserable dissolution. With this supplication, particular instructions were given unto the Commissioners for declaring these heads. 1. How heavily the godly are offended, and all the Church is scandalized, that David Chalmers a man notoriously known unto his Majesty and Counsel, to be not only a professed enemy against the truth of religion, and plain practizer against it, but against his Ma^s authority & estate in all parts where he travelth, having also lying upon his head the vile bruit and common suspicion conceived (in the hearts of many upon no small & obscure presumptions) of the cruell and barbarous murder of the most Noble person of his Ma^s Father of good memory, Is so suddenly, and with so small account entred in favor, and received his Ma^s pacification, with Letters to dispossesse faithfull Ministers of their livings and possessions, no due satisfaction being made to the Church, a matter importing no less prejudice to his Mr^s noble estate, and that touching his Majesty in the hiest point of his honor: and therefore his Majesty would be moved to look wisely upon the consequents of this; and in consideration of this weighty grief would call back and suspend the effect and force of any thing granted unto him, and the charge given to his reposicion, untill that after just & lawfull tryall his innocency be agnosced, and the Church so much offended in his person, be satisfied; and the same satisfaction, to be returned unto his Majesty from the Church. 2. The young Laird of Fintry directed into this Country (as wee are surely informed) to practise with his Majesty and his lawfull Subjects, for overthrowing of religion by power of friends now in Court; and wheresoever he comes, plainly maintaines papistry, and under color of conference (which by all means he flyeth) doth great scandall in the Country. The third article is notoriously known. By the 4. Article is meant the King of France, the Duke of Guise and other Papists there; and also within the Country; as, the Earls of Huntley, Crawford and others. The Church is hurt in her priviledges & liberties, as will appear in the article, and as followes; tacks of the thirds of Hadingtoun and Santandrews are set to the Laird of Seagy: the Abbey of Arbroath to that Abbots young sone: and the Abbot of Newbole's sone is provided to that abbey. The 9. and 10. are known, as John Gairden is provided to the parsonage of Fordyce in the sixty year of God, and standes still titulare: the Kings Majesty hath ser in tack the frutes of that Benefice to Rob. Stuart of Todlaw, and command is given to the Lords of Session to grant Letters upon these tacks. Alexander Arbutnot is charged against the Acts of the Church, to continue in the Colledge of

Aberdien, Under pain of horning. The Ministers of the Chapter of Halirudhouse are charged by Letters of horning to subscribe a gift of pension to the Parson of Pennicook's wife and sone for their lyftimes, against the same Acts, &c. VII. The Act made Octob. 30. year 1576. concerning setting fines and tacks of Benefices and Church-livings, is ratified with this declaration, that under the said Act are and shalbe comprehended all pensions, factories and whatsoever disposition of a Benefice or any part thereof, without the consent of the Generall Assembly; And the disponsers thereof shall incur the penalty contained in the Act of July 2. year 1578.

VIII. The Synod of Lothian craves, that the Assembly take order with John Sportwood for setting a tack of his Benefice, without consent of the Assembly. It is ordained, that this particular be tryed by his own presbytery, and be reported unto the next assembly. IX. Ministers bearing with people going in pilgrimage unto wells hard by their houses, not only without reproof, but entertaining them in their houses; and who distribute the communion unto their flock, and communicate with such guilty persons, deserve deprivation. X. Because by reading profane authours in Schools, wherein many things are written directly contrary unto the grounds of religion, especially in the Philosophy of Aristotle, the youth being curious & insolent, do oft drink in erroneous & damnable opinions, and grounding them upon the brittle authority of these profane writers, do obstinately maintain their godless opinions in disputation and otherwise, to the great scandall of the simple: Regents and Teachers in Schools should vigilantly take heed, if any thing be written in the profane Authours against the grounds of religion, in teaching these, they shall note and mark the places, confute the errors, and admonish the youth, to eschue them as false; and namely in teaching philosophy to note these propositions following, as false and condemned by common vote of the Church;

1. *Omnis finis est opus aut operatio.* 2. *Civilis scientia est præstantissima, ejusque finis præstantissimus est summum hominis bonum.* 3. *Honestæ & justæ sunt res varia & inconstantia, adeo ut sola opinione consentiant.* 4. *Juvenes & rerum imperiti & in libidinem proclives ab audienda morum Philosophia arcendi.* 5. *Quod aliud ab aliis bonis & per se bonum est, & causa cur cætera per se bona sunt, non est summum bonum.* 6. *Dei agnitio nihil prodest artifici ad hoc, ut artes suas bene utatur.* 7. *Summum bonum vel minimi boni accessione augeri vel reddi potest opitabilius.* 8. *Pauper, deformis, orbis aut insans non potest esse beatus.* 9. *Bonum æternum bono unius diei non est magis bonum.* 10. *Felicitas est actio animi secundum virtutem.* 11. *Potest aliquis studio suo felicitatem comparare.* 12. *Homo in hac vita & esse & dici potest beatus.* 13. *Post hanc vitam nemo potest vel esse vel dici beatus, nisi propinquorum vel amicorum ratione.* 14. *Natura apti ad virtutem, eam agendo comparamus.* 15. *Virtus est habitus electivus in ea mediocritate positus, quam ratio prudentis præscribit.* 16. *Libera est nobis voluntas ad bene agendum.* 17. *Mundus est Physicè æternus.* 18. *Cæsus & fortuna locum habent in rebus naturalibus & humanis.* 19. *Res viles & inferiores non curat Dei providentia.* 20. *Animæ pars una vel etiam plures sunt mortales.* 21. *Et quæcunque hinc pendent vel necessariè sequuntur.* And if any shall be found to do contrary to this act, the censures of the Church shall proceed against him. And also that no Master or Regent, or any other assert or defend any of these propositions, nor with that addition, *Physicè, probabiliter*, or the like, Under the pain of the censure foresaid. XI. In Sess 16. His Ma^s answers were returned from Sterlin.

Philosophicall errors.

1. Understanding the first point to be meant of granting the benefit of pacification unto David Chalmers, his Master,

and knowing that man, to have been forfeited only for that common action of his being at the field of Langside (for which, pardon was granted to so many) he thought it no new or strange thing at the request of such as moved him, to grant unto him the same benefit, which many others had obtained; yet no way intending to spare the due punishment of him or any other, that may be charged or found guilty of the murder of his dearest Father, or that are or shall be adversaries to the religion, or impugnors thereof against the lawes; the execution of which he hath been, is and will be willing to further.

2. The second head being particularly mean'd of Fintry, his M. wisheth the assembly to remember, how he hath dealt in that matter, and what testimoniall the Church of Edinb. gave him: nor hath his Majesty hindered the proceedings of the Church against him, nor any other, but mindeth to hold hand thereunto according to the lawes. The third being meant of Wi. Holt an English man escaping out of the castle of Edinburgh, his Majesty hath answered the Queen's late Ambassador; and it is no strange thing to hear of a mans escaping: but what they understand by indirect means of letting him depart, his Majesty being specially informed thereof, will after due tryall see the offenders punished according to their deservings. The fourth head being very Generall, his Majesty thinks, the assembly will not judge it pertinent unto them, to have vote in chusing his servants, or to be too curious of the occasions of placing or removing them; nor of the intelligence twixt him and other Countries for entertaining Civill peace, from which no Princes or Common wealths abstain, though being diverse in religion. The 5. Head containing a generall complaint upon some specialls appearingly expressed in the matters following, his Majesty wisheth the Assembly, as they would be specially & directly answered, so to form their petitions forbearing particular exampls, to ground their generall propositions; and to remember that since he took the Government in his own person, moe good lawes have been made for advancement of the Church and true religion, then were before: and the defect of the execution hath not been his default. The sixth concerning the tack set to Seagy of certain victualls out of the *superplus* of the thirds, which he had before in pension, that is no new thing, nor any way prohibited: he could aswell content him with the pension as he had before, free of all paiement of duty: the necessary considerations moving to grant it, are well enough known to many: he is employd in publick service, wanting the living whereunto he is provided in title during his father's life, and his service is and may be necessary both to his Hi. and the Church. For any thing that may be thought omitted in the provision of Ministers serving at the Churches annexed to Abbeyes in the late disposition of them, that is well supplied by the Act of Parliament: The execution whereof is stayed these two years in their own default rather then any other way, whill they have been craving their assignations continued as before, and as yet have not answered his message sent by his Master of requests, unto the Assembly at Santandrews: Nevertheless his Ma. made choise of certain Barons and others of good qualification, known to be zealous to the furtherance of that good work, hoping to have had the assignations formed before the Assembly, but being uncertain of the time appointed thereunto, this year is doubtfull, if they come to Edinburgh: But if they come, his Maj. shall sent them direction to proceed, and also other things most needfull shall be resolved without delay. Concerning the giving of church-livings to children, and translating them to temporall Lordships, his Majesty considereth his own losse, and

him

and hinderance of his service there-in : Whatsoever abuse hath entred before he accepted the government, time and the approbations of these provisions by decreets of the Session, have brought the matter unto that estate, as it can be helped no other way, but by the Parliament : unto which when it shall be propounded, his Majesty shall hold hand to have all possible reformation thereof. The default of punishing vices mentioned in the. 9. head, and of the provision of the poor, and punishing vagabonds can not justly be imputed unto his Ma. who was ever willing to give commission unto such as the Ministers thought meetest to execute the same. The. 10. head being generall, his Majesty would be glad not only to have it explained, but to hear all good advices, that shalbe offered for reformation of that which may be found amiss, and how his lawes may have place, and justice administred to the confort & common benefit of all his good subjects. The 10. head is also very generall; as for that one exemple, the removing of the Principall of Aberdien to be Minister of Santandrews, his Majesty trusteth, the assembly will not think that matter (the substance being well considered) to be either so proper to the Church, or so improper unto the Civill estate, but that his Hi. and Counsell had good ground and reason to direct his Letters as he did, upon the generall respect of the north country, wherein none was prejudged, seeing there was no charge containing power to denounce at the first, but rather to do the thing required, or compeare, and show a cause in the contraty. *What is said before briefly of a processe against Pa. Adamson, is cleared by The Historical Narration*, that he had a long and filthy sicknes, and for curing it, he had sought help of a witch: and recovering health in some measure, hein a preaching before the King declared against the Lords, which lately had guarded the King, and against the Ministry: for which he was warned by the Presbytery of Santandrews, and the witch with whom he had consulted: and from the Presbytery the cause was brought before the Synod of Fife. In the Assembly the processe was found orderly deduced; and he had been warned by the Synod *apud acta*, to compear before the Generall assembly in October: for contumacy in not compearing, by the assembly he was suspended from the office of the Ministry; and it was appointed that farther tryall should be taken of his life and corrupt doctrine. But he, pretending that he was going to the well of Spae for his health, purchased from the K. security, that during his absence the church should not proceed against him, yet it was his purpose to stay in England, and there to seek the advice of the most corrupt sort, for the overthrow of disciplin in the Church of Scotland: for he thought that the surest course, to keep his Benefice. At that time the Civill estate was more and more troubled: for they, who in the convention of Estates Oct. 8. year 1582. were declared to have don good & necessary Service unto the K. and Country, and they with all their partakers were exonered of all action, that might be intended against them for what they had done at Ruthven; these [I say] after Arran's returning to Court were charged to enter into warde particularly designed unto them. This they obeyd not (except the Earle Auguise) and therefore were denounced rebels: and when harder course was intended against them, they fled, some to England, others to France, and some to Irland. The Ministers were not silent at this time. Among others John Dury said in a Sermon, As the blind man, whose eies Christ had opened, Joh. 9. when the the pharisees said, *Wee know this man to be a sinner*; did reply, *Whither he be a sinner, I know not, one thing I know, that though I was born blind, yet now I see*, So whatsoever sort of men these be, I knowe not; but this I know, that the Church

was miserably vexed and almost oppressed, but by their means it was delivered. For these words (likely otherwise delated) he was summoned, to compare before the Counsell: he stood to the defense of what he had spoken: and therefore he was confined in the town of Montros: soon after this the Min. there died, and the Church made choice of Jo. Dury to succeed; then the King gave him and his eldest son (enduring their lives) a pension of 200. pounds out of two Abbeys. There was more work with Andrew Melvin: in a Sermon as Santandr. he said, Daniel propoundes unto Baltazar the example of his grand father Nebuchadnezar: and so it is the duty of the Ministers of God, to lay before the Prince and people of their time, the examples of their ancestors, if need require: But in our time, if any would speake before the Court, what evill came unto James the fifth by familiarity of flatterers, that so the King would take heed of that kind of beasts, they will say, That preacher leaves his text; and possibly he shall be accused of treason. For these words he was charged to appeare before the Counsell: He appeares, and when worse words were layd unto his charge, he said, His doctrine in pulpit should first be tryed and judged by the Presbytery. He was bidden submit himselfe unto the King and Counsell: by no persuasion could he be induced to submit. The K. and Council as his lawfull Judges proceed to examine witnesses. He appeales unto the judgement of the Church, and saith, If the Church shall condem what he had spoken, he shall willingly suffer whatsoever torment shall be inflicted on his body. At eight a clock at night he is charged to enter as prisoner into the castle within twelve hours. In the morning Arran changeth his ward, and before seven a Messenger of armes chargeth him, to enter into Blacknes within 24. hours: at that time his friends said to him, They would take his life. Before mid-day he went away to Berwick. After this, summons were directed against Andrew Hay, Andrew Polwart, Patrick Galloway and Ja. Carmichael Ministers, to answer before the Counsell, for keeping correspondence with the rebels. An. Hay compares: nothing could be qualified against him: but upon suspicion he was confined in the north. The others for not comparing were denounced rebels, and fled into England.

1584.

The Current Parliament.

XXI. What Pa. Adamson did in England, we shall have a hint of anon: he returned in May, year 1584. by Act of Counsell a Parliament was appointed to sit May 22. Because there was no proclamation preceeding, they called it *A current Parliament*. The *Historicall Narration* saith, They who were privy to it, were of Arrans faction, or such as durst not oppose any thing: the Lords of the Articles were sworn, to be secrete: they had fyve Sessions in three daies: the doores were kept so close, that none of the Ministry could find access. Pa. Adamson and Ro. Montgomery sat as representing the third Estate, and gave votes (forsooth) to make themselves Bishops. The King and Parliament suspecting, that the Ministers of Edinb. would preach against their proceedings, sent a charge unto the Provost and Bailives, to pull the Ministers by force out of the pulpit, and commit them to prison, if they did so. What was done in the Parliament, appeares by the Acts: *Spotswood* hath the sum of them, saying, The King's authority over all persons, in all causes was confirmed; The declining of his Ma^s judgement, and the Councils, in whatsoever matter, declared to be treason; the impugning of the authority of the three Estates, or procuring the innovation or diminution of the power of any of them was inhibited under the same pain; All jurisdictions and judicatures, spirituall or temporall, not approved by his Higness and the three Estates were dis-
charged;

charged; and an ordinance was made, that none of whatsoever function, quality or degree shall presume, privatly or publickly, in Sermons, declamations or familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue, or slanderous speeches, to the reproach of his Majesty, his Counsell and proceedings, or to the dishonor, hurt, or prejudice of his Highness, his parents & progenitors, or to meddle with the affaires of his Hi. and Estate, under the paines in the Acts of Parliaments made against the makers & reporters of lies. While these statutes were in framing, the Ministers, who were informed thereof, sent David Lindsay to entreat the King, that nothing should passe in Act concerning the Church, till they were first heard. Arran getting intelligence of this, caused arrest him as one that kepted in telligence with England: and he was not permitted to come unto the King. The first night he was kept in Halirudhouse, and the next morning sent prisoner to Blackness, where he was detained 47 weeks. Ja. Lowson and Wa. Balcanquall Ministers of Edinburgh hearing that he was committed, fled into England, leaving a short writing behind them, to shew the reasons of their departing. So Edinburgh was left without any preacher. Ro. Pont Minister of S. Cutberts, and one of the Senators of the Colledge of justice, because of the misregarde of the Church [as he pretended] in concluding these Acts; when the Heralds were proclaiming them, took instruments in the hands of a Notary, of his dissenting, and that they were not obliged to give their obedience thereunto. Which done, he likewise fleeing, was denounced rebell, and put from the place in Session. Hereupon rumors being dispersed, that the King was enclined to Popery, had made diverse Acts to hinder the free passage of the Gospel, and abolish all order and policy of the Church; Command was given to form a brief Declaration of his Ma^y intention, and to publish it for detecting these false rumors. In this declaration the occasion that enforced the King to make these statutes were set down, as the allowance of the fact at Ruthven, by the Assembly of the Church; Andrew Melvins declining the King and Counsell; the fast kept [at Edinburgh] at the feasting of the French Ambassadors; generall fasts iadicted through the realm without the K^{is} knowledge; the usurping of ecclesiasticall jurisdiction by a number of Ministers & gentlemen; the alteration of the lawes at their pleasure, &c. And for satisfiying good people, strangers as well as subiects, concerning his Ma^y good affection towards religion, certain articles were penned and subjoined to that Declaration, to make it appeare, that his Majesty intended nothing but to have a settled policy established in the Church. But these things gave not much satisfaction, and were replied-unto in pamphlets, which day ly came forth against the Court and rulers of it. All this summer troubles continued, the Ministers being dayly called before the Counsell, and a great business made of their subscription to certain articles concerning their obedience unto the Bishops: they who refuse, had their stipends sequesterat: which caused a great out-crying among the people, and made the rebels to be the more favored. The King, to rid himselfe of these vexations, did call the principall Ministers and having shewd, that all his desire was to have the Church peaceably governed, he willed them to set down their reasons in writing, why they refuse subscription, that he may consider them, and satisfy their doubts. They chuse rather to propound the same by word, and after some conference were induced to subscribe the Articles, this clause being added, *agreeing with the word of God*. So far there. This clause gave occasion of contention: for the Ministers did,

declare, that they would be obedient unto the things that were commanded unto them according to the word of God; and in this sense they would obey the Kings command. But the adverse party took and expound it as an acknowledgement, that episcopall Jurisdiction was according to the word of God, because it was said, They submitted themselves unto episcopall jurisdiction in such things according to the word of God. The causes of deposition of Ministers not having vote in Parliament, were published in the Kings name; among these was one, the acceptation of the place of Judicature in whatsoever Civill or criminall causes, as being of the number of the Colledge of Justice, Commissary, Advocate, Court-clerke, Notary, the making of testaments only excepted; And, for not subscribing the band and obligation devised by act of Parliament for dutifull submission & fidelity to our Soverain Lord, and shew their obedience to their ordinary Bishop or Commissionare appointed by his Majesty to have the exercise of the spirituall jurisdiction in their diocye. So the power of jurisdiction was proper unto the King, and the exercise thereof was committed by him unto whom hee would; as I have seen his Patent committing unto John Erskin of Dun [who is there called, our *welbelovèd Clerk and our Commissioner in ecclesiasticall causes*] that exercise within the diocye of Brechin, Providing that his authority in any grave matter be limited and circumscribed to the counsell of threeteen of the most antient wise and godly pastors of the said diocye, to be elected forth of the wholl Synodall assembly and allowed by Us with answer of our Privy Counsell or the most part of them. And to make cleare the estate of the Church at that time, I adde the substance of an epistle written then by Andrew melvin unto Divines abroad, and is to be found in *Vindicat. Philadelph. pag. 54.* It hath pleased the Lord so to blesse the endeavours of his servants, that they have undertaken according to what is prescribed in his word, and to increase the Churches of Scotland with so great and so incredible felicity heretofore, of his singulare bountiffulness: But, alas! when wee do not answer unto so great and rare grace & bountiffulness of God toward us, with such thankfulness of hearts and performance of duties as became us; behold through a marvellous yet just judgement of God, Saran hath so blinded with ambition and avarice one thogh not of us, yet a Minister of the word among us, that forgetting (as one saith) *decorisq; sui, sociumq; salutis*, he continueth uncessantly to confound heaven and earth, and to disturb all things: for when he had deserted his flock, and without knowledge of the Church had crept into Court; when he had not only in a most wicked manner entred into that false episcopacy rising again out of hell, against which he had before foughten evermore, but also had taken that dominion, which he had in a Sermon and before a frequent Assembly after abjured, and by his subscription at severall times had renounced; when he had adioyned himselfe unto the sworn enemies of the Church and religion, in a base slavishness and most vile cause; when in doubtfull things, and desparing of his health he had not only advised with witches, and with tears begged their help And also had plotted with the Machiavilian Courtiers and the Pop's emissaries against the life of a very godly and religious man; for all which causes he feared the censures of the Church, to be discharged from the Office of preaching; he obtaines from his Royall Majesty a free Ambassage to go into other countries, under color of seeking health, but as experience teaches, to vex the Church And so at London he carrying himself as an Ambassador, had frequent consultations with

with the Ambassadors of France & Spain; and with the Bishops there (for he abode there, and intended not to go further) he traduced the best subjects as seditious & traitors, and was altogether taken up with counsells, by which the most learned and faithfullest preachers in both the Kingdoms, are compelled now to be altogether silent and leave the Ministry, or to provide themselves by flying & exile, or to suffer the inconveniencies of prison, or against Duty & conscience subscribe unto the ambitious tyranny of Bishops, and the impiety of many rites. From him came these Archiepiscopall Letters unto you and the brethren of Zurick, wherein by his cunning craft of faining and dissembling he chargeth us with false crimes, and accuseth the discipline of our Churches with many calumnies, albeit he know very well, and our conscience beare us witnes, that it was our wholl care, to ground our discipline upon the word of God so far as wee could. Wee assure you, that that good order of the Church, which Adamson did first craftily undermine, then openly impugne, and at last revile as Papall tyranny, as the mother of confusion and the cause of sedition, was from the beginning of abolishing popery, sought by our church out of the word of God, and thereafter was allowed by the suffrages of the wholl Church, and by degrees brought at last (as we were able) unto some measure of perfection, by the blessing of God, and three years since was approved, sealed and confirmed with profession of mouth, subscription of hand and religion of oath, by the King and every subject of every Estate particularly He hath perswaded the Kings Majesty and these Popish and Epicurean clients of Guisanes and Queen Mother, to cast presbyteries into the ground, to restore the tyranny of episcopacy, to attribute unto the King the sole command or (as they call it) absolute power in Ecclesiasticall affaires, and by their authority to decern the Sentences of excommunication pronounced lawfully by the Presbytery, to be null. Briefly they have committed all ecclesiasticall jurisdiction and power of governing the Church [next unto the King] unto these false Bishops who are either justly excommunicat or known to be flagitious. Among these the first place is given unto P. A. the prime adviser and instrument of all these counsells and plots. i. e. who enjoying that perpetual & Papall Dictature, doeth without any restraint and wonderfully oppresse the Ministers and all godly men: he doth present unto them these his sodered articles, or rather the blots of ecclesiasticall order which he hath lately sucked from the dregs of the Popish vessels sticking as yet in our neighbour country, and forceth by Royall authority, the Ministers to drink and subscribe them. *So far he* This houre of darknes (as it was called) continued nor long: behold how *The houre of Darknes.* God dispelled it. Bishop Spotswood informes this particulare, in this manner; Upon information, that Nicol Dagleish Minister at S. Cutberts did in his publick prayers remember the exiled brethren, he was called before the Counsell, and accused for praying for the King's rebels, and for keeping intelligence with them by Letters. He confesseth his prayer for the brethren, maintaining it to be lawfull, but he denied the intelligence; only he granted, that he had seen a Letter written by Mr Balcanquall to his wife, remembring him kindly. The King was offended with his answers, and commandeth his Advocat to pursue him criminally: which was done the next day. At his appearing before the Justice, when he had heard the indictment, he said, He should not be questioned for one and the same fact before two Judicatories, and having answered these points before the Counsell, he should not be put to it again. The Advocat replieth, The Coun-

fels proceeding takes not away the criminall Judge : and therefore he must answer : and he was commanded to answer advisedly, seing it concernes his life. He saith, If I must answer, I think not, that I have offended in praying for my brethren, who are in trouble: and if the concealing the Letters which I saw, be a fault, I submit my selfe to his Ma^s will. The Jury proceedes, and declares him guilty of treason: yet the Sentence was continued, and he was sent to prison in the *Tolbuth*, where he remained some months, and in end upon his supplicatton was pardoned. In the same Court David Hume of Argathy and his brother Patrick were condemned to death for keeping intelligence with the Commendator of Dryburgh, and in the after noon were executed: yer was it no matter of State, but some private accounts undischarged before his going out of the country, wherein they had interchanged one or two Letters. This severity was universally disliked: but that which ensued, was much more hatefull. To breed a terror in people, and to cause them abstain from communicating in any sort with the exiled Lords, a Proclamation was made, That who shall discover any person offending in that kind, shall besides his own pardon, receive a speciall reward. Upon this, one Robert Hamilton of Eglishmachan delateth Malcolm douglas of Mains and John cuningham of Drumwhasill, for having conspired to intercept the King at hunting, and detain him in some strong hold till the Lords might come, and receive him. A meer forgery it was, yet gladly hearkned unto by them that desired to be rid of them: they were both gentle men of good respect, and mistrusted of the Court. They were brought vvithout resistance to Edinburgh: February 9. they vv ere presented to Justice. When Main's indictment vv as read, he denied all, and so cleared himself by the unlikelyhood, and their impossibility to compasse a business of that importance, to all there present, that in their hearts they did pronounce him iunocent. Neverthelesse they vv ere declared guilty of treason, and the same day hanged in the publick strier of Edinburg. Hamilton the delator was afterwards killed in the park of Sterlin. These cruell proceedings caused a generall fear, that all familiar society was in a manner left off, none knowing to whom he might lavelly speak. Arran in the mean time went on, drawing into his hands the wholl managing of affairs: for he would be sole and supreme over all. He was Chancellor. The castls of Edinburgh & Sterlin he had in custody: then made himself Provest of the Town : as if all this had not been enough, he was declared Generall Lieutenant over all the kingdom. In a word, whatsoever he pleased, was done, and without him nothing could be done. This stirred up great emulation against him in Court. The Master of Gray a great favorite at that time [*and professed Papist*] took it disdainfully, that every thing was governed by him [*there be moe particulars there, which I passe over*] Arran careth not what enmity he draw upon him. The Earle of Athol, the Lord Hume, and Master of Cassils were committed to prison; the first, because he refused to divorce from his wife (a daughter of the Earle of Gowrie) and entaile his lands to him; the next for that he denied him his part of the lands of Dirltoun; and the third for denying him a loan of some moneys, which it was thought he might spare. Then he falleth out with the Lord Maxwell for excambion of his heritage with the Barony of Kinnuell, which Arran possessed by the forfeiture of the Hamiltons: but Maxwell would not exchange with a new and uncertain purchase. For this cause Arran intends a quarrell against him, and causeth denounce him rebell,

bell, and they gather forces the one against the other. *I shew but the sum.* In the mean time Sir John Forrester and Thomas Ker of Farnherst Wardens of the Midd Marches convening for restoring some goodstaken from the English, a tumult hapneth, wherein Sir Francis Russell son to the Earle of Bedford was killed: this was layd upon Farnherst and he was said to have done it by Arrans instigation: for these two were in great friendship. The Queen craves, that Farnherst be delivered: Arran strongly opposeth. The Queen had called the exiled Lords south ward; and upon this accident gave them licence to return unto the Borders. The king for satisfaction of the Queen confineth Arran in Santandrews, and the other in Aberdien where he died; but Arran was restored. In July was a league offensive and defensive contracted betwixt the two kingdoms in the cause of religion: for then was discovered the *Holy league* as they called it, which the Pope had made with the Princes to extirpat the Reformed religion: *Q. Elisabet* understanding herselfe to be principally aimed at, thought nothing better, than to make a counter-league with the Reformed Princes: to that effect she sent one to the King of Denmark and Princes of Germany, and another unto King James: the motion did well please the Estates of Scotland convening at Santandrews. *Here the Bishop omittes*, that the pest was raging in Edinburgh and other chieftownes, and then the people cried out, that the Lord's hand would not be stayd, till the banished Lords and Ministers were returned: whereupon their friends advertised them, to draw near unto the borders: and these that were exiled before for other causes, joyned with them, and so did Maxwell. They appoint their rendezvous at Lintoun, and meeting there did solemnly swear, that they shall not separate, nor give over the prosecution of their enterprize, untill the King be moved to accept them in favor, and put Arran out of his company. To justify their proceedings, they gave forth a Proclamation, shewing their aimes to be the defence of the truth, the deliverance of the King from corrupt Counsellors, and the preserving of amity with England. In this proclamation they especially endeavoure to make Arran odious, and they named Col. Stuart as an abuser of the King: of other Counsellors was no mention; which encreaseth Arrans jealousie against them. They came to Falkirk, and understanding, that there was no great company with the King at Sterlin, they draw near it October 31. that night Arran and Crawford kept the town-gate: but the Lords entred by a secret passage without resistance: a cry was raised, The town is taken. Crawford flyeth to the Castle, and Arran escapes by the bridge. So soon as the King understood of their humble petitions by the Secretary and Justice-Clerk, he said, I did never love that mans violence [towit, Arran] and howbeit I can not but offend with their doings, yet for the Countries sake and for publick quietness I can pardon all: but one thing I desire you to look unto, that none in my company receive any harm: I know there be quarrells betwixt Crawford and Glammes, betwixt Anguise & Montrose and I believe that Col. Stuart is not well beloved: with my honor I can not permit these to be hurt: provide that these be in safety, and I shall willingly admit them. This was reported unto the Lords: they reply, they had not taken arms for any privat quarrell, nor would they mixe particulars with the publick, but it were good for eschuing inconvenients, that the Noble men, whom the King had named, were put in custody of speciall persons, and the Colonell be discharged from his office of the garde, and the same be conferred on another. This was declared unto

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the King, and he consented to receive them. Two dayes thereafter the King renewes his promise unto them, and confirms it by Act of Counsell, and proclames a Parliament to be held at Lithgow in December for rati-
fying the same. Ministers repaire from all parts to Lithgow a litle before the beginning of the Parliament, and sought abrogation of the late Acts against the discipline. The King would not hear of it, and the exiled Lords said, It was not expedient to medle in that matter at that time : they must first be settled in their estates, and afterwards they may prevail with the King. The King also willed them, to set down in write, what exceptions they had against these Acts. They did offer their animadversions with a supplication, wherein they crave the Ministers to be restored to their former possession aswell of the disciplin as of their places. The King took paines to penn with his own hand a mitigation of these Acts, in this manner (*as I found among the Tapers of John Erskin.*) That the word of God be truly and sincerely preached, as before; That all proceſs of excommunications shall proceed as before; The Generall Assembly shall be only convocate by the kings Letters; That the Ministers shall not proclame a fast before they shew the causes unto the King; That all Bishops nominat by the kings Majesty shall be tryed and admitted by the Gen. assembly; That all sects and heresiess shall be tryed by the Church, and as the persons shall be found culpable, the King shall execute justice. When the king delivered these, he said, These shall bee als good and sufficient as an Act of Parliament. But the Ministers were not contented with these, and the full determination was remitted unto the next Generall Assembly, which then was called to convene at Edinburgh in May following.

1586.
The 47.
Assembly.

X XII. Some thing was done in the Spring, but it will be mentioned in the Assembly: which convened May 10. in Edinburgh: After Sermon had by Robert Pont, the Lord of Privy Seal and Mr Peter young (being directed from the King) shew, that his Majesty is taken up with great affaires, so that he can not give his presence for that day; and therefore craves, that all the brethren would repair after noon unto the great chapell in the Abbey, where he shall propound his minde unto them; and to delay the election of the Moderator untill that time. All the brethren do consent upon condition, It shall not prejudice the liberty of the Assembly in any way. The Commissioners declare, that they know no prejudice intended. After noon they convene in that place: the king declares, why he had desired them to convene there: then prayer being make by Robert Pont, David Lindsay is chosen Moderator. The King appoints the Lords Secretary, Justice-Clerk, Privy-Seale, John Graham, L. Culros and Peter young to reason and advise with the Moderator and Assessors on matters mutually to be propounded; and then for any two or three of them, to concur with the Assembly, as his Commissioners. The next day they return to the ordinary place. I. Two Ministers being directed unto the king, to solícite the redeliverance of the Assembly's Register, bring answer, that they shall be directed unto the Clerk every day, but at night they shall be in the hands of the Privy-Seall, enduring the Assembly, and before the closing he will be personally present. II. The places for convening of Presbyteries are named through out all the kingdom; and Commissioners are appointed to desigune the Churches in every Presbytery. Their advice was returned in the last Session. III. The Synodal assemblies are appointed, to convene the first tuesday of October next: and the places are named, and thereafter every Synod is left to their own option of time

time and place. IV. David Cuninghame Bishop of Aberdien is ordained, to be summoned before the Presbytery of Glascow for adultery with Elifaber Sutherland. V. The Articles of the Conference held in February between the Deputies of the Counsell and some Ministers called together by the King, were propounded in the privy Conference, to be examined by the Kings Commissioners & the Moderator with the Assessors: and they report agreement. 1. That none shall vote in the Assembly but such as the Scripture appoints Governors of the Church. 2. There are four ordinary Offices warranted by the Scripture, to wit, Pastors, Doctors, Elders and deacons; and the name of a Bishop should not be taken, as it hath been in Papiſtry, but is common to all Pastors or Ministers. 3. It is lawfull and necessary at this time, that Visitation and the form thereof continue; and other circumstances to be considered here after, &c. In *Seſſ.* 7. some were appointed to confer with the Kings Commissioners, upon the circumstances. And in the same *Seſſ.* the Kings Commissioners crave the resolution of the wholl Assembly, Whither they will accept Bishops, as they were circumscribed in the abovenamed Conference, or if they will refuse? Answer is delayd untill the next day, that all the Conference be publickly read. and immediatly it is voted and concluded, that a Bishop is a speciall charge, and fundion annexed to it by the word of God, even the same, that an ordinary pastor is. In *Seſſ.* 9. after reasoning it was concluded, It is lawfull to the Gen. Assembly, to admit a Pastor, Bishop or Minister having a Benefice, and presented by the King unto it; Also that Visitation may bein the person of a Pastor; and that the Gen. Assembly may send a man with such as the Presbytery shall adioyn unto him in Visitation. In *Seſſ.* 10. after conference had (as said is) the wholl Assembly declares, that by the name of a Bishop, they meane only such a Bishop as is described by Paul; and in this sense they agree with the third Article of that Conference. 4. It is agreed on the fourth article, that a Bishop may be appointed by the Gen. assembly, to visite certain bounds, that shall be designed unto him, and in Visitation he shall proceed by the advice of the Synodall assembly or such as they shall adioyn unto him. 5. In receiving of presentations, and giving Collation to Benefices he shall proceed by the advice and vote of the Presbytery, where the Benefice lyeth, at least of the most part of the Presbytery and of the Assessors, that shall be adjoined unto him, Untill the time the Presbyteries be better established, and the gener. Church take further order: And those assessors at the first time shall be named by the G. Ass. 6. In *Seſſ.* 11. He shall be subject in respect he is a Pastor, as other Pastors are, to be tryed in his life and doctrine, by the Presbytery or the Synodall Assembly; and because he hath commission from the G. Assembly, in that respect he is to be tryed by them. 7. If he admit or deprive without the consent of the most part of the Presbytery, the deed shall be null, and the doing thereof shall be a sufficient cause of deprivation of him. 8. His power is to be *ordinis causa, non jurisdictionis*. 9. Where they that shall be so called Bishops, may not undertake the wholl bounds that of old was called a Diocye, Commissioners shall be presented by his Ma. unto the Gen. assembly, and admitted by them thereunto as the saids Bishops are to theirs, and to be countable only unto the said assembly for their commission; And the Bishop to have no power within their bounds, more than they have within his boundes. 10. The Commissioners being elected as said is, have a like counsell and power, in the execution of their office, as the Bishops have. 11. The Commissioners appointed to visit presbyteries or their particular Churches as the the presbyteries or Synods shall

Some
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think good, shall not prejudice the Presbyterie's peculiar Visitation. 12. The same causes of life and doctrine shall deprive a Bishop or Commissioner, that deprives a Minister. The 13. article is agreed. The Commissioners from his Majesty do protest, that in respect the assembly hath cast down, what was required in the Conference at Halirudhouse nothing done either in that Conference, or in this assembly, have any force or effect, and namely, that they have subjected the Bishops unto the tryall and censure of the Presbyteries & Synods. Because of this protestation the assembly immediately directes Ja. Martine, Ro. pont and Pa. Galloway to inform his Ma. concerning this matter. In *seff.* 12. these brethren report, that his Majesty will not agree, that Bishops and Commissioners shall be otherways tryed, than by the Generall Assembly. The assembly, judgeth it expedient in respect of the time, that albeit it be reasonable, that the tryall and censure of all Pastors should be in the Presbyteries, where they remain, nevertheless that the tryall and censure of such Pastors, as the Generall Assembly shall give commission unto, to Visite, shall be in the hands of the said Assembly, or such as they shall depute, Untill farther order be taken by the Gen. assembly. Unto this ordinance the Kings Commissioners do consent, and so passe from their former protestation. 14. The Commissioners that before have received commission of Visitation, shall continue in that charge for a year to come, and thereafter as the Assembly shall judge expedient. 15. In *seff.* 18. The Generall assembly gives full power & commission unto certain brethren of every Province, to summon before them *respectively*, at such day and place, as they shall think expedient, the Bishops and commissioners, if they find occasion of slander to arise by them in doctrine, life or conversation at any time before the next Generall assembly; and to try and take probation thereof, lead and deduce process against them unto the Sentence *Exclusive*, Remitting the final judgement therein unto the Gen. assembly. 16. It is agreed, that where Bishops & Commissioners make their residences they shall be Moderators in these presbyteries, except Fife, where by his Mas advice Robert Wilkie is continued Moderator of the presbytery of Santandrews untill the next Synod. VI. In *seff.* 7. The Lord Maxwell compeares, and declares that at his Ma^t command he now appeares before the Assembly, as he had given caution before the Counsell, that he should compear before them this day: and in respect of his obedience he protestes, that his cautioner should be free: he takes instrument upon his appearance and protestation. The Assembly know not the cause of his compearance, nor had any information from his Majesty, therefore they order him to be present the next day after noon; and they aske the kings Commissioners, what the cause is. The kings Commissioners do protest, that Maxwell's Cautioner should not be free, untill they return his Majest. mind unto the Assembly. In *seff.* 8. Compeares the Earle of Morton, the Lord Maxwell and some others; Maxwell was accused for hearing Masse. The Act of the Privy Counsell was read for information of the Assembly. Maxwell answered, For his transgression he had answered the kings Law: and he craves conference of learned men, concerning the religion. Certain brethren were appointed to inform him. VII. In *seff.* 13. Concerning an appellation made by Pa. Adamson from the process and Sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the Synod of Fife, Pa. Galloway and John Duncanson had been directed, to see whether the king thought good, that certain of his Counsell shall be appointed with certain brethren to be

named

Sentence
against P.
Adamson
not exami-
ned, yet
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and why?

named by the assembly, to consider that process and appellation, before it be brought to the publick judgement of the assembly. His Ma^y answer is reported, that he is willing, it be so. In *Seff.* 16. They who were appointed, to consider that process begin to report their advice. So many of the Ministers of Fife as were present, were bidden to remove. These do protest, that the assembly should proceed in that matter formally, and tak-in the appellation and the process; hear the alledging of the appellant, and their answers; (and they offer themselves ready to answer) and accordingly to proceed and judge; and otherwise, that howsoever that action shall be judged, it shall be no prejudice to their process and Sentence, nor unto the Churches of Scotland. These are removed. The brethten of the Assembly do for the most part vote, that it is not expedient to enter into the rigorous discussing of that appellation and process, but a midst to be taken in it, as it was propounded, and publickly read: whereof the tenor is; If the Bishop by his hand-writ or personall compearance in the Assembly, will (professing in the presence of God) deny, that he ever did publickly professe, or mean in any way to exercise a supremacy, or to be Judge of other Pastors or Ministers, or ever allowed the same to have a ground in Gods word; and if he had so done, it had been an error and against his conscience and knowledge. 2. If hee will deny, that in the last Synod he sought to be Judge thereof; or if he did that, in that he had erred, and in that imperious behavior & contempt of the Synod and his brethren; he shall crave that it may be overpassed, and promise good behavior in time coming. 3. If he will promise, that he shall take upon him no further power than he may justly by Gods word, and according to the late Conference, and endeavour in all respects to shew himselfe in all time coming a moderate Pastor, and so far as he may, be a Bishop prescribed by Paul, and submit his life & doctrine unto the judgement & censure of the Generall assembly, without any reclamation, provocation or appellation from it in any time coming; in that case for his Ma^y satisfaction, and to give testimony with what good will wee would obey his Majesty so far as wee ought, or in conscience may, and for the good assurance wee have of his Ma^y favorable concurrence in building the house of God, and for quietnes to continue in the Church of God within this realm; And because the process of excommunication was led, and the sentence pronounced, during the time of the conference, whereupon his Ma. hath taken occasion of offence, which for many good causes were convenient to be removed; wee will forbear to examin the said process, or to decide whatsoever provocation or appellation; or call into doubt the legality or form of the said process, or condemn the Synod; yet for the respects foresaids and upon good and weighty consideration, wee hold the said process as unled or undeduced, and the Sentence as unpronounced, and repon the said Bishop in all respects, so far as may concern the said process & Sentence of excommunication, into the former estate he was in, immediatly before the same, as if no process or sentence had been led or deduced against him; Providing always, he observe what hath been promised by himselfe, dutifully in his vocation in all time coming In *Seff.* 17. Andrew hunter, a Minister, made protestation publickly, as followes, Scing the Provinciaall Assembly of the church of God gathered in his name at Santand. Aprile 12. 1586. for manifest crimes; upon contumacy, hath justly and formally according to the word of God and sincere custom of the Church of God, excommunicated Patrik adamson; And that in this assembly they take on them to absolve the said Patrick from the

said Sentence, the process not being tryed nor heard in publick. the person excommunicat declaring no signe of true repentance, nor craving the absolution by himselfe nor his proctors, before the very time wherein they absolve him; He therefore for his part and in the name of all other true brethren and Christians, who will be participant hereof, taketh God to record of the dealing of that Provinciaall and this Generall Assembly, and protestes before the Almighty God, his holy Angels and Saints here convened, that he hath no assurance in Gods word, or of conscience, to assent, allow or approve this absolution. And therefore untill the time he perceive the mans conversion to be true & effectuell, he can not but hold him a man justly delivered to Satan, notwithstanding the said absolution; And this his protestation subscribed with his hand, he craves to be registred *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*; And there-with gave in the speciall reasons moving him here unto, premitted to the said protestation made. Andrew Melvin and Thomas Buchanan do adhere unto this protestation made. Patrick Adamson had subscribed the conditions propounded by the Assembly, at Halyrud house May 20. 1586. with his declaration thereupon: for the which cause the Assembly did absolve him: and for these causes as they be contained in the said proposition at length, they declare as is before. In *Seff.* 18. concerning the excommunication of Ja. Melvin Minister at Kilrinnny and some other brethren of Fife, by Patrick Hamiltoun and Samuell Cunningham, The Assemb. ordaines the Presbytery of Santand. to take tryall in that matter, and put order to the same according to the quality of the offense. VIII. In *Seff.* 17. All Ministers are exhorted and admonished to judge charitably of others, albeit there be diversity of opinions and votes, remitting every man to God and his own conscience, and that none publickly or in pulpit quarrell or impugne the determination of the G. Ass. concerning the appellation from the Sentence of the Synod of Fife. IX. In *Seff.* 16. Articles were read, and ordained to be presented unto, and craved of his Majesty. It may please your Maj. to take some substantiall order, how the Country may without delay be purged of the pestiferous Sect of the Jesuits, specially of those who for their friendship in the North are highly authorized: albeit they have been summoned to underly the law, and an assise was summoned for that effect: yet their non-compearance is dispensed with, and they go through the Country freely, meaning nothing lesse, than to depart, and Jesuites repair unto them a new out of the South and out of France. 2. Seing Papistry abounds in the North for the want of qualified Ministers there, and this is partly for lack of sufficient provision & stipends: therefore assignations would be made unto them conform unto the Ministry in the South: and let not the thirds there be assigned unto the churches of the South, untill their own churches be first provided sufficiently, and such as have been otherwise provided, be discharged. 3. That Judges may be appointed in all Shyres, for executing the Acts of Parliament, made against the breakers of the Sabbath, adulterers and such open transgressors of the Lawes. 4. That in chief Burrowes there be teaching ordinarily four times in the week: and seing moreover the disciplin, visitation of the sick and other busines are ordinary to Pastors, therefore let two Ministers be appointed unto such Townes. 5. That order be taken, how Colledge-churches may be served. 6. That order may be taken for Manse and gleebes unto Ministers making residence at Abbey-churches; as also that such as have or shall have Manse and gleeb, may have necessities thereunto, towit, fuell, pasturage, seall and devat, as was of old. 7. That all gifts

of Benefices having the cure of souls, and have been disposed by your Ma. *pleno jure*, and not qualified persons presented unto them with ordinary tryall and Collation following thereupon; May be declared null, according to the Lawes already made; and that your Ma. would give now presentations unto qualified persons; and the nullity of the former gift be discussed alswell by way of exception as of action. 8. That all presentations or gifts of Benefices of cure less than prelaties disposed alswell by your Majesty as by laick patrons not allowable by the municipall law of the realm, and form observed in the Reformed Church here since your Ma. coronation; may be annulled, and new presentations granted, as in the former. 9. That all Collations, granted by men having no Commission nor ecclesiasticall function in the Church, nor in that place & country at the time of giving the Collation, Be declared null, and the fruits be sequestred at the least, untill the person claiming right by that Collation, be anew examined and admitted, if he be found worthy by them who shall be appointed for that effect, and authorized by this present assembly. 10. That the Benefices of cure (under prelaties) whereunto Ministers are admitted, may be free from payment of first fruits and fifty penny, and may have their signatures of presentation expd by the Privy Seal on your Ma. own subscription only and the Secretarie's, without any payment or cautioner made to the Treasuter; and these poor men, which have already paid or found caution, for payment whereof the Treasuter hath not already charged himselfe in his accountps, may have the same refounded or discharged. 11. Seeing the fault of not depriving unworthy, culpable and no-resident Ministers proceeds from that, sundry of the Bishops have been negligent; and in some other parts there was no Bishop nor Commissioner, and so the Acts are not execut; therefore a Commission be given to some qualified persons, Ministers, to sit in Edinburgh and call the Non-residents and others worthy of deprivation, and deprive them, So that there may be consultation of learned men, and the process may be led without fear or boast. 12. It is heavily complained by many poor Ministers having parsonages and vicarages assigned unto them, that they are exorbitantly used in taxations albeit their Benefices be long since decayed by the want of *corps presents*, *up most cloathes*, *pasch-fines*, *offerings*, and such things usually paid in time of Papistry, which was the greatest part of these Benefices, and yet they must pay the extremity of the old taxation: and the most part of the Prelacies are excoemed from preaching or Service in the Church, and have relieff off the fuars and vassalls: that therefore there may be some more equitable order of taxation appointed in time coming. 13. That it will please his Majesty to cause consider what prelaties have vaiked, since the Act of Parliament made in Octob. 1581. and that speciall assignation be made for sustaining Ministers of the churches belonging to them, out of the readiest fruits of these churches; or the provision to be declared null, according to the Act. 14. That the Bishops or Commissioners of Argyle and the Isles may be tied, to attend on the Generall assemblies, and to keep theyr Exercise and Synodall assemblies, as in other parts, which shall be a furtherance unto your Ma. obedience, seeing otherwise, they seem as excoemed out of your Dominion. 15. That your Ma. will give direction unto some persons of experience and good will, to search, enquire & try the true estate of the rentalls of all prelaties and other Benefices at this present, and in whose fault or by what occasion they are so hurt and dismembred; and thereafter the best remedies may be considered and

(yyyyy)

provided

provided to help them, for the good als well of the King as of the Church. 16. That your Majesty will cause the Lords of Session declare, whither your Majesty or the Earle of Orknay have right to the patronages of the Benefices of Orknay and Yetland, to the end, that titles of Benefices conferred to Ministers be not ever in danger of annulling upon uncertainty of the right of the patronage. 17. That no persons or stipends be put in the books of modification, but only such as the Commissioners of the Church shall declare, to be qualified and resident at their churches. 18. That vicarages, pensions and salaries, when they vaik after the decease or deprivation of the present possessor, may accrease and bejoynd to the principall Benefice, and be assigned to the Minister in his stipend. 19. That all Readers heretofore provided to vicarages or stipends, may still possess the same, untill their decease or deprivation; and none to be admitted to the title of any Benefice of cure or stipend in the book of modification in time coming but qualified Ministers. 20. That the wholl rents of the Benefices of cure under prelaties, that are disposed since your Ma^s coronation, may be assigned wholly, and allowed unto them in their stipends. 21. That the judgement of all causes concerning the deprivation of Ministers from their Benefice in the second instance, shall come by way of appealation unto the Generall assembly, and there take finall end, and not before the Lords of Session by way of reducing. X. In *sess*. 18. the brethren directed unto the King with certain Articles, craving publick resolution, report his Ma^s answer, that in all the Heads he found little difficulty, and hath agreed unto them. I. That there be a Generall Assembly once every year, and after *pro re nata*. II. Concerning Provinciaall Synods.

The power of
Provinciaall Assemblies.

1. these are constitut for weighty matters necessary to be treated by mutuall consent and assistance of Brethren within the Province, as need requires. 2. This Assembly hath power, to handle, order and redress all things done amisse or omitted in the particular assemblies. 3. It hath power to depose the office-bearers of that Province, for just and good causes deserving deprivation. His Majesty agreed not to this, but in this manner of addition, Except Bishops and Commissioners. 4. And generally these Assemblies have the wholl power of the particular Eldershops or presbyteries, whereof they are collected. III. Concerning Presbyteries.

The power of
Presbyteries.

1. The power of a Presbytery is to give diligent labours in their own bounds, that the churches be kept in good order, to enquire diligently of naughty & ungodly persons, and travell to bring them into the way again by admonition and threatning of Gods judgement, or by correction. 2. It appertaines to them to take heed, that the word of God be purely preached within their bounds: the Sacraments rightly administered: the disciplin maintained, and the church-goods incorruptly distributed. 3. It belongs unto them, to cause the ordinances made by the Assemblies Provinciaall and Generall, to be observed and put execution. 4. To make constitutions, which concern to *prepos* in the Church, or good order for their particular churches: Providing, that they change no rule, made by the Provinciaall or Gener. assemblies: and that they shew unto the Provinciaall the rules which they make: and to abolish constitutions tending to the hurt of these churches. 5. It hath power to excommunicate the obstinat. His Majesty agrieth in this manner, It hath power to excommunicat the obstinat, formall process being led, and due intervall of time. 6. Faults to be censured in the presbytery are heresy papistry, idolatry, witchcraft, consulters with witches, contempt of the word, not

not resorting to hear the word, continuance in blasphemy against God and his truth, perjury, fornication, drunkenness; these things for the present, and more, when order shall be taken in the Conference. IV. Particular Churches, if they be lawfully ruled by a sufficient Minister and Session, have power of jurisdiction in their own congregation in matters ecclesiasticall to take order therewith; and what things they cannot conveniently decide, to bring them unto the Presbytery. XI. Commissioners are appointed to present unto his Majesty and Counsell the humble petitions, complaints, Articles and Heads delivered to them, and humbly to crave his Majesty's answers thereunto; To treat, conferr, reason thereupon, and upon such heads and articles as shall be propounded unto them by his Majesty or his Commissioners, and what herein shall be done, to report unto the Assembly. *For clearing what is here, I will only adde from The Historical Narration*, that the Synod of Eife did cut off Pa. Adamson as a rotten member not only for the notoriety of offenses, for which he was suspected before, but likewise for impugning the settled order of Generall assemblies and presbyteries, for contempt of the Synod, and for other notorious slanders, whereof he was to be accused, but refused to underly the tryall. The next day after the Sentence pronounced against him, two of the Bishops servants went to the church of the city at time of publick prayer (as the custome was then evening and morning on the days, when there was no Sermon) and without any citation or process caused Samuel Cuninghame Reader pronounce the Sentence of excommunication against And. Melvin, James Melvin, and some others, who (he thought) had been most forward against the Bishop. Wee see in the last Session of this Assembly the censure and tryall of this fact was remitted unto the Presbytery: I have not read, what was done in the matter: but I knew the man, and that he could never be admitted unto the Ministry (though he often suited it) untill another change came into the Church, and then he was promoted by a Bishop into an obscure charge, and was hatefull all his days, and durst scarcely appear in a presbytery. The bare narration of the proceedings of this Assembly as they be extracted out of the Assemblies books, confute the perverse imputations and slanders of the contrarily minded. The rest of that year, the King was taken up partly with settling some troubles in himselfe and Kentyre; and partly in the Articles of a League with England; and immediately thereafter with a process that was intended and went on against his mother. This last purpose was occasion of some variance betwixt the King and the Ministers of Edinburgh. For

The power of Church-Sessions or Counsels.

X X I I I. In January of the year 1587. the King hearing that the death of his mother was determined, gave order unto the Ministers, to pray for her. The adversaries of the Church-discipline say, The Ministers denied it absolutely: and they call that denyall a barbarous inhumanity. *But Vindicia Thiladelp Pag. 56.* shew, that the Papists were plotting the destruction of Queen Elisabeth, nor was Queen Mary free of these plots; (and by that means the ruin of religion was intended) and the Ministers of Edinburgh answered unto the King, that they would pray for the salvation of her soul; but they could not pray against her punishment, if she had deserved; and in that case his Majesty should rather give God thanks, because they understood, that both his person and the Church would be delivered from imminent danger. For whosoever trespasseth against the publick, no man should preferre his particular interest unto publick duty. This answer did not satisfy the King: he did appoint the third of February for solem prayers,

The 48.
Assembly.

to be made in behalf of his mother, and commanded Pat. Adamson to preach that day. John Couper a young man was set up in the pulpit, before the Bishop came. The King seeing him, said, That place was appointed at this time for another, but seeing you are there, if you will obey the charge, and pray for my mother, you shall go on. He replied, He will do as the Spirit of God shall direct him. Whereupon he was commanded to leave the place; and because he made no haste, the Captain of the Guard went, and pulled him out; and he burst out into unreverent speeches. Then the Bishop went up. In the after-noon the young man was called before the Counsell; where Wi. Watson Minister accompanying him, for offensive speeches, the two were discharged from preaching in Edinburgh during his Ma^s pleasure, and Couper was sent prisoner to Blacknes. The Assembly convenes at Edinburgh June 20. Andrew Melvin is chosen Moderator. I. Two Ministers being directed unto the King, to sue his Ma^s presence, report, that he had named the Lord Secretary and Justice-Clerk to be present and concur: and they had promised to be present, as their opportunity could serve, yet willing, that the Assembly according to his Ma^s mind do treat (before any other thing) of John Cowper's cause; and nevertheless after some reasoning were content, it be delayd till the next day, and that the brethren of the Conference shall consider it. II. His Ma^s Commissioners offer their concurrence, to the recovery of the Assembly's books, if it may be known in whose hands they are. The Moderator craves, that if any can give light in this matter, they would shew it, and namely Pa. Galloway, who was directed by the last Assembly unto the King to seek the delivery of the Register: he answereth, that his Majesty promised, to deliver them. John Brand declares, that at the last Assembly in his house Pa. Adamson in presence of David Ferguson said, he knew where they were, and at the Kings command he would cause deliver them. It was also testified by Jo. Dury, that he heard Pa. Adamson grant, that he had them. After these testifications the Assembly concluded, that Pa. Adamson shall be charged to deliver the books: yet for the better advice. David Lindsay was directed unto the Lord Secretary; and returning with his answer, thought meet, a Supplication be given unto the LL. of Counsell, to grant a charge against Pa. Adamson for restitution of the books; and that the assembly also should use their power. So a supplication is ordained to be penned, and be presented the next day; and a citation is sent to charge him, to deliver the books within three days unto the Clerk; and also to compare personally within that space, to answer for his absence from the Assembly, and to other accusations, that shall be layd unto his charge, Under the pain of the censure of the Church. In *Sess.* 4. it was thought expedient, that before the ordinance (made yesterday) be put to execution against Pa. Adamson, an humble supplication be made unto the King for that effect: and two brethren are sent with it. In *Sess.* 6. the Kings Commissioners being present, thought meet because the business with Pa. Adamson is civil, wherein the King hath interest, that he be acquainted with it. This the assembly is willing to do. In *Sess.* 15. A Letter being directed by John Duncanson, bearing the Kings command unto the Bishop, to redeliver the books, at the least four of them, and that George young was stayd whill the books were delivered, The assembly directeth Ja. Nicolson and Ale. Raweson unto the L. Secretary, to cause deliver them; and after their direction, and reiterated direction of two other bretheren, George young brought into the assembly five volumes of the Register, whereof

whereof a great part was torn, and after sight thereof, the assembly ordaines a heavy regrave to be made unto his Majesty, lamenting the mutilation of the books, and to crave, that they may remain with the Church as their own register. The Lord Secretary answered, that his Ma^s will is, that he may have the inspection of them, when he shall have occasion; and he shall presently give them back again- III. In *Seff. 4.* Because an offense conceived by the King against John Cowper and James Gibson hath been shewd privatly unto the Moderator, It was thought expedient by the Assembly, that the cause be first privatly considered by John Erskin of Dun and sixe other Ministers (whom the Assembly nameth) to confer there-upon with the parties, if they can give satisfaction by their advice; and otherwise, that the cause be propounded publickly: And these brethren are appointed to go presently about that business, and the parties to wait upon them. The result of their conference followes in the Kings articles. IV. Seeing the King is now of ripe age, and a Parliament is appointed in the next month, it is thought expedient, that the Acts of Parliament, made heretofore for liberty of the true Church and religion presently professed within the realm; and for repressing Papistry and idolatry, be collected, and be craved to be confirmed; as also the execution of these Acts may be considered; and what other execution or law is needfull to be craved against Papists and idolaters; As also the lawes and constitutions, that have been made to the derogation of the said liberty, or to the prejudice and stay of the course of the Evangell, may be collected, that the abrogation of them may be sought. To this effect are appointed John Erskin, Robert Pont, Nic. Dalgliesh, David Lindsay and Paul Fraser. V. In *Seff. 5.* the Commission given by the last Assembly to the presbyteries of Glasgow & Sterlin concerning the slander of David Cunningham, and other persons is suspended. Sundry brethren complaine against Pa. Adamson, at whose instance he is registred at the horn for not payment of the stipends assigned unto them, and for not furnishing wine unto the Communion: this matter is regrated unto the Kings Commissioners, The Prior or Lord Blantyre undertakes, to communicate this purpose unto the other Commissioners of his Majesty and to report their advice unto the Assembly. Also regrait is made, that great division is in the Church of Santan. that some will not hear P. Adamson preach, nor communicate when he administres the sacrament, partly because he lyeth in rebellion or at the horn, and partly because of his suspension; and some do repair unto him: and they crave that this division may be redressed. The Assembly judgeth it expedient first to hear, what answer shall be reported in the former complaint. VI. Unto that Question, Whither it be a scandall, that a Christian absent himselfe from the Sermons and other pious exercise used by them, that ly at the Kings horn, and are suspended from the Ministry? It is resolved, It is no scandall, but it were rather scandalous to resort unto the foresaid exercise of one, who lyeth at the horn, and is suspended. VII. In *Seff. 9.* No Master of Colledge or School shall receive any student or scholar being of maturity of age, who refuseth to subscribe the Religion presently established and professed in the realm by the mercy of God, or refuseth to partecipe of the sacrament, Under the pain of the censure of the Church; And before any Student be promoted to any degree in the Vniversity, that they shall *toties quoties* as they shall be promoted, subscribe *de novo*; And that the Presbyteries shalbe diligent to see the execution of this Act, as they will answer to God, &c. VIII. The Presbytery with their Commis-

sioners in all parts of the country, every one for their own part shall prescribe to every young man intending for the Ministry, a part of Scripture, together with some part of the Common places & controverted heads of religion, To be diligently read, considered and studied by him, within such a space of time, as the Presbytery thinks good to appoint; And that his profiting may appear the better, at certain times of the year every Presbytery shall take account of his travells, by requiring of him in that prescribed part of Scripture 1. the sum and deduction thereof. 2. The solide sense or meaning of the places, which are more difficile to be understood. 3. a collation of sentences, which by reading he may be able to gather out of other parts of Scripture, and which may serve as arguments either to confirm the truth, or refute hereticall opinions. As to the Common places and heads, let him answer to questions & reasonings thereupon; And he is to be exercised in this manner not for one time only, but from time to time untill he come to certain maturity. IX. Whereas a scandall was spoken of by a presentation of the Bishoprick of Caitnes given unto Robert Pont, he declares, that he had given in some complaints unto the Exchequer for some hurt done unto him in time of his troubles; and in compensation, that presentation (without his procurement) was put in his hand; and if the living may be possessed with save conscience and without scandall, he intendes to be Minister of Dornoch; and hereupon he craves the judgement of the Assembly, and promisseth also, that he shall never medle with Visitation, but at the command of the Church. The Assembly appointes two to consider the circumstances, and advise upon an answer. In *Seff* 15, a letter was approved by the Assembly, and sent unto the King; in this tenor; Sir, It may please your Majesty, wee have received your letter willing us to elect M^r Robert Pont to the Bishoprick of Caitnes vaking by decease of umquhill Robert, Earle of March your Hienes uncle: wee praise God, that your Ma. hath a good opinion & estimation of such a person, as wee judge the same Ro. to bee, whom wee acknowledge indeed already to be a Bishop by the doctrine of S. Paull, and qualified to use the function of a Pastor or Minister at the church of Dornoch or any other church within your Ma^s realm, as also to use the office of a Commissioner or Visitor in the bounds of Caitnes, if he shall be burdened with it. But as for the corrupt estate or office of them, who have been called Bishops heretofore, wee find it not agreeable to the word of God, and it hath been damned in sundry other assemblies, nor is he willing to accept the same in that manner: this wee thought good to signify unto your Majesty for answer unto your Hi. Letter of nomination, &c. X. In *Seff* 16. It is concluded, that all pastors of whatsoever sort they be, shall be subject to the censure and tryall of their brethren aswell of the Presbytery as of the Provinciaall and Generall Assemblies, concerning their life, conversation and doctrine; and whosoever shall refuse their tryall and censure, the Presbytery, Synodall or Generall Assembly shall proceed against them. XI. The Kings five Articles. 1. If any controversy be concerning the Bishop of Santan. that it be reasoned in his Ma^s presence. 2. That the Bishop of Aberdien be not prejudged in his jurisdiction and living, but the same to be exercised by himselfe, because the alledged slander, whereby he was damnified, is sufficiently tryed and removed. 3. Concerning Ja. Gibson and Jo. Cowper, that they confesse their publick offense and slander against his Majesty, and satisfy therefore, as he shall think good, or otherwise be deprived from all function in the Church. 4. That M^r

Robert

Robert Montgomery be received without more ceremony to the fellowship and favor of the Church. 5. Concerning the Laird of Fentry, his excommunication which was somewhat extraordinary, to be declared null. XI. John Erskin of Dun, Ro. Pont, An. Melvin, Da. Lindsay, Tho. Buchanan, An. Hay, Ro. Bruce, Jo. Robertson, Al. Rawson, Robert Graham, David Ferguson, Nic. Dalglish, John Porterfield, Ia. Duncanson, Adam Johnson, Wa. Balcanquell, An. Clayhills, John Brand, or any 13 of them are ordained Commissioners unto the Parliament. Instructions unto these Commissioners; 1. As concerning his Ma^t articles, in the first two let the judgement of the Assemb. be followed and notified unto his Majesty. In the 3. They shall travell by all possible good meanes to settle his Majesty and bring it into oblivion; Or els, if they shall find any assured hope, that the articles of the Church shall be looked upon, and granted to passe in Parliament, they shall endeavour, to bring the matter to such a midst, as may best agree with respect of the Ministry, satisfiing the offence of the godly, and conscience of the brethren themselves, against whom his Ma^t hath taken offence, as may be in speciall, that which his Ma^t Commissioners sent in write unto one of the said brethren: but if they be urged unto the article as it standes, they shall leave the matter free, to be tryed and judged by the Generall assembly. As for the 4. they shall disence with Mr Montgomery in some ceremonies used in repentance, if they find his Majesty willing to remitt somewhat of the rigor of his Ma^t satisfaction craved of the two brethren. 5. Concerning Fentry, they shall shew his Majesty that the Church hath appointed certain brethren to see, what effect the dealing of them, which were appointed by the last assembly hath taken, with him and to travell further to bring him by repentance into the bosom of the Church, whereby the Sentence may be in very deed annulled. 6. They shall admit nothing hurtfull or prejudiciall to the disciplin of the Church, as it is concluded according to the word of God in the Generall assemblies preceeding the 1584 year, but precisely seek the same to be ratified and allowed, if possibly it may be. And finally in all, let God be feared, and a good conscience kept in procuring the well of the Church: and taking away all impediments contrary thereunto. XII. In *sess.* 18. It is concluded that none shall be admitted to a parsonage or vicarage, who is not qualified to preach the Word. XIII. The next Assembly is appointed to convene at Edinburgh July the first tuesday. I. *It appears by the mutilation of the Assemblies books what spyte these that would be called Bishops, have had against the Assemblies, and how they would have had all memory of antient proceedings in the Church abolished: as I know certainly by my own experience, with what earnestness the late Bishops sought to catch and destroy all the Extracts or copies of the extracts of the Assemblies-books. For remedy of that evill, after that Assembly, they took course to have a double Register of the proceedings of the assemblies.* II. wee see, that in this assembly all power in the Church was taken away from that kind of Bish^{ps}, and they were made liable unto the censure of the assemblies. III. From this and former assemblies wee see, what work there was to bring them down: and all the reason, that was brought at any time to hold them up, was partly the interest of some Noble men, and the weightiest was the motives of Estate, as if Kingdom and Parliament could not stand without Bishops. But if our Chronicles hold sure, the Kingdom of Scotland stood 13 or 1400 years without such Bishops, and all that time (excepting some intervalls) the

Kingdom was on the increasing hand: but after the erection of Bishopricks (as the Chronicles testify) untill this time, whereof we are treating, the estate of the Crown was lesse and lesse, yea and brought to nothing or very litle, So that the contest betwixt the Kings Regents and the Church was for a supply out of the thirds of Benefices. And in the Parliament in July following, the temporality of Benefices was annexed unto the Crown, that the King might have means, to bear forth the honor of his Estate, and not burden his subjects with taxations for his support. So as they came from the Crown to the diminution of Royall honor, so they were returned to the right owner; and it may justly be thought, it had been for the Crown and Kingdom's good, if they had continued so: but (as Bishop Spotswood Pag. 365. saith) the temporalities formerly disposed, which were not a few, being all in the same Parliament confirmed, and those that were remaining, were in a short time begged from him, no thing was left (I will not say, as he saith, to reward a well deserving servant, but) to the Crown itself. He sayth also in the preceding page for example, The Duke of Lennox his Agents possessed themselves in the Bishoprick of Glasgow [as his Father had obtained before] and Robert Montgomery being no more acknowledged did resigne, his title in favor of William Erskin Parson of Campsie, as followes. See also what hath been in other Nations. Irland was a free Kingdom by it self some thousands of years: but when they received Diocesan Bishops, immediatly their Kingdom was changed. When Numidia received such Bishops, they became slaves to the Mahumetanes. Who excluded the Roman Emperor from Rome and Italy? the Bishop of Rome: the Politicall rising of the one was the ruin of the other. And since the other sort of Emperors have acknowledge their power to stand upon the power of the Roman B. they have but the shadow of an Emp. How fond a thing is it to conceive, that a K. or kingdom can not stand without Lordly B! certainly it is a strange and new principle of State

Objection. 1. May not Bishops be good men? Answer, yea, and some good men have been Bishops: But 1. compare the number of good Bishops with the number of proud and Bishops; and compare the good they have done unto Kings and Kingdoms with what ill others have done unto Kings & Kingdoms. 2. In the example of Bishop Grindall see what hath been the practise of a good Bishop; and what hath been his entertainment by others. 3. Consider how a Lordship changeth manners; as when Queen Elisabet gave unto a Minister a Patent unto a Bishoprick, she said, *Tooday I have marred a good Minister.* 4. Consider not so much what may be, but what usually comes to pass; or rather what *should be according to the pattern prescribed by Him who is wise.* 5. It may be answered unto this question by another, Can he be a good man, to whom the will of any man is the law of his conscience? Ja. Nicolson Min. at Miegles received from Kings lames in the year 1608. a Patent unto the Bishoprick of Dunkell, and after that, he was diseased in body for a long time, and also grieved in time of his sickness: David Lindsay (then Minister at Dundy, and his brother-in-law) went to visit him, and lames said unto him, *I give you my advice, and see that you never forget it: Bee never a Bishop; if you be a Bishop, you must resolve to take the will of your Sovereigne as the law of your conscience.* He said so with grief, and from his own experience: as I heard from two faithfull witnesses, to wit, his brother (who was also a minister) and his son. Whether others have the like experiment, I leave it unto consideration. 6. Can he be a good man, who undertakes mo offices then he is able

able to discharge? If he say, that he will discharge them by his under-Officers, will he make his accounts unto God by his under-Officers? and by them go into heaven or hell? but where hath a Preacher a vvarrant to do so? In the dayes of John Chrysostom that Human Episcopacy was more Spirituall, and far lesse Secular (for it was not a Secular Lordship) and nevertheless behold what he saith in *Homil. 1. On the epistle unto Titus*, *I can not admire sufficiently of them, who are desirous of such burdens; O the most unhappy and the most wretched of men, considerest thou not what thou deservest? &c.* I wish that all who are ambitious of episcopacy, would read seriously what he hath written in that place, and in the Morale part of the homily immediately following. Object. 2. Seing Authority will have Bishops, may not good men take Bishopricks rather then suffer other men to take them? Ans. 1. This is as if one would say, If Authority will have men to make shipwrack of their consciences, may not good men make shipwrack of their consciences rather then others? 2. William Couper Minister at Perth was continually preaching against episcopacy: K. James hearing of him, thought the readiest way to shut up his mouth, was to try him with a Bishoprick: when the Patent was tendered unto Couper as a testimony of the Kings favor, he sought the advice of John Hall then Minister at Edinburgh, who smelling the others inconstancy, said, *Take it, take it, another knave will take it.* 3. A Courtier said once unto K. James, Sir, you give Bishopricks unto men, of whom some are unable to preach, some are not prudent, and some are scandalous. The King answered (as I have heard it oft reported by credible men) *What shall I doe? no honest man will take one.* This answer holds firmly, if they know what hath been said in the second, fifth and sixth answers unto the preceeding objection.

XXIV. In England after the Reformation good and many men did oppose episcopacy: I will not commend all that did oppose: but posterity may know what hath been done. About the year 1570. was great opposition against Bishops and their government and their superstitious rites, as witnesseth an *Admonition to the Parliament*, which came into my hand by the reprinting of it in the year 1642- and is worthy the reading: the words are, Seing nothing in this mortall life is more diligently to be fought for, and carefully to be looked unto, than the restitution of true religion, and reformation of Gods Church, it shall be your parts (dearly beloved) in this present Parliament assembled, as much as in you lieth, diligently to promote the same, and to employ your wholl labor and study, not only in abandoning all popish remnants both in ceremonies and regiment, but also in bringing-in and placing in Gods Church those things only, which God himselve in his word commandeth, because it is not enough to take paines in taking away evill, but also to be occupied in placing good in stead thereof. Now because many men see not all things, and the world in this respect is marvelously blinded, it hath been thought good, to proffer unto your godly considerations a true platform of a Church reformed, to the end, that it being layd before your eies, to behold the great unlikeliness betwixt it and this our English Church: you may learn either with perfect hatred to detest the one, and with singular love to embrace, and carefully endeavoure to plant the other, or els to be without excuse before the Majesty of our God, who (for the discharge of our conscience and manifestation of his truth) hath by us revealed unto you at this present, the sincerity and simplicity of his Gospell, Not that you should either wilfully with stand or ungraciously tread the same under your feet (for God hath

A Supplication to the Parliament of England, against Episcopacy.

not disclose his will to any such end) but that you should yet now at the length with all your main and might endeavour, that Christ (whose easy yoke and light burthen wee have of long time cast off from us) might rule and raigin in his Church by the scepter of his word only. May it therefore please your wisdomes to understand; Wee in England are so far from having a Church rightly reformed, according to the prescript of Gods word, that as yet wee are not come to the outward face of the same. For to speak of that, whereof all consent, and whereupon all writers accord; the outward marks whereby a true Church is known, are the preaching of the word purely, Ministring the sacraments sincerely. and ecclesiasticall discipline, which consists in admonition, and correction of faults severely.

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Touching the first, namely, the Ministry of the word, although it must be confessed, that the substance of doctrine by many delivered is sound & good, yet herein it faileth, that neither the Ministers thereof are according to Gods vvord, proved, elected, called or ordained, nor the function in such sort so narrowly looked unto, as of right it ought, and is of necessity required. For vvhereas in the old Church a tryall vvvas had, both of their ability to instruct, and of their godly conversation also; now by the letters commendatory of some one man, Noble or other. *tag & rag*, learned or unlearned, of the basest sort of the people (to the slander of the gospel in the mouthes of adversaries) are freely received. Then they taught others; now they must be instructed themselves, and therefore like young children they [*some of them*] must learn Catechismes. Then election was made by the common consent of the wholl Church; now every one picketh out for himself some notable good Benefice, he obtaineth the next advowson, by money or by favor, and so thinks himselfe to be sufficiently chosen. Then the Congregation had authority to call Ministers; instead thereof now they run, they ride and by unlawfull sute and buying, prevent other suiters also. Then no Minister was placed in any congregation, but by consent of the people; now that authority is given into the hands of the B. alone, who by his sole authority thrustes upon them such as many times as well for dishonest life, as for lack of learning, they may and do justly dislike. Then none was admitted to the Ministry, but a place was void before hand, to which he should be called, but now Bb. (to whom the right of ordering Ministers doth at no hand appertain) do make 60. 80. or a 100. at a clap, and send them abroad into the Country, like masterless men. Then after just tryall and vocation they were admitted to their function by laying on of the hands of the company of the Eldership only; now (neither of these being looked unto) there is required (and all be) a surplices, a vestiment, a pastorall staff, besides that ridiculous, and (as they use it to their new creatures) blasphemous saying, *receive yee the holy Ghost*. Then every Pastor had his flock, and every flock his shepherd or els shepherds; now they do not only run fysking from place to place (a miserable disorder in Gods Church) but coverously joyn living, to living, making shipwrack of their own consciences, and being but one shepherd, (nay would to God, they were shepherds, and not wolves) have flocks. Then the Ministers were Preachers; now bare Readers: and if any be so well disposed to preach in their own charges, they may not vvithout my Lord's licence. In these days they vvvere known by voice, learning & doctrine; now they must be discerned from others by popish and anti-Christian apparell, as cap, govvn, tippet, &c. Then as God gave utterance, they preached the vvord only; now they read homilies, Articles, injunctions, &c.

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Then it was painfull; now gainfull: then poor and ignominious; now rich and glorious. And therefore titles, livings and offices by Antichrist devised are given to them as Metropolitane, Archbishop, Lords grace, Lord Bishop, Suffragan, Dean, Archdeacon, Prelate of the Garter, Earle, County Palatine, High Commissioners, Justices of peace and Quorum, &c. All which together with their offices; as they are strange & unheard-of in Christs Church, may plainly in Gods word be forbidden, So are they utterly with speed out of the same to be removed. Then Ministers were not tied to any form of prayers invented by man, but as the spirit moved them, so they poured out hearty supplications to the Lord; Now they are bound of necessity to a prescript order of service and book of common prayer, in which a great number of things contrary to Gods word, are contained, as baptism by women, privat communions, Jewish purifyings, observings of holy days, &c. patched, if not altogether, yet the greatest peece, out of the Popes portuise. Then feeding the flock diligently, now teaching quarterly: then preaching in season, out of season; now once in a month is thought sufficient; if twice, it is judged a work of supererogation: then nothing taught but Gods word; now Princes pleasures, mens devices, popish ceremonies and Antichristian rites in publick pulpits are defended. Then they sought them; now these seek theirs. These and a great many other abuses are in the Ministry remaining, which unless they be removed, and the truth brought in, not only Gods justice shall be powred forth, but Gods Church in this realm shall never be builded; for if they who seem to be workmen are not workmen indeed, but in name, or els work not so diligently and in such order, as the workmaster commandeth, it is not only unlikely, that the building shall go foreward, but altogether impossible, that ever it shall be perfected. The way therefore to avoid these inconveniences, and to reform these deformities is this. your wisdoms have to remove advowsons, patronages, Impropriations, and B. authority, claiming to themselves thereby right to ordain Ministers; and to bring in that old & true election, which was accustomed to be made by the congregation: you must displace these ignorant & unable Ministers already placed; and in their roomes appoint such as can and will by Gods assistance feed the flock: you must pluck down, and utterly overthrow without hope of restitution, the court of Faculties, from whence not only licences to enjoy many benefices are obtained, as Pluralities, Trialities, Totquots, &c. But all things for the most part as in the court of Rome are set on sale, licences to marry, to eat flesh in times prohibited, to lie from Benefices and charges, a great number beside of such abominations. Appoint to every congregation a learned & diligent preacher. Remove Homilies, articles, injunctions, a prescript order of service, made out of the Masse-book. Take away the Lordship, the loytering, the pomp, the idleness and livings of Bishops, but yet employ them to such ends, as they were in the old Church appointed for. Let a lavvfull & goodly Seigniorie look, that they preach, not quarterly or monthly, but continually; not for filthy lucre sake, but of a ready minde. So God shall be glorified, your consciences discharged, and the flock of Christ (purchased with his own blood) edified. *The second point concerning the Sacraments I passe over, because I have spoken of these rites in another place: then it follows.* The third part concernes ecclesiasticall discipline: the officers that have to deal in this charge are chiefly three, Ministers, preachers or pastors (of whom before,) Seniors or Elders; and deacons. Concerning Seniors, not

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only their office, but their name also is out of this English Church utterly removed. Their office was to govern the Church with the rest of the Ministers, to consult, to admonish, to correct and to order all things appertaining to the state of the congregation. In stead of these Seniors in every Church, the Pope hath brought in, and we yet maintain the Lordship of one man over many churches, yea over sundry Shires. These Seniors then, because their charge was not over much, did execute their office in their own persons without substitutes. Our Lord Bishops have their under-officers, as Suffraganes, Chancellors, Archdeacons, Officials, Commissaries, and the like. Touching Deacons, though the name be remaining, yet is the office fowly perverted & turned upside down: For their duty in the primitive Church, was to gather the alms diligently, and to distribute it faithfully, also for the sick and impotent persons to provide painfully, having ever a diligent care, that the charity of godly men were not wasted on loiterers and idle vagabounds. Now it is the first step to the Ministry, nay, rather a meer order of priesthood: for they may baptize in the presence of a Bishop or priest, or in their absence (if necessity require) Minister the other sacrament, likewise read the holy Scriptures and homilies in the congregation, instruct the youth in the catechism, and also preach, if he be commanded by the Bishop. Again in the old church, every congregation had their deacons; now they are tied to Cathedrall churches only, and what do they there? gather the almes, and distribute to the poore? nay, that is the least peece or rather no part of their function. What then? to sing a gospell, when the Bishop Ministrereth the communion. If this be not a perverting of this office & charge, let every one judge. And yet lest the reformers of our time should seem to take utterly out of Gods Church this necessary function, they appoint somewhat to it concerning the poore, and that is, to search for the sick, needy & impotent people of the parish, and to intimate their estates, names & places where they dwell, to the Curat, that by his exhortation they may be relieved by the parish or other convenient almes. And this you see, is the highest part of his office. And yet you must understand it, to be in such places, where is a Curate and a deacon: every parish can not bear that cost to have both: nay, no parish so far as can be gathered, at this present hath. Now then, if you will restore the Church to its ancient officers, this you must do; in stead of an Archbishop or Lord Bishop, you must make equality of Ministers. In stead of Chancelors, archdeacons, officials, commissaries, proctors, doctors, summoners, churchwardens and the like you have to plant in every congregation a lawfull & godly Seigniory. The deaconship must not be confounded with the Ministry, nor the collectors for the poor may not usurpe the deacones office but he that hath an office, must look to his office, and every man must keep himself within the bounds & limites of his own vocation. And to these three jointly, that is, the Minister, Seniors & deacons is the whole regiment of the Church to be committed. This regiment consists especially in ecclesiasticall disciplin, which is an order lest by God unto his Church, whereby men learn to frame their wills and doings according to the law of God, by instructing & admonishing one another, yea and by correcting & punishing all willfull persons and contemners of the same. Of this disciplin there are two kindes, one privat, wherewith we will not deal, because it is impertinent to our purpose; another publick, which although it hath been

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been long banished, yet if now at length it might be restored, would be very necessary & profitable for the building up of Gods house. The finall end of this disciplin is, the reforming of the disordered, and to bring them to repentance, and to bridle such as would offend. The chiefest part and last punishment of this disciplin is excommunication, by the consent of the Church determined if the offender be obstinat: which how miserably it hath been by the Popes proctors, and is by our new canonists abused, who seeth not? In the primitive Church it was in many mens hands; now one alone excommunicates. In those dayes it was the last censure of the Church, and never went forth but for notorious crimes; now it is pronounced for every light trifle: then excommunication was greatly regarded & feared; now because it is a money-matter, no whit at all esteemed. Then for great sins, severe punishment; and for small offenses, little censures; now great sins either not at all punished, as blasphemy, usury, &c. or sleightly passed over, with pricking in a blanket, or pinning in a sheet, as adultery, whoordom. drunkenness, &c. Again such as are no sins (as if a man conform not himselfe to popish orders & ceremones, if he come not at the whistle of him, who by Gods word hath no authority to call, wee mean Chancelors, Officials, Doctors and all that rable) are grievously punished not only by excommunication, suspension, deprivation and other (as they tearme it) spirituall coërcion, but also by banishing, imprisoning, reviling, taunting, and what not: Then the Sentence was tempered according to the notoriousness of the fact, now on the one side either hatred against some persons carrieth men head long into rash & cruell judgement, or els favor affection or money mitigates the rigor of the same: and all this comes to passe, because the regiment left by Christ unto his Church, is committed into the mans hand, whom alone it shall be more easy for the wicked by bribing to pervert, than to overthrow the faith & piety of a zealous & godly company: for such manner of men should the Seigniors bee. Then it was said, Tell the Church; now it is spoken, Complain to my Lords grace, primate & Metropolitane of all England, or to his inferior, my Lord B. of the Diocesse; if not to him, Shew the Chancelor, or Officiall, or Commissary or Doctor. Again whereas the excommunicate were never received, till they had publickly confessed their offence; now for paying the fees of the Court, they shall by Master Officiall or Chancelor easily be absolved in some privat place. Then the Congregation grieved by the wickednes of the offender, was by his publick peannance satisfied; now absolution shall be pronounced, though that be not accomplished. Then the party offending should in his own person hear the Sentence of absolution pronounced; now Bishops, archdeacons, Chancelors, officialls, commissares and the like absolve one man for another. And this is that order of ecclesiasticall disciplin, which all godly wish to be restored, to the end, that every one may by the same be kept within the limits of his vocations, and a great number may be brought to live in godly conversation. Not that we mean to take away the authority of the Civil Magistrat and chief Governor, to whom wee wish all blessedness, and for the increase of whose godliness wee pray dayly; but that Christ being restored into his Kingdom, to rule in the same by the scepter of his word and severe disciplin, the Prince may be the better obeyed, the realm flourish more in godliness, and the Lord himself more sincerely and purely according to his word served, than heretofore he hath been, or yet at this present time is. Amend
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therefore these horrible abuses, and reform Gods Church, and the Lord is on your right hand, you shall not be removed for ever. For he will deliver and defend you from all your enemies either at home or abroad, as he did faithfull Jacob and good Jehoshaphat. Let these things alone, and God is a righteous Judge: he will one day call you to your reckoning. Is a reformation good for France, and can it be evill for England? Is discipline meet for Scotland, and is it unprofitable for this realm? Surely God hath set these exampls before your eyes, to encourage you to go forward to a thorow and speedy reformation. You may not do as heretofore you have done, patch and peece, nay rather go backward, and never labor or contend to perfection. But altogether remove whole antichrist, both head, body and branch, and perfectly plant that purity of the word, that simplicity of the sacraments and severity of disciplin, which Christ hath commanded, and commended to his Church. And here to end, wee desire all to suppose, that we have not attempted this enterprife for vain glory, gain, preferment or any worldly respect: neither yet judging ourselves, so exactly to have set out the estate of a Church reformed, as that nothing more could be added, or a more perfect form and order drawn: for that were great presumption, to arrogat so much to ourselves, seeing that as we are but weak and simple souls, so God hath raised up men of profound judgement and notable learning; But hereby to declare our good wills towards the setting-forth of Gods glory, and the building up of his Church, accounting this as it were but an entrance into further matter, hoping that our God, who hath in us begun this good work, will not only in time hereafter make us strong and able to go forward herein, but also move others, upon whom he hath bestowed greater measure of his gifts and graces, to labor more thoroughly and fully in the same. The God of all glory so open your eyes to see his truth, that you may not only be enflamed with a love thereof, but with a continuall care seek to promote, plant, & place the same among us, that we the English people, and our posterity enjoying the sincerity of Gods gospell for ever, may say always, *The Lord be praised.* To whom with Christ Jesus his son our only Savior, and the H. Ghost our only Comforter be honor, praise and glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Now (excepting these, whose faults are here touched) who can say but this was a wholsom admonition? and certainly it doth concern all in power, which shall read it untill the end of the world. But what followed upon it? the Bishops rage, and persecute the Ministers, which dar speak against their dominion, or will not conform unto their toys, I will here remember one passage. An Archpriest *Blackwell* being about that time prisoner in the Clink, where sundry Ministers were also prisoners, said to one of them, he marvelled of what religion the B^o of England were: us they committ (said he) because we are papists; and you they commit, because yee will not be papists: that they persecute us, it is not much to be marveled, because there is some seeming difference betwixt them and us, though it be not much: but that one Minister of the gospell should persecute another, or that one protestant doth pursue another to bonds and imprisonment for religions sake, is a strange thing: but of the two, they love us better: a Papist they like well enough, if they durst shew it, but Puritanes they hate with their heart, and that all the world may see. So said he. It was their custom to revile with the name of Puritanes all who did oppose their course. What the Priest said tauntingly, was the lamentation of many: I will name the testimony but of one, a learned and pious man, as his works yet extant do

do demonstrate; I mean, John Udall sometimes Minister at Kingstown upon Thames, who in the year 1588. ended his life in the Whyte-lion in Southwerk as prisoner for opposing episcopacy: among other pieces he describeth *The estate of the Church of England in a Conference*: there he shewes,

The testimony of 1. Vdal concerning the practices of Bb.

1. That a Bishop and a Papist were sent by the other Bishops, into Scotland, to subvert their Generall Assemblies and the rest of their jurisdiction, for fear that if the Ministers in Scotland had got up their disciplin, the Sovereignty of Bishops had fallen in England also: he saith, they prevailed a while in Scotland: but the whole Land cried out for diciplin again, and the Noble men did so stiffly stand to it, and the Ministers that came home from England, dealt so boldly with the King, that I [said the Bishop] was utterly cast out without all hope ever to do any good there again. 2. He telleth of a Minister declaring unto the Bishop (as not knowing one another) three abominations committed by the Bishops in England, first they bear such enmity against the kingdom of Jesus Christ, that they put to silence one after another, and will never cease (if God bridle them not) untill they have rooted out of the Church all the learned, godly and painfull teachers. The second is, that they enlarge the liberties of the common enemies, the Papists. The last is, that they commit the feeding of the flocks of Christ, unto those, that prey upon them, and either can not or will not labor to reclaim the wandring sheep; So that the conclusion may be gathered upon their actions, it must needs be the everision and overthrow of the gospel, and so consequently the bringing-in of popery and atheism. 3. a gentle man asks the Bishop, Why he had taken a Papist with him into Scotland, seing if he be a right Papist; he would labor to erect the Popes Kingdom? The B. answered; That man was thought fit above all others to go with him; and if he had not had a Papist with him, he could never have looked to prevail, because our dignities and Government comes wholly and every part thereof from the Pope, and is ruled and defended by the same canons, whereby his Popedom is supported. So that if I had wanted their helps, I had had no authority either from God or man; no help either by reason or learning, whereby I could have been furthered: And whereas you say, that he would labor to erect the Popes Kingdom; no question but he did so, and that made for us (said the Bishop) for albeit we would if we might, of the two, keep rather the Protestant Religion with our dignities then the other, yet had we rather change our Religion than forgo our priviledges. and vvee have retained them of purpose, for vvee can bear vvith their Religion, so that they bear up our authority, &c.

I wil not think, that all the Bishops vv ere of this mind, but too many of them vv ere such, as is cleare by their silencing and deposing so many learned men, I, and their banishing such, as that learned Thomas Cartvvright, &c. In this discourse vvee see also vvhat grounds they had for Episcopacy: and for clearing this point, I vvill subjoyn but tvvo or three testimonies; one of that learned Bishop Jewell: in many places he speaks of the equality of a Bishop and a priest: I name but *The defense of the Apology against Harding*, edit An. 1570. pag 243. saying, What meaneth M. Hardinge, to come in with the difference between priests and Bishops? Is it so horrible an heresy, as he makes it, to say. that by the Scriptures of God, a Bishop and a priest are all one? or knowes he, how far and unto whom he reaches the name of an hereticque? Verily Chrysostom saith on 1. Tim. homil. 11. *Inter Episcopum & Presbyterum interest sermè nihil*, between a Bishop and Priest in a manner is no difference. S. Jerom *ad Evagr.* saith

Testimonies against Episcopacy, of B. Jewell.

somewhat in rougher sort, *Audio quendam in tantam erupisse recordiam, ut diaconos presbyteris, id est, episcopis anteferreret, Cum Apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros, quos episcopos.* I hear say, there is one become so peevish, that he fettereth deacons before priests, that is, Bishops, whereas the Apostle plainly teaches us, that priests and Bishops be all one. S. Augustine in *quest. Vet. & Nov Test. qu. 101.* saith, *Quid est Episcopus nisi primus Presbyter, hoc est, summus sacerdos?* what is a Bishop but the first priest, that is, the highest priest. So saith S. Ambrose *de dignit. sacerdot. Episcopi & Presbyteri una ordinatio est: uterque enim sacerdos, sed episcopus primus est, There is but one consecration of a priest and a Bishop: for both of them are priests, but the Bishop is the first.* All these and other most holy Fathers together with S. Paul the Apostle, for thus saying, by M. Hardinges advice, must be holden for heretiques. So Ivell. Another testimony is Doctor Reynolds

2. Of D.
Reynolds.

Letter to Sir Francis Knollis, concerning Do. Bancrofts Sermon at Pauls cross Febr. 9. 1588. in the Parliament time. Because I have not seen this Letter among the Doctors works, and I think it is not common, but I have found it printed with some other pieces of that kind, I set it down here word by word; Albeit (right honorable) I take greater comfort in labouring to discover & overthrow the errors of Jesuits & Papists (enemies of religion) then of the Ministers of Christ; yet seeing it hath pleased your Honor to require mee, to shew my opinion of these things, which certain of these men maintain and stand in, I thought it my duty by the example of Levi, *Deut. 33.* who said of his father & mother, *I regard them not, nor acknowledged he his brethren*, to declare the truth without respect of persons. Of the two points therefore in Do. Bancrofts Sermon, which your Honor mentioneth. one is, concerning that he seemeth to avouch, *The superiority, which Bishops have among us over the Clergy, to be Gods own ordinance*, though not by expresse words, yet by necessary consequence, in that he affirms their opinion, who oppugne that Superiority to be heresy. Wherein, I must confesse, he hath committed an oversight, in my judgement, and himself, I think, if he be advertised, will acknowledge it. For having said first, that *Aerius* affirmeth, *that there was no difference by the word of God betwixt a Priest and a Bishop*; and afterward, that *Martine* and his companions do maintain this opinion of *Aerius*, he addeth, *that Aerius persisting therein was condemned for an heretick by the generall consent of the whole Church, and likewise that Martin and all his companions opinion hath herein been condemned for heresy.* Touching Martin, if any man behave himself otherwise then in discretion & charity he ought, let the blame be laid, where the fault is; I defend him not: but if by the way he utter a trueth, mingled with whatsoever els, it is not reason, that that which is of God, should be condemned for that which is of man, no more than the doctrine of the resurrection should be reprov'd, because it was maintained & held by the Pharises. Wherefore removing the odious name of *Martin*, from that which in sincerity & love is to be dealt with, it appears by the aforesaid words of D. Bancroft, that he avouches the Superiority, which B. have over the Clergy to be Gods own ordinance: for he improves the impugnment of it, as holding with *Aerius*, that there is no difference by the word of God betwixt a Priest, and a Bishop: which he could not do with reason, unless he himself approved the B^s superiority, as established by Gods word: and he addeth, that their opinion, who againe sayd, *is heresy*: whercofit insueth, he thinks it contrary to Gods word, sith *heresy* is an error repugnant to the truth of the word of God, as according to the Scriptures, our own Church doth teach

us. Now the arguments, which he bringeth to prove it an heresy, are partly over weak, partly untrue; over weak, that he beginneth vvith one of *Epiphanius*, untrue, that he adioyneth the uniuersall consent of the Church. For though *Epiphanius* do say, that *Aërius assertion is full of folly*, yet he disproves not the reason, vvhich *Aërius* stood on, out of the Scripture; nay he deales so in seeking to disprove it, that *Bellarmin* in the Jesuit, *To. 1. contr. 5. l. 1. c. 15.* desirous to make the best of *Epiphanius*, whose opinion here in he maintaineth against the Protestants, yet is forced to confesse, that *Epiphanius* his answer is none of the wisest, nor any way can fit the text. As for the generall consent of the whole Church, which *D. Bancroft* saith, condemned that opinion of *Aërius* for an heresy, and himself for an heretik, because he persisted in it, that is a large speech: but what proof has he, that the Church did so? it appeares, he saith, in *Epiphanius*. It doth not, and the contrary appeares by *S. Jerom*, in *epi. ad Tit. & ad Euagr.* and sondry others, who lived, some in the same time, some after *Epiph.* even *Austin* himself, though *D. Bancroft* cite him, as bearing witnes thereof likewise; I grant, *S. Austin* in his book of heresies, ascribeth this to *Aërius*, for one, that he said, *Presbyterum ab Episcopo nulla differentia debere discerni*; but it is one thing to say, *There ought to be no difference betwixt them* (which *Aërius* saying condemned the Churches order, yea, made a schism therein, and is so censured by *S. Austin*, counting it an heresy, as in *Epiphanius* he took it recorded, himself (as he witnesseth *de heres. ad Quod vult. in prefat.*) not knowing, how farr the name of heresy should be stretched) and another thing to say, that *by the word of God there is no difference betwixt them*, but by the order & custom of the Church, vvhich *Augustin* himself saith in effect, *epist. 19.* so far vv as he from vvitnessing this to be heresy, by the generall consent of the vvhole Church. Which untruth, how vvrongfully it is fathered on him, and on *Epiphanius* [vvho yet are all the vvinesses, that *D. Bancroft* hath produced for the proof hereof, or can, for ought that I know] it may appear by this, that our learned country man of godly memory *Bishop Jevvell* *def. of the Apol. Par. 2. c. 9. div. 1. pag. 198.* when *Harding* to convince the same opinion of heresy, alledged the same witnesses, he citing to the contrary *Chrysostom*, *Jerom*, *Austin* & *Ambrose*, knit up his answer with these words, *All these, and other mo holy Fathers, together with the Apostile S. Paul, for thus saying, by Hardings advice, must be held for heretiks.* And *Michaell Medina*, a man of great account in the Councell of *Trent*, more ingenuous herein than many other Papists, affirms not only the former ancient writers alledged by *Bishop Jewell*, but also another *Jerom*, *Thodoret*, *Primasius*, *Sedulius* and *Theophylact*, were of the same mind touching this matter with *Aërius*. With whom agree likewise *Oecumenius* on *Tim. 3.* and *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in *epi. ad Tit* and another *Anselm* *Collect. can. lib. 7. ca. 87. & 127.* and *Gregory* *Polic. lib. 2. tit. 19. & 39.* and *Gratian* *ca. Legimus dist. 39. & ca. Olim, dist. 95.* and after them how many? It being once enrolled in the Canon-law for sound & catholike doctrine, and thereupon publicly taught by learned men; All which do bear witnes against *D. Bancroft* of the point in question, that it was not condemned for an Heresy by the generall consent of the whole Church. For if he should reply, that these later witnesses did live a 1000. year after Christ, and therefore touch not him, who said, it was condemned so in the time of *S. Austin* and of *Epiphanius*, the most flourishing time of the Church, that ever hapned since the Apostles dayes, either in respect of learning or of zeal, first they whom I named, though living in a later time, yet are witnesses of former. *Oecumenius* the Greek Scholiast treading in the steps of the old Greek Fathers, and the *Anselmes*

with *Gregory & Gratian* expressing *Jeroms* sentence word by word. Besides that perhaps it is not very likely, that *Anselm* of Canterbury should have been canonized by the Pope of Rome, and worshipped for a Saint, that the other *Anselm* and *Gregory* should have such place in the P^r library, and be esteemed of, as they are; that *Gratian's* works should be allowed so long time by so many Popes for the golden foundation of the Canon-law, if they had taught, that for Catholik & sound, vvhich by the generall consent of the vvhole Church, in the most flourishing time that ever happened since the Apostles dayes, vvas condemned for *Hereesy*; chiefly in a matter of such weight and moment to the Popes Supremacy; which as they do claim over all Bishops by the ordinance of God, so must they allow Bishops over Priests by the same ordinance, as they saw at length: and therefore have not only decreed it now in the Councell of Trent, but also in the new edition of their Canon-law have set down this note, that on *Hughs* Glosse allowed by the Archdeacon (saying, that *Bishops have differed from Priests alwayes as they do now in Government, and prelatship and Sacrament, but not in the name and Title of Bishop, which was common to them both, must be held here after for S. Jeroms meaning*; at least for the meaning of the Canon taken out of *S. Jerom*, though his words be flat & plain against this glosse, as *Bellarmin* himself confesses *li. cit. ca* Whereunto may be added, that they also vvhohave labored about the Reforming of the Church these 500 years, have taught that all Pastors, be they entituled Bishops or Priests have equall authority & power by Gods word. First the *Waldenses*. [*in Æn. Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 35. & Pigh. Hierarch. Ecclesiast. l. 2. cap. 10.*] next *Marfilius Tatavinus* in *Defens. pacis part. 2. c. 15*. Then *Wicliff* [*in Tho. Wald. Doctr. fidei tom. 1. lib. 2. cap. 60. & tom. 2. c. 7.*] and his schollers; afterward *Husse* and the *Hussites*, *Æn. Sylv. loc. cit.* last of all, *Luther. adversus falso nominatos ord. Sco. Episc. & adversus Papat. Roma; Calvin. in Epist. ad Philipp. 1. & Tit. 1. Brentius, Apolog. confesf. Wittemberg. cap. 21. Bullinger. Deca. 3. serm. 3. Musculus, Loc. commun. tit. de Ministerio Verbi*, and others, who may be reckoned particularly in great number, sith as here with us both Bishops, *Jewell. loc. cit. Pilkinton in the Treatise of burning Pauls Church*, and the Queen's Professors of Divinity in our Universities, *D. Humphrey in Campia. & Dura Jesuitas part. 2. rat. 3. & Whitak. ad rat. Campi. 6 & Confut. Durae lib. 6.* And other learned men do consent herein, *M. Bradford, Lambert and others in Fox act. & c. D. Fulk against Brisfow's not. 40. and answer to the Rhem. Tit. 1. 5.* So in forrein Nations all that I have read treating of this matter, and many mo (no doubt) whom I have not read. The sitting & examining of the *Trent Councell* hath been undertaken by only two, which I have seen, the one a Divine. the other, a Lawier, *Kemnitius* and *Gentilletus*: They both condemn the contrary doct^rin thereunto, as a *Trent* error; the one by Scriptures and Fathers; the other by the Canon-law. But what do I further speak of severall persons? It is the common judgement of the Churches of *Helvetia, Savoy, France, Scotland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, The Low-Countryes*, and our own: witness the *Harmony of Confession Sect. 11*. Wherefore sith *D. Bancroft* (I assure myself) will not say, that all those have approved that as sounde and Christian doct^rin, which by the generall consent of the whole Church, in a most flourishing time, was condemned for *heresy*, I hope, he will acknowledge, that he was overseen, in that he avouched, the Superiority which Bishops have among us over the Clergy, to be of Gods ordinance. And this farr of the former point of *D. Bancrofts* Sermon. The latter is, concerning that he affirmeth, that *S. Jerom* saith, and *M. Calvin* seemes on his report,

report, to confesse that Bishops have had the said Superiority ever since the time of *S. Mark* the Evangelist. Of the which point, I think as of the former, sith neither *Jerom* saith it, neither doth *Calvin* seem to confesse it on his report. For *Bishops* amongus, besides ordaining and laying-on of hands, may do sundry other things, which inferior Ministers or Priests (as *D. Bancroft* termeth them) may not. But *Jerom*, after mention of the superiority allotted to Bishops since *Marks* time, *What doth a Bishop* (saith he) *except ordination, which a Priest doeth not?* meaning & enforcing by this kind of speech, as a thing most evident, and such as no man could deny, that Bb. had that only power above priests then, which *Chrysostom* also witnesseth. Though neither had they it alone in all places, as it is apparent by a Councell at *Carthage, concil. 4. c. 3.* shewing their Churches order, that the priests laid on their bands with the Bishop on those who were ordained. Yet *Jerom* having proved by testimony of Scripture, that in the Apostles times, Bishops and priests were all one, even in the right of this too (In *1. Tim. 4. 14*) grants that afterwards Bishops had that peculiar to themselves some where, but nothing els saue it. *S. Jerom* therefore saith not, of that superiority whereof the question is, that Bishops have had it ever since *S. Marks* time. No more doth *M. Calvine* seem to confesse it upon his report: for *Calvin* in the same place (In *Institu. lib. 4. c. 4. sc. 2*) that *D. Bancroft* quoteth, shewing how in old time the Ministers that had charge to teach those of their company, one in every City, to whom they did especially give the title of Bishop; lest equality should breed dissension, yet (saith he) the Bishop was not above them in honor & dignity, that he should rule over them, but look what is the Consul's duty in the Senate, to propose matters, to ask their opinions, to direct others by giving them advice, by admonishing, by exhorting, to guide the vvhole action by his authority, and see that performed, vvhich vvas agreed upon by their common consent, that charge had the Bishop in the assembly of Ministers. And having declared that *S. Jerom* shewes this to have been broght in by the consent of men, upon the first of *Titus*, he addeth that the same *Jerom* other where shewes, how ancient an order of the Church it was, even from *Marks* time to *Hereclas & Dionysius at Alexandria*. In which words of *Calvin*, seing that the order of the Church he mentioneth, hath evident relation to that before described, and that in the describing of it, he had said, the Bishop was not so above the rest in honor, that he had rule over them; it followes, that *M. Calvin* doth not so much as seem to confesse upon *Jeroms* report, that ever since *Marks* time Bishops have had a ruling Superiority over the Clergy. Wherefore to use no more proofs in a thing manifest, which else might be easily proved more at large out of *S. Jerom* and *M. Calvin* both, It is certain, that neither of them doth affirm, that Bishops so long time have had such superiority, as *D. Bancroft* seemes to father upon them. Thus I have signified my opinion of the points, that your Ho. specified in *D. Bancrofts* Sermon, &c. Unto this testimony of the learned Do. Reinolds, I ad another which is printed with it, and the rather, because it is historicall: this is a Speech of the same

Testimony
of Sir Fr.
Knollis a-
gainst the
usurpation
of Bb.

Sir Francis Knollis (Treasurer of the Queens house, and Knight of the Garter) in a Parliament, as he himself related it to the L. Treasurer Sir Wil. Cicill; in this tenor; To the end I may inform your L. of my dealing in this Parliament time against the undue claimed superiority of the Bb. over their brethren, thus it was. Because I was in the Parliament in the 25 year of King Henry VIII. in which time all the clergy as well Bb. as others,

first made an humble submission to K. Henry. 8. acknowledging his Supremacy, and detesting the B. of Romes authority: Upon which submission of the Clergy, the King gave unto the said Bb. the same ample rule, that before they had under the Pope, over their inferior brethren; saving that the same rule was abridged by statute by this *parenthesis* following, that is (*without offending the prerogative Royall of the Crown of England, and the lawes & customes of the realm*) In the latter end of the statute it was added, *That whosoever offendeth in any one part of that statute, and their aiders, counsellors and abettors, they all did fall into the penaltie of the Premunire.* And after I had recited this statute, in the Parliament house, I declared that in K. Henry VIII. his dayes, after this there was no Bishop, that did practize superiority over their brethren. And in K. Edwards dayes, the Bishops obtained a statute, whereby they were authorized, to keep the Courts in the Kings name. The which statute was repealed in Queen *Maries* dayes, and is not revived in her Ma^s time that now is. Whereupon it was doubtfull to mee, by what authority the Bb. do keep their Courts now in their own names, because it is against the Prerogative of the Crown of England, that any should keep a Court without a sufficient warrant from the Crown. Whereupon I was answered, that the Bb. now do keep their Courts by prescription; and it is true, that the Bb. may prescribe, that K. Henry VIII. gave them authority by the statute of the 25. of his reign, to have authority and rule over their inferior brethren, as ample as they had in the Popes time: but this was no speciall warrant for them to keep their courts by and that in their own names. And yet they have no other warrant to keep their courts (as they do now in their own names) to my knowledge. And this was the cause, that made them obtain a statute in K. Edwards dayes to keep their courts by in the Kings name. Now it is a strange allegation, that the Bb. should claim authority at this present, to keep courts in their own names (as they do) by prescription, Because the statute of 25. H. 8. doth restrain them generally from offending of the prerogative royall of the Crown of England, and the lawes & customs of the realm. And no man may keep a court justly without a speciall warrant from the Crown of England, as is afore said. And the generall liberty given by K. Hen. 8. to the Bb. to rule & govern, as they did in the Popes time, is no sufficient warrant to the Bb. to keep their Courts in their own names by prescription, as I take it. And therefore the Bb. had done wisely, if they had sought a warrant by statute to keep their courts in the Queenes name, as the Bb. in K. Edwards daies. In which time Cranmer did cause *Peter Martyr & Bucer* come over into the realm to be placed in the two Vniversities, for the better instruction of the Vniversities in the word of God: and *B. Cranmer* did humbly prefer these learned men, without any challenge to himself of any superior rule, in this behalfe over his inferior brethren. And the time hath been, that no man could cary away any grant from the Crown of England by generall words, but he must have speciall wordes to cary the same by. Therefore how the Bb. are warranted to cary away the keeping of their courts in their own name by prescription, it passeth my understanding. Moreover, whereas your Lp. said unto mee, that the Bb. have forsaken their claim of superiority over their brethren (lately) to be by Gods ordinance; and that (now) they do only claim superiority from her Majesties Government, if this be true, then it is requisite and necessary, that my Lord of Canterbury that now is, do recant & retract his saying in his book of the great volume against *M. Cartwright*, where he saith in plain words (by the name of D.

Whitgift.)

Whitgift) that the superiority of Bb. is of Gods institution. Which saying doth impugn her Ma^s supream Government directly: and therefore it is to be retracted, and truly: for Christ plainly & truly confesseth *Joh. 18. 36. that his kingdom is not of this world:* and therefore he gave no worldly rule or preheminnence to his Apostles, but the heavenly rule, which was to preach the gospell, saying, *So and preach through the world, whosoever shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved: but he that will not believe, shall be condemned Mark. 16. 15. 16.* But the Bb. do erie out, saying, *Cartwright* and his fellowes will have no Government, &c. So (belike) the Bb. care for no Government, but for worldly and forcible Government over their brethren, the which Christ never gave to his disciples nor Apostles, but made them subject to the rule of Princes, who ought not to be resisted, saying that they might answer unto Princes, *they must obey God rather than men Act 5. 29;* and yet in no way to resist the Prince, but to take up the crosse, and follow Christ. *So far be.*

X X V. The Nationall Assembly of Scotland convenes by the Kings call, at Edinburgh February. 6. 1588. heer were the Kings Commissioners the Master of Lindsay and Lord Ochiltry. Robert bruce is chosen Moderator: the Kings Commissioners, some Barons and Commissioners of Burghes and some Ministers are chosen to concurr with the Moderator in advising of things to be propounded & concluded. 1. The Moderator declares the causes of this extraordinary assembly to be the dangers appearing unto the gospell in this Country, and to advise what may be the readiest way to quench the present fire of Papistty kindled throughout all the Country. And because the matter is of great weight it is judged expedient, that Noblement and Gentlemen shall convene by themselves apart; and the Commissioners of Burrowes shall convene also by themselves; and Ministers shall convene by themselves, To advise and propound unto the Moderator and his Assessors what overtures they can think upon; And for furtherance Peter blackburn & John Fullarton Ministers are appointed to give them information of the evidence thereof in their Province; and all deputies out of every Province are appointed, to delate what Jesuites & Papistes are known to be within their boundes, and that in write, the next day, unto the Assembly. In *sess. 3.* the advice of the Noble men and of others was presented, and read: but it was judged expedient, that some Earles, Lords, Barons, Commissioners of Burrowes, and some Ministers shall first conferr with the King, upon these. The advice of the Nobility was. 1. that the Lawes of the Country be without delay execut against all Jesuites, Seminary priests, Idolaters and mantainers thereof; and for that effect every man aswell gentle man as others heer assembled, shall, as they will answer unto God, and do tender his glory and the well of his Chureh, give up presently in catalogue unto the Moderator or Clerk, the names of such as they know or esteem to be Jesuites, Semmariepriests, traffickers against religion, receptrers and maintainers of such persons: the which names shall be given unto Sir Robert melvin Treasurēt, which hath promised within 48. hours thereafter, to dispatche summons against them all. 2. Seing the danger by such persons is imminent, and the formall execution of lawes requires a large time, his Majesty & Counsell are to be earnestly solicited, to provide speedily some extraordinary remedy against so extraordinary danger, and execute the lawes without delay upon the chiefeft of the Jesuites and their maintainers, doing as if treason were intended against his Ma^s person and Crown. 3. If the

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Assembly

Assembly shall think it expedient, these Noble men, Barons & others are willing, to go unto his Majesty, and regrave the cause of the Church and Common wealth, and the danger wherein the liberty of this realm, and their lives and consciences stand in, by the craft of Jesuits and such others, which have seduced and stirred up enemies both intestine and foreign, to bereave them of the same; and they offer themselves, their lives, lands & friends to be employd at the Kings pleasure, for preventing so dangerous attempts and bloody devices. In *Seff. 6.* The Nobles and others report, that they had conferred with the King, and had received good answers, as, that there is more need of execution against Papists than of advice; and that his Ma. is glad of the solemnity and frequency of this Assembly, and before the dissolving thereof he craves, that they would resort unto him, and they shall heare more of his good will: but because many particulars were comprehended under the few generals propounded, he had appointed sixe of his Counsell to meet with as many as the Church shall appoint, the next day. The Assembly nameth certain persons to convene accordingly. In *Seff. 14.* A Supplication was sent unto the K. in this tenor; Sir, Your Ma. remembereth, the cause of the convening this Assembly at your command, consists principally in two points; one, for repressing the Jesuits and other Papists which are entred into this realm, and practize with their complices, to subvert the sincerity of religion publicly professed, another to provide such means, that in time coming such enterprises may be avoided. As to the first, wee humbly crave 1. That some of the chief Jesuits and others shall instantly be taken order with, to give exemple unto others, viz. Ja. Gordon & Will. Crichton; which are now in this town, that they may be incontinently called before your Hi. and Counsell, and there it may be declared unto them, that their lives are in your Ma's hand, for contraveening your lawes, and yet of your clemency you do spare them, charging them in the mean time, to remain in warde within Edinburg untill the passing away of the first ships, wherein they shall be entred, and sent away; And that it be denounced unto them, that if they return at any time hereafter without your speciall licence, the law shall be execut against them to death, without any more process. 2. That the Lairds of Fentry, Glenbervy younger and other excommunicated Papists, which shall be given up in writ, may also be called before your Majesty & Counsell, and such things be laid unto their charge as they are culpable of according to the Acts of Parliament, that the penalty thereof may be executed upon them; and other apostates from the true religion, which once they had embraced, be called also, and punished. 3. That summons be presently directed against all receipters of Papists, Jesuits, Seminarie-priests and all traffiquers against true religion; and likewise to summon witnesses, by whose depositions they may be convict of the foresaid crimes, and specially that such as are of the Estates and are culpable of apostasy or papistry, shall no way be suffered, but called and convict thereof, and if they be apprehended for other crimes, shall on no way be pardoned, untill they have satisfied both your Majesty and Estates, and also the Church; And generally that all Noble men whatsoever without exception, known to be entertainers of Papists or enterprising any thing against the true Religion, shall be put presently in ward, or exiled, Concerning the planting of Churches, this is our advice, that Commissioners be directed from your Majesty and this Generall assembly into the north and south parts of the country, to visite, and plant Ministers, where need requires for repressing Papistry; and having Commis-

sion alswell from your Majesty as from the Church, to call before them all that are suspected of perverting true religion or revolting from it; and to do all other things for reformation of these parts; And because this work can not proceed, unless provision be made alswell to the Commissioners of the Church, as Ministers to be planted in necessary places, that certain persons be deputed from the Counsell, and some of the Ministry, To convene with all expedition to sight the rols of the thirds, that it may be considered, what may be spared unto that effect, and where these thirds have been abused, to see how they may be reformed, and that the Act made for discharging pensions out of the thirds and *superplus*, and proclamation that hath passed thereupon, may take full effect; Likewise giving power unto these Commissioners, to reform Colledges & Schools, and where the rents thereof have been abused, to put convenient remedy thereunto; and where it can not serve, to see how it may be helped, and that qualified men be placed in the roume of idle bellies; and to depose from the Ministry and from their Benefices all that shall be found unworthy or scandalous in life or doctrine, alswell Bishops as others. Lastly that it would please your Majesty take some solide order, that the lawes made for punishing vice, and Commissioners appointed thereunto, may take some good effect; And that order be taken with the poore, that wander up and down the country without law or religion. With this Supplication was also sent a catalogue of the Papists in every Province. II. *In Sess. 5.* Rob. Rollok, And. Melvim, To. Buchanan and Pa. Sharp are ordered to visite the Reply of Peter Blackburn unto the book of the Jesuite Ja. Gordon. *In Sess. 14.* They report, that on the part of the Jesuit, they have found much diligence and sophistry, and they praise God for the Reply, where in they have found solide judgement and great light, to the praise of God, and overthrow of the enemy. *In Sess. 8.* The Assembly directes the Minister of Disert to charge Patrik Adamson to compear personally, and present his own petition. *In Sess. 16.* Patrik Adamson Bishop is convict of transgressing the Act of Conference; and therefore deprived of his office of Commission; and Thomas Buchanan is placed in his roome untill the next Assembly. IV. The Assembly takes into consideration the process led against Robert Montgomery, and the Supplication given in by him; and they declare that he may be admitted Pastor of a flock, where he hath not been scandalous, Providing that he be found qualified in life and doctrine. V. *In Sess. 9.* The Lord Chancellor craves, that the Assembly would weigh, whither James Gibson hath not offended the King not only in that he had spoken in Sermon these words following, that he weened, that James Stuart, the Lady Jesabell and William Stuart had been persecuters of the Church; but now he finds by experience, that the King himself hath been the persecuter; and as Jeroboam for erecting idolatry and permitting thereof was the last of his posterity, so he feareth, if he continue, he shall conclude his race: But also in that he acknowledged before the brethren of the Conference, that he had offended his Majesty, he promised to make satisfaction, and had failed, and broken promise. James Gibson is called, and compeares not. Then the Chancelor craves, that the Moderator put it to the vote of the brethren, whither these words were offensive? None offereth any reason in the contrary. It is propounded *disdem terminis*: and is voted *affirmative*, these words were offensive. *In Sess. 11.* Because before noon James Gibson being present was summoned by the voice of the Moderator to be present after noon, to heare his cause reasoned, and as it was te-

stified by sundry brethren then sitting by him, that they heard him promise to
 compear; and nevertheless compeares not, The assembly declares him con-
 tumacious for not compearing nor sending any reasonable excuse of his ab-
 sence. In *Seff.* 13. the Assembly judgeth James gibson to be suspended
 from the function of the Ministry, during the will of the Church. VI.
 These who were wont to compear before the Synodes to declare their re-
 pentance of adultery, homicid or such crimes, shall hereafter compear
 before the Presbytery of their own bounds for that end. VII. In *Seff.* 15.
 All Ministers shall with all diligence travell within their parish with the
 Noble men & Gentle men, to subscribe the Confession of faith, and re-
 port their diligence unto the next Assembly. VIII. In *Seff.* 16. A generall
 fast is appointed to be kept the first two Sundayes of July for these causes.
 1. the universall conspiracies of the enemies of the truth, to put in execu-
 tion the bloody determination of the Councell of Trent. 2. The floc-
 king of Jesuits & Papists. 3. The defection of a multitude from the truth.
 4. The conspiracies intended against the same by great men of the Land,
 maintainers of Jesuits and Papists. 5. The coldness of all sorts. 6. The
 wrack of the patrimony of the Church. 7. The abundance of bloodshed,
 adultery, incests and all kind of iniquity, whereof the particulare Churches
 have their experience. For clearing the proceedings of the Assembly, wee
 may learn 1. The occasion of their meeting, from B. Spotswood P. 306.
 where he declares, that in the end of the preceeding year many Iesuits and
 Priests (he nameth ten of them) came to deal with the Popish Noble
 men for assisting the Spanish *Armada*, which was then in preparing to
 invade England, if they shall land in Scotland: for their hope was, to find
 the King favorable, because of the Queens proceedings against his mother,
 and that he would joyn his forces with the Spanish, for revenge of that
 wrong. But the King considering his own danger if strangers set foot in
 in the Isle, and not trusting that the Spaniards would take such paines to
 purchase the Crown of England for him (for that also was profered) re-
 fused to give eare unto such motions. But the Bishop (as an aduersary of
 Assemblies) failes in sundry particulars here; namely, that he saith, This
 Assembly was called by the Ministers; whereas the Letter that was sent unto
 the King, saith expressly, that they were convened at his command;
 and his Commissioners were present in the first Session, and were Assessors
 in the Privy Conference; as also the King gave the Noble men thanks for
 that they had convened so solemnly. Then he saith, Robert Bruce was
 chosen Moderator, though he had not as yet entred into the Ministeriall
 function. I know not what year he was admitted into the Ministry: but he
 was not only a member of the Assembly in the year preceeding, but was
 chosen an Assessor unto the Moderator: vvhich certainly had not been
 done, if he had not been an eminent Minister, seeing he vvas not Commis-
 sioner from a Province or Burgh: but he never loved Bishops, nor did the
 Bishops love him. The vanity of some other particulares appeares by
 vvhat is vvritten out of the books of the Assembly. 2. Concerning Rob.
 Montgomery the Presbytery of Glasgove vvas called to an account of their
 admitting William Erskin unto the Bishoprick of Glasgove, seeing he vvas
 not a Minister, but only titulare Parson of Campsy. They answered,
 Seing church-men vvere not permitted to enjoy the Bishoprick (as is said
 before) they esteemed it better, that he have the title than any other;
 and he had given his bond to renounce the title, if the Generall Assembly
 did not allowv his admission. This vvas not allowed, and they vvere or-
 dained

dained to persue him to renounce according to his bond: and Robert Montgomery having renounced episcopacy before the Assembly, was thereafter planted at a church in Cunigham. Of Pa. Adamson and Ja. Gibson, more followes. After this Assembly the King intended an expedition into the West Marches against the Lord Hereis, of whom the Assembly had complained: but he came and offered himself unto the King, and upon his promise to amend, and surety given that he shall resort to Sermons, and suffer nothing to be done in his Wardenry in prejudice of religion, he was sent back to his charge. At the same time the Lord Maxwell (who had gotten licence to go into other countries, and with assurance, that he shall not return without licence) having seen the preparation of Spain for invading England, returneth by advice of some Scots Papists, and landeth at Kirkudbry, in Aprile; and immediatly gathereth men. The L. Hereis advertiseth the King: Maxwell was charged to appear before the Counsell: he disobeyd. Wherefore the King went with such force as he could for the time, against him: he fled to sea, and was brought back prisoner to Edinburgh. In this sommer, that Spanish Navy, which had been some years in preparing, and was called *Invincible*, was overthrown by weak means of men, and principally by storm, when they were lying at anchor in the road of Callais. So it pleased God to disappoint the attempts of Papists with great losse unto them, and no harm unto this Island. Before the report of this overthrow came, the Assembly convenes at Edinb. August 6. Thomas Buchanan is chosen Moderator. I. The Assembly considering the dangers imminent to the Church generally, and specially unto the realm by the intended coming of Spainards; as also the decay of religion by the rarity & poverty of Ministers, appointes that a fast be proclaimed to morrow by the ordinary Teacher in the Church, to be continued all this week. II. Because universally throughtout this realm there is no religion nor disciplin among the poore, but many live in filthy adultery or incest, and their children are not baptised, nor do they resort unto the preaching of the word, Therefore Ministers shall make intimation and denounce unto all the poor that either be parishoners by birth, or resort unto their parishes, if they have woman & children, that they shew testimoniall of their marriage, or els shall be refused of almes by all godly persons; And that they exhort their parishoners, to extend their liberality rather unto these that are of the household of faith, and judge discreetly in giving almes unto others, who have not such evidents, as is said. III. A citation was directed by the Moderator of the preceeding Assembly against Pa. Adamson called Bishop of Santandrews, making mention, that seing by an Act of the Presbytery of Edinburgh it was ordained concerning the marriage of George Earle of Huntley, his bans should be proclaimed upon his subscribing certain articles of religion, and under promise, that he shall subscribe the rest before his marriage, and inhibition was made unto diverse of the Ministry, and namely to the foresaid Patrick, that they should not celebrate the foresaid marriage, untill the foresaid Earle had subscribed the Confession of faith contained in the Acts of Parliament, With certification unto every one of them, if they do so, they should be called for disobedience to the voice of the Church, Before the G. Assembly; And notwithstanding the said inhibition, the said Patrick hath proceeded to solemnize the said marriage upon July 21, thereby disobeying the foresaid inhibition, Now the said Patrick is called: and for him compeares his proctor Tho. Wilson, producing a testimoniall of his sicknes subscribed by Do. Robert nicoll and

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Assembly.

two of his Bailives, and craves that they would not disquiet him in time of his sicknes. This testimoniall is judged not to be sufficient. IV. For somuch as since the late Act of annexation, his Majesty hath transferred the right of patronage of sundry Benefices from himself unto Earles, Lords, Barons and others, and hath annexed them to their lands, of whom some have gotten confirmation in Parliament, others have obtained them since the Parliament, and a third sort hath gotten gift of the naked patronage, to the evident hurt of the Church; Wherefore it is thought expedient, to entreat his Majesty by earnest sute, that the said dispositions may be annulled in the next Parliament; and in the mean time, that it may please his Majesty to deny the disposing of patronages, which remain as yet undisposed; and that his Majesty would provide, that the Commissioners and Presbyteries, unto whom the Collation of these Benefices appertaineth, be not processed nor horned [or outlawed] for not giving admission thereupon; Inhibiting in mean time all Commissioners & Presbyteries, that they give not Collation or admission to any person presented by these new patrones, Untill the next Generall Assembly. V. James Gibson presenteth a supplication, craving, that he may be heard to purge himself of contumacy for not compearing in the last Assembly, and to repone him into his function. And being admitted, he declares first before the brethren of the Conference, which report, that he had declared upon his conscience, that the cause of his absence was not rebellion, stubbornness or ill will, but only in respect of the good affection he had to the weel of the Generall Church, being informed, that if he had compeared, and had not been punished, the affaires of the Church would been cast off. The Brethren judge this reason sufficient to purge him of contumacy, but not to be reponed. VI. Three Ministers were directed unto his Majesty to conferr and understand by what meanes Religion may stand and be continued unto Posterity. VII. All Ministers are exhorted, in their Sermons to declare the prejudice done unto the Church by the spoil of the patrimony thereof, and publickly to oppone against such abuse. VIII. The Assembly considering the appearing ruin of the Evangell within the realm for want of provision unto Ministers and Schools and Colledges, Give their Commission unto certain Ministers, to compear before his Majesty and Counsell on such dayes as his Majesty shall appoint To conferre and advise upon this Head; and to crave humbly of his Majesty that the assignations may be given about November. 1. unto Ministers & Readers; and that these which are already provided *ad vitam*, and that others which are content with their assignations be not altered, untill they may obtain better provision; and to report answer unto the next assembly. IX. The assembly gives commission and authority unto the Presbytery of Edinb. to call before them, Papists and apostates, which shall happen to resort into that town or bounds, and specially to summon the Lords Huntly, Seton, &c. X. The Assembly thinketh meet and ordaines that in time coming so oft as it shall please God to convene the Gen. church of this realm, the first day of the assembly there be a publick fast and humiliation both of the inhabitants and Pastors there convening, and the pulpit both before and after noon be occupied by the ordinary Pastors of the place, To the effect it may please God to give his blessing unto the convention, and good issue unto their travells; And intimation hereof to be made in that town the Sunday before the assembly. *After this Assembly* James Gibson seeing that he could not be restored into his function, went into England, and lived there. When certain newes

was brought of the disperſing of the Spaniſh Navy, the king cauſed ſolemn thanks-giving unto God for this deliverance to be given in all the Churches of the kingdom, beginning in his own Court for example unto others.

XXVI. The hope of the Papiſts now failing by the overthrow of that Navy, they begin to make a form of ſubmiſſion: Huntly at the Kings deſire ſubſcribes the Confeſſion of faith and was reconciled unto the Church: But immediatly he excuſed himſelf by a Letter unto the Prince of Parma then Governor of Flanders, profeſſing that he was ſo preſſed by the King that hee muſt either yeeld, or depart out of the Countrey, or to have taken the fields, which he could not weel do, all hope being taken from him by the return of the Navy: but in what he had failed, he ſhall endeavour to amend by ſome good ſervice, ſeing God had put him in ſuch credite with the King, as he had broken his former guards, and made him eſtabliſh others about his perſon, by whom at all occaſions he might aſſure himſelf, and be Maſter of the King; and ſo when the promiſed ſupport ſhall arrive, he ſhall ſpoil the hereticks of his authority, and make ſure the Catholick enterpriſes, &c. This Letter was dated at Edinburgh Januar 24. 1589. Others alſo ſent Letters to the ſame purpoſe. And the Jeſuites lurking in the Countrey, adviſed theſe Lords, to attempt ſomewhat by themſelves, which might move the King of Spain more readily to ſend them ſuccourſe: a plot was layd to take the King from the Chancellor *Maitlane*, and the Treafurer the Lord *Glames*, under pretence, that the Nobility were neglected, and publick affaires ill mannaged. They ſaid, this way they might procure the aſſiſtance of other Noble men, and the country would reſiſt the leſs, when no mention is made of religion. This plot goeth-on, and in the very nick of time, when Huntly thought to have catched the Chancellor in the Kings chamber of preſence, the Chancellor upon ſuſpicion retieres, eſcapes, and advertiſeth the King of his ſuſpicion. The next day the King examineth Huntly, and finding the truth, committes Huntly into the caſtle of Edinburgh: but after a few days upon new promiſes gives him liberty. Theſe Papiſts will not yet ceaſe: in Aprile Huntly and theſe Lords in Anguiſh make an open inſurrection at Aberdien. The King goeth againſt them, when they heard, that he was at Cowy, they come to the bridge of Dee: but their courage failes, and they evaniſh: afterwards they offer themſelves unto any puniſhment, the King wil impoſe. They were put to an aſſiſe, convicted, and warded: the King delayeth to pronounce ſentence. At this time the Aſſembly convenes at Edinb. Juny 17. James melvin is choſen Moderator. I. The King gives his preſence: he ſpeakes of his good affection toward the Church, and craves that Patrick Galloway be appointed one of his Miniſters, The Aſſembly by the mouth of the Moderator rendreth his Maſteſty humble thanks for the beginnings he had made in ſuppreſſing the enemies of religion: they entreat to proſecute the buſineſs, and made offer of their humble ſervice to the uttermoſt of their power; As for that he craves, they acknowledge, his Maſteſty may command any Miniſter within the realm, to attend himſelf and his Court. II. It is appointed, that at the convening and looſing of every Aſſembly, the role of Commiſſioners ſhall be called. and all abſents be cenſured. III. Univerſall tryall ſhall be made of all the Miniſters within every preſbytery; and the tryall to be of their life & doctrine, eſpecially of ſimony if any be ſuſpect, to have entred that way: the tryall ſhall be by queſtions and preaching; and where any ſhall be found unqualified, he ſhall be depoſed without reſpect of age

1589.

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or other condition: And this tryall shall be concluded before the next Provinciall Synod, which is now appointed to be Septemb. 3; As every presbytery will answer unto God and his Church. IV. It is appointed, that in every presbytery they shall dispute concerning the mariage of adulterers; and report their judgement unto the next assembly. V. The Act made in the last assembly concerning the giving of admission upon the presentation of late patrons, Shall stand untill the next assembly; with this addition, That the person, who shall admit shall incurr the censure of the Church. VI. Violaters of the sabbath (under which are comprehended parishoners absenting themselves from the Sermons of their own parish, without a just cause) and blasphemers of God, are ordained to be tryed and censured by the particular Sessions of the parish: and who shall be convict of these offences, shall be denied of the benefits of the Church, with further censure, as the word of God will allow. VII. The aged and weel meriting in the Ministry should be preferred to young men *ceteris paribus*, being found qualified by the Presbyteries, where Churches are vaiking, and they agreeing with the Congregation. VIII. The Presbytery of Edinb. having received commission from the former Assembly to call Pa. Adamson before them for solemnizing the marriage of Huntly, now deliver their processe, shewing that for his contumacy in not compearing after citations, they had deprived him from all function in the Church. The Assembly judgeth the processe formall, ratifieth their sentence, and ordaines it with other sentences that were pronounced against him: to be published in all the churches. B. Spotswood saith, The Bishop complained unto the king, who shewed himself extreemly displeased with their doings: but espying no better way, he resolved to dissemble his anger toward them, and to take the imprisoned Lords in favor, lest he make himself too much busines. Thereupon he returnes to the North; gives Arroll a pardon, puts Crawford to liberty, and fully reinitis him: Huntly and Bothwell he freeth from imprisonment: but to hold them in awe he deferres the declaration of his will concerning them. The Lord Maxwell, upon his bond, not to practise against religion under pain of a hunder thousand pounds, is likewise dimitted. *Sofar he.* In many other passages he saith, that, what good the king had done for the Church, he did it against his own mind, and dissembling for the time; and here he forgeth, that for envy against the Church, the king takes the Popish Lords into favor. What could an enemy of the religion write more perversly against the fame of the king? But the truth is as he also expresseth it (but mixed with these calumnies) the king at that time was every day expecting the arrivall of his Queen. and was desirous to have all things quiet at her coming: and therefore he took that course with the Popish Lords. As for Pa. Adamson, the king knew, what commission the assembly had given unto the Presbytery of Edinburg, and he knew their proceedings, and nevertheless in the beginning of this Assembly (as this Bishop speaks) he spoke of his good affection toward the Church, and in the Assemblies following he declared his good affection more and more, But (as the *historicall Narration* shewes) the King was so vexed with complaints against Pa. Adamson, especially for debts, for which he was lying registred at the horn, and he was so ashamed of him, because he was so odious for others faults, that he rejected him: and disposed his life-rent unto the Duke of Lennox: whereby the man became miserable, that enduring his sicknes he had not to maintain himself, and was brought into such necessity, to seek relieff of others whom before he had

had accounted his enemies: he sent also to the presbytery of Santandrews, and craved to be absolved from the Sentence of excommunication. Some Ministers were sent unto him, to try his sincerity; before them he cried often and pitifully, Loose mee, for Christ's sake. Upon their report he was absolved. His recantation in certain articles was presented in his name by a Minister John caldcleugh unto the next Synod of Fife: thence some were directed unto him again, and he gave them a more ample and clearer recantation subscribed with his hand, and (as the Writer of *Vindic. Philadelp. pag. 62.* shewes) it was subscribed before many witnesses, of whom some were, Noble men, some Ministers, some Lawiers, some Burgessees, all of good credite. Here also wee see (as it is written in that place last cited) the force of excommunication: howbeit before he had despised the Sentence, yet ere he died, all his wretchedness did not so much grieve him, as that did; and he wished nothing on earth more, than that he might die in the bosom of the Church. In another place the enemy of the Church discipline saith, Whether he knew what was contained in these articles, it is uncertain. If it be uncertain unto that writer, why doth he oppose it, so denying the credite of so many famous witnesses. But I goe on. Because the Queen having once taken the sea, was put back by storm to Norway, the King would go unto her, and without knowledge of the Counsell, takes the sea October 22. and some Noble men with him on the fourth day he landeth in Norway, and stayd there and in Denmark untill May. All that time was no sturre in the country: which was matter of great joy unto him, when it was reported unto him.

XXVII. When the king retured with the Queen May 20. 1590. he went straight way to Church, and caused publick thankes be given unto God for his save return: then he gave thankes unto the Noble men and Counsell for their care of the publick quietnes. Then was great joy in the Country, and a great concourse of people unto Court. The Assembly convenes at Edinburgh August 4. very frequently; the kings Commissioners the Lords Chancellor and Blantyre. Patrick Galloway is chosen Moderator. I. Commissioners were particularly enquired, what diligence they had used in the execution of the late Act against Papists, excommunicat persons, profaners of the sabbath, non-residents, and other heads, that were committed unto the Presbyteries and Commissioners. II. In *Sess. 3.* John Innes Commissioner of Murray was accused for admitting Robert Dumbart to the Ministry without the advice of the Presbytery of Forreß; he answereth, he had done it by the advice of the presbytery of Elgin, wherein he confesses he had done rashly. The Assembly ordaines Robert Dumbart to be tried *de novo* by so many as be present of the Presbyteries of Edinb. & Forreß. In *Sess. 12.* the admission of Robert Dumbart without the advice of the presbytery of Forreß is declared null. III. Because the Earle of Montrose is said to entertain Fentry an excommnicate Papist, it is ordained, that the Presbytery, where he dwelleth for the time, shall charge him before them, try the matter, and accordingly proceed against him according to former Acts, IV. A sentence of excommunication pronounced against the Earle of Anguise is reduced, because of informality: but because in the Sentence was sufficient cause of such censure, (if the process had been formally led) the Church now craves, that he would remove the cause, especially, that he will have care in time coming, that the sabbath be not profaned within his bounds by faires or markets, that no working nor carrying of burdens therein; that vassalls compell not their tenants to cartiage on the sab-

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bath; and to cause them give one day of the week unto their tennents in time of harvest for winning their cornes, lest they be necessarily abstracted from the Service of God on the sabbath. The Earle's answer was, he shall use all diligence, that the sabbath be not profaned; and so soon as he returnes, he shall in his Court establish Acts and penalties, for restraining the violation of the sabbath. In *Seff. 11.* John liverance for his rash excommunicating William Earle of Anguise, was ordained, to confesse his offence unto God, and against the Noble man publickly, in the Church where the Sentence was pronounced; and the Sentence reducing that proceſs, to be publickly intimated by another Minister, in audience of the Congregation on a Sunday. V. The Lord Sommerwell alledgeth the priviledge of holding the market at Carnwath on the sabbath day: at last he condescendes that no market shall be held there any more on the sabbath: And if he faile, the Presbytery is ordained to proceed against him, according to the generall Acts. VI. A generall complaint is made of manifold kindes of profaning the Lords day, by mills, salt pans, mowing and leading of cornes, carrying victuals into and from Burrowes. The assembly declares all these unlawfull; ordaines presbyteries to deal with their bounds, to grant some week-day unto their tennants, which upon necessity mowe and lead their corn upon the Lords day; And all the Ministers present are ordained to give in writ the names of the persons, which can best stopp the Markets within their bounds, to the end, his Majesty may be supplicated to interpon his authority, and command them to do so. VII. In *Seff. 8.* His Majesty praiseth God that he was born in such a time of the light of the Gospell, and that he is a King of a Country, where is such a Church, even the sincerest Church on earth: the Church of Geneva not excepted, seeing they keep some festivall dayes as Easter and Christmes: what have they for them, where have they any institution for them? as for our neighbours in England, there Service is an ill-mumbled Masse in English: they want little of the Masse but the liftings: Now I charge you my good people, Barons, gentle men, Ministers and Elders, that yee all stand to your purity, and exhort the people to do the same; and so long as I have life and Crown, I shall maintain the same against all deadly. For a quarter of an hour or thereby was nothing heard, but praising of God, and praying for the King, by all the Assembly. Then the Moderator in name of the Assembly craves from his Majesty a ratification of the liberties of the Church, the purging of the Countrey from priests and all Papists, and that every church may be provided with a Minister and maintenance. The King answereth, In all Parliaments the liberties of the Church are first ratified, and he will have care to see the same observed: for the second, they knew what he had done before his going to Denmark, and he will do what lawfully he can do for purging the Countrey of Papists: and for the third, it concerned him but in part, and many more have interest, and therefore they shall do weel, to appoint some of their number to wait upon the Counsell for answer thereof, and to conferr upon the means of effectuating it. Then he speaks of the barbarous feuds and odious murders, that thereby were committed, and did seriously commend unto them (as who should of all others most study to make peace) the removing of such barbarities, so far as in them lay, wishing them in their Sermons to strick oft on that point, and make people to understand, how sinfull it is, and how shamefull to the whole Nation; as also to employ the discreetest among them for reconciling the variances that abound in the Countrey: for myself (*said he*) I will employ all the power I have that way;

way; and if yee shall apply yourselves to do the like, my work shall be the more easy, and have the better success. This was greatly applauded of al. In the same Session the King nameth Robert Bruce, Da. Lindsay, Ro. Pont and the Moderator, to attend the Counsell, and to present the petitions of the Assembly, to wit. 1. In respect many promises have been made, and no execution followed, that now performance may be made thereof. 2. A ratification is craved of all lawes, that have been made for the good of the true Church, and a new Act of Parliament, specially establishing the jurisdiction of the Church, their generall and Provinciaall Synods, and presbyteries; and all Acts made contrary to the liberty and jurisdiction of the Church preceeding the date present, to be annulled; and untill a Parliament be called, to conclude these by Act of Counsellor Convention of Estates, if any shall be in the mean time. 3. The purging of the Church and Countrey of all Jesuites, priests and excommunicat papists, and a law against the abusing of the holy sacraments. 3. A law and meants whereby Ministers may be possessed in their glichs & Manfes, and peaceably possess them. 4. An order against them, who did convene at the bridge of Dec. 5. A law and ordinance against all profanation of the sabbath. 6. A law against them that trouble and hurt Ministers going to the Church and executing their office. 7. A law for repressing murders in the countrey. 8. That all churches may be sufficiently planted with Ministers and others office-bearers, and competent stipends out of the tyths and other rents, that have been mortified for use of the Church, and what is over to be employed upon Colledges, upbreeding of youth, the sustentation of the poor, the fabrick of churches and other common affaires thereof. VII I. Seing it is certain, the word of God can not be keep't in sincerity, unless holy disciplin be observed, It is therefore by common consent of all the brethren and Commissioners present concluded, that whosoever hath born office in the Ministry of the Church, or presently beare, or shall hereafter bear office herein, shall be charged by every presbytery, where their residence is, to subscribe the Heads of the disciplin of the Church, set down and allowed by Act of the Assembly in the book of Policy, which is registred in the Register of the Church; and namely, the controverted heads by the enemies of the disciplin, before the next Provincial assembly, Under pain of excommunication to be executed against the non subscribers; And the Presbyteries, which shall be found negligent herein, to receive publick rebuke of the Generall assembly; And to the end, that the disciplin may be known (as it should be) it is ordained that one of each presbytery shall receive from the Clerk of the assembly a copy of that book under his subscription, upon the expences of the Presbytery, before the first day of September next. IX. It is concluded, that where the presbyteries are well constitut, the order of Commissioners of Countries shall cease; and an Act to be advised hereupon against mooneday, when every Presbytery shall have readie the names of such, as they think meet for their presbytery, to attend the Plat for Churches, admit persons presented to Benefices, and to designe Manfes. In *Seff.* 15. Whereas before Commissioners of countries had the charge to enroll the Ministers & their stipends at the Plat, to receive presentations and to give collation, to designe Manfes and glichs; henceforth the well constitute presbyteries and each one of them shall yearly (ay and while the necessity thereof craves) elect out of their number, a brother in name of the Presbytery for carolling & expedition of their stipend at the Plat, authorized & instructed by them, with

commission subscribed by the Moderator and Clerk of the Presbytery, To be shewed and produced unto the Moderifiers; And the same Commissioner to designe Manes & glibs within the bounds of their presbytery; And in all things concerning the execution of his commission, to be countable and subject to the judgement & censure of the Presbytery, from which he receives it; And that all presentations be directed in time coming unto the Presbytery, where the Benefice lyeth; Providing in admission and deprivation of Ministers within Buchan, Aberdien, Garioch and Marre, that Aberdien & Buchan proceed with mutuall advice; and so Marre & Garioch likewise with mutuall advice; and in case of wariance there, the matter shall be referred to the Generall assembly. X. It is thought meet, for the common profite of all the people, that an uniform order be kept in examination before the Communion; and to this end, that a short form of examination be penned before the next assembly: whereunto four persons are named. XI. Because the patrimony of the Church hath been wasted by these, who had the title of Benefices, and thereby the provision of the Ministry failes; All presbyteries are commanded, to try the Beneficed within their boundes, and in what condition they received their Benefice, and in what condition they are presently; and who have set tacks, or have disposed the title of their Benefice or any part thereof, without consent of the Generall assembly; And to report unto the Provinciaall Synod, what they have found: and the Synod to try, if any thing hath been neglected by them, and report unto the next Generall assembly. XII. Great slander lyeth upon the Church through manifold murders, notorious adulteries and incests; and the parties being brought under process, ostrymes clude the Church by shifting from place to place, so that the process can not be brought well to a finall Sentence: therefore it is voted, Whither parties falling into so odious crimes may summarily, upon the notoriety of the crime, be excommunicated: and it is concluded *affirmative*. XIII. Forso much as the dangerous insurrection at the bridge of Dee being considered to have notoriously imported speciall prejudice to the true religion; and the speciall authours and enterprisers thereof, continuing under that slander, have never intended to purge themselves thereof, by confessing their offence: Therefore the Assembly gives their power and commission unto the Presbytery of Edinburgh with other nyne Ministers (then named) to summon before them in Edinburgh, the Earls, Lords, Barons, and free holders, who were at that insurrection, and to charge them, to confesse their offense against the true Church of God and his religion, and to make satisfaction for the slander committed by them, Under the pain of excommunication, And that before the first day of February next; Referring to their discretion the particular dyets and order of process to be kept therein: Providing that this commission be execute before the said day: and requiring John Craig, to remember this matter unto these commissioners, as he will eschue the blame of the brethren, in case of negligence. *Many things may be observed in this Assembly, as.* 1. Their impartialty without respect of persons, of whatsoever condition. 2. B. Spotswood reports the Kings presence and many of his words in this assembly (whereby he confutes, what he had said before of the Kings dissimulation and indignation against the Assembly) but he omittes what was done concerning the disciplin, because thogh he and some others were present and voted unto these Acts concerning the disciplin, yet afterwards he and they became enemies thereof, and accepted Bishopricks: yea and the same year the K. hearing

hearing of the afflictions of the Antiepiscol party in England, wrote unto the Queen in their favors (as also he did again in the year following, as witnesseth Fuller in *Church-hislo. li. 9.* and expresseth the second Letter) thus; Hearing of the apprehention of M^r Vdall and M^r Cartwright and certain other Ministers of the Evangel within your realm; of whose good erudition and faithfull travels in the Church we hear a very credible commendation, howsoever that their diversity from the Bishops and others of your clergy, in matters touching them in conscience, hath been a mean by their delation, to work them your disliking; at this present we can not (weighing the duty which we owe to such as are afflicted for their conscience in that profession) but by our most effectuous and earnest Letter interpose us at your hands to stay any harder usage of them for that cause: Requesting you most earnestly, that for our cause and intercession it may please you, to let them be relieved of their present strait, and whatsoever further accusation or suit depending on that ground, Respecting both their former merit in setting forth the Evangel, the simplicity of their conscience in this defence which can not well be, their let by communion, and the great slander which can not fail to fall out upon their further streighting for any such occasion. Which we assure us, your zeal to religion, besides the expectation we have of your good will to pleasure us, will willingly accord to our request, having such proofs from time to time of our like disposition onto you in any matters which you recommend unto us. Dated Edinburgh June 12. 1591. Fuller saith, One word from archb. Whitgift befriended M^r Cartwright more then both the Letters from the King of Scotland. But who can tell whither the archbishop was not moved with the earnestness of these Letters from such a Soliciter, to speak a word for his antagonist, lest he had been set at liberty, whither he would or not? Howsoever it was, these Letters shew the Kings affection unto the cause, and his esteem of their persons.

XXVIII. The Nationall Assembly convenes at Edinburgh July. 2. 1591. Nicol dalglish is chosen Moderator. I. Because the Assembly hath changed their place, whereupon some may doubt of the authority thereof; It is voted and concluded, that there is a reasonable and weighty cause for the change, and that nothing is done in prejudice of their power, seing the cause is the desire of his Ma. who for sundry reasons hath willed the Ass. to sith heer at this time: and if any brother craves to be further satisfied, the brethren of the Conference will resolve his scruple. II. The Act made in the Assembly *An. 1583.* concerning beggares, shall be published again in all churches by the Minister there, and put to execution by the Ministers so far as concerneth them, as they will be answerable unto the Church. III. The subscription of the book of poliey, which was enjoyned by the preceeding, assembly, hath been neglected by many presbyteries: therefore the Assembly ordaines the former Act to be observed before the next Assembly; And the Moderator of each presbytery to see the execution thereof, under the penalty of 40. sh to be employd unto the use the poor, besids other censure of the Church. IV. Seing sacriledge is an universall sin regning through the Countrey, and is esteemed commonly to be no sin, nor is known unto many, it is thought good, that this monster be described in its own colors: and therefore Rob. Pont is appointed to take paines on that subject; and others are appointed to visite and peruse his travells, and to give him their judgements therein, that the same being perfected, may be presented again unto the Assembly. V. Because the order heretofore in giving power unto certain brethren, named to

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read and give answers unto the bills, that are brought unto the Ge. assembly, seemes unto some to be inconvenient, and derogative unto the Provinciaall Assemblies, specially in so far as the things that were doubtfull unto them, and were referred unto the full assembly, are committed to the decision of four or five brethren, Therefore it is appointed, that hereafter, that certain brethren be chosen by the Assembly, who shall have only power, to receive such bills, read and consider, if they be brought pertinently, and if they be impertinent, to give such answer on the back of the bill: but if they be pertinent, to bring them before the Assembly, to be answered there; yet with their opinion by word, what they have considered thereof. VI. These who have the name of Bishops, and sometime have been in the Ministry, and now neither will serve the Church whereof they take up the fruits, nor pay the stipends of them that serve, As they are appointed by the Plat; but spend the rents on profane uses, should be censured by the church; and if they amend not, should be excommunicated. VII. In *Seff. 11.* compeare the Lord Provand President with two other Lords of the Colledge of Justice, Cukros & Barn barrow, and in name of the Session declare, that they are informed, that the L. of Halyairds one of their number was yesterday called at the instance of Pa. Simson Min. at Sterlin, for calling him a suborner [or seducer] which matter is presently depending before the Session: being a Civill cause, and proper to their cognition, and the Church is not Judge thereof; and therefore they crave, that the Assembly should not proceed in that cause, untill it take an end before them, and do nothing in prejudice of the Colledge of Justice. These were removed; and after consultation, they were called in again: answer was made, The Assembly will do nothing in prejudice or to the hurt of the Session, nor meddle with any Civill cause: but this being a matter of slander, they had reason to purge their own members thereof, without any prejudice of the Civill Judicature, and crave, that as their Lordships would not wish the hindrance of their own judicature, so they would not take it ill, that the Church proceed in purging their own members in an ecclesiasticall way. In *Seff. 13.* it is propounded again, whether it be expedient to proceed in that cause, before that the Lords of the Session had given out their Sentence decisive? It was thought meet to demand the L. Justice, whither he doeth acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Church in this cause? He answereth, he acknowledges with reverence the judgement of the Assembly in all causes appertaining: unto them but this cause is Civill, whereof the Lords are Judges *primariò*, and presently dependes before them; and the Church can not be Judges *primariò*. He is removed again; and after advice he is called in: the Assembly declares, that they find themselves Judges of this cause *primariò*; and therefore will proceed in it; Requiring, that he will declare, what, he can say in the contrary. He takes instruments of their interloquiture, and protesteth for remede of law. Because his protestation was made only *verbo*, and containes severall heads, they crave that he give his protestation unto the Clerk in write. VIII. An Act of the Lords of the Checker upon a Supplication made by some Ministers, dated at Halyrudhouse Febr. 10. 1590. declaring their meaning, That all Ministers, who have vitiate any Benefice of cure, in wholl or in part by purchasing unto themselves, their heires or assignayes, or set long tacks of it, within the worth thereof; Be compelled by censure of the Church to restore that Benefice to the own integrity, for the use of the Minister presently serving the cure: And to that effect require the Generall assembly,

fembly, Commissioners and presbytery of the bounds, where the Benefices lye, to take notice of such persons, and to proceed against them, as said is, in most strict form, as such a great enormity requires, ay and whill they shall redintegrate the Benefice, without any other process of law. The Assembly approves this Act, and ordaines it to be put into execution, by every Presbytery, according to the tenor of it. IX. Forsoomuch as many things have been done by Ministers and others pretending the title and name of the Church, greatly prejudicial, to themselves, and the disciplin and the Patrimony or living of the Church: And by priviledge of good lawes it is granted and lawfull unto them to remede themselves, by revocation thereof: Therefore the wholl assembly after deliberation, have revoked, and by these presents do revoke all and whatsoever thing done by them or others cloathed with the title & name of the Church, prejudiciall to themselves, their disciplin, their patrimony and living, as being enormously hurt thereby; And protests according to the disposition of the said law solemly, that they may be heard in time & place, to seek remedy thereof. And it is ordained, that every Presbytery shall receive a copy of this revocation, and give command to the Ministers within their boundes, to intimate the same from their pulpits. X. A form of examination before the Communion being penned by Iohn Craig, is approved, and ordained to be printed. XI. Commissioners are appointed to present unto his Majesty and Counsell with all humility, the petitions of the Assembly, towit, that the Acts of Parliament that are made for suppression of the enormities (following) may be put to execution, as, against Iesuites, namely, James Gordon; the receipters of them, and excommunicate Papiests, namely the Laird of Fentry and the Master of Anguise; profaners of Sacraments; and privat men & women givers thereof; idolaters, pilgrimages, Popish Magistrats; sayers & hearers of Masse, apostates, publick markets on the Lords day, violent invaders of Ministers, profaning of the Lords day by playes of robinhood, murderers which overflow the Land. Item that the Ministers already planted may be provided with sufficient livings. Item the Act of annexation to be dissolved; the new erections and patronages may be discharged; the Act of dissolution of prelaties and Benefices consisting of moe churches to be ratified & established: The Act of February *An. 1587.* the exception of June 8. being added, may have place: That small Benefices that are disposed to Ministers, may be free of taxation, &c. XII. The next Assembly is appointed to convene at Aberdien, August 17. in the year 1592. but if a Parliament shall be called, the brethren being advertised by the presbytery of Edinburgh shall convene two dayes before, in the Town where the Parliament shall be called. *The contest between the Assembly and the Session is recorded by B. Spotswood* to have begun thus; John Graham of Halyards within the parish of Kirklistoun (being then L. Justice, and one of the Colledge of Justice) had intended an Action of removing against some fuars; and to bear out his plea, suborned Ro. Ramsay a Notary in Sterlin, to give him an instrument, that made for his purpose. The defendants offer to disprove the instrument: and in the mean time upon a Warrant obtained from his Ma. they apprehend the Notary, who confessed, that the instrument which he had subscribed; was brought to him by William Graham brother to the foresaid John, and that he knew nothing of the business: and being pursued criminally, was upon his confession condemned of falshood: and

execute to death. The pursuer, as he was a man bold and impudent, to maintain the truth of the instrument, did intend Action against Patrick Simson (who had dealt with Ro. Ramsay, to confesse the truth of that instrument) alledging, that he [Simson] had seduced the man, and made him deny the instrument. The Minister regrates his case unto the Assembly: there upon John Graham is summoned, to answer for the scandall raised against the Minister. He compeares, and answereth, that he would prove what he had alledged before the Iudge competent. The Assembly replieth, He must qualify it before them, or they would censure him as a slanderer. Hereupon followed the contest. The issue was, the Lords esteeming this an encroaching upon their priviledges, and that upon such grounds all actions that touched any Minister, might be drawn from their Iudicatory, do resolve to send a prohibition unto the Assembly, and discharge their proceeding: but by the mediation of some well disposed persons, that loved not to have questions of Jurisdiction moved, the business was settled, and both actions ordained to cease. But the instrument was sustained by the Lords, and judged to make faith: which in end turned to the pursuers undoing. *So far he.*

XXIX. The King was diligent to remove the broils of the Nobles by calling them before the Counsell, and causing them submit their quarells, and partly by making strict lawes against the troublers of the common peace: but it was long work; and new troubles were ay breaking out: as in the end of the year the Earle of Bothwell and some others envying the credite of the Chancelor, made a conspiracy and sturre in the Kings palace: and on February 7. year 1592. the Earle of Huntly killed the Earle of Murray in Dunibrisfell: and the Papist Lords were plotting a traiterous conspiracy with the King of Spain by means of Scots Jesuites some lying in Spain, and some in Scotland, interchanging letters for assistance, to invade first Scotland and then England: as the Letters were intercepted in the end of that year, that were some written, and some blank, and appoiated to be filled up by the Jesuits in Spain as the trustees in that business: and all subscribed by Huntly, Anguse and Erroll. These Letters were printed, and the discovery of the Confession of George Ker and David Graham of Fentry, who was arraigned and beheaded at Edinburg February 16. year 1593. These (being Civil) I would have omitted: but these are the ground of other things following. The Nationall assembly convenes at Edinburgh May 22. Robert Bruce is chosen Moderator. I. It was considered, to propound unto the King & Parliament these petitions. 1. That the Acts of Parliament in the the year 1584. against the disciplin of the Church and their liberty, be annulled: the same disciplin whereof the Church hath been now in practise, may be ratified. 2. Abolition of the Act of annexation, and restitution of the patrimony of the Church. 3. That Abbots, Priors and others pretending the title of the Church, and voting in name of the Church without their power and commission, be not admitted to vote in name of the Church, neither in Parliament, nor other convention. 4. That the Country may be purged of fearful idolatry and blood-shed. Commissioners were named for this end. II. It is referred to consultation, whither is be lawfull, that the Ministry should succeed in the place of Prelates to vote in Parliament. III. It is ordained, that Ministers receiving Commissions from the Church, if they be slothfull in execution, shall be rebuked in the face of the Assembly for their negligence. IV. The Church considering their duty to God,

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and the necessity of the charge layd upon them, and seeing the dayly decay of religion and lack of justice, whereof the effects (to the re- grate of all true Christians) do more and more fall-out in miserable experience; And that the duty of their office burdeneth them, to discharge their consciences in this behalf, unto their Sovereigne, unto whom it chiefly appertaines to procure remedy there of; Therefore they direct certain brethten, to passe immediately unto his Ma. and to lament the dayly decay of religion, disorder and lack of justice within this realm; and to admonish gravely, that he will do for remedy of these evils, as he will answer unto God; and like wise to admonish in name of the Eternall, to have respect in time unto the estate of true religion perishing; and to the manifold murders, oppressions & enormities dayly multiplied through impunity; And to discharge his Kingly Office in both, as He would eschue the fearfull challenge of God, and turn his wrath from his Ma. and the wholl Land; And to the end, his Ma. may be the better enformed, they are ordered, to declare the particulars.

V. Alexander dickson being summoned, compeares: he is asked, whither he had subscribed the articles of religion presently professed & established within the realm? and whether he had communicat at the Lords Table? He answereth, he had done both when he was a Student in Santandrews. Then he is asked, In what heads he differeth now? He answereth, There be sendry heads, wherein he agrees not with the Confession of faith. He is bidden either now by word, or too morrow by writ declare the specialls. He plainly avoweth and protests, he differeth from them, in all the substantiall points of religion, wherein the Papists controvert with them. Upon this his confession, the Assembly findes that he hath committed apostasy; and therefore to have incurred the censure of an apostate. The next day he sendeth a supplication, offering to subscribe the Confession of faith, or within 40. dayes to passe out of the realm; and to this effect craving to be freed from captivity. The Assembly desireth a Bailive of Edinburgh (present) to take order with him according to the Act of Parliament, and to set him free upon caution.

VI. Concerning the hainous murder of the Earle of Murry committed by the Earle of Huntly and his complices; the Assembly gives order and strait command unto the brethren of the presbytery of Brechin (who have already entered in proces with him) to proceed with concurrence of two brethren of each presbytery of Anguse and Merns, against him for that cruell fact, according to the acts of the Assembly.

VII. Whereas an act was made in the last Parliament, concerning deposed Ministers; it is thought meet, at the next Parliament or Convention of Estates, To crave, that because it hat been enacted, that notwithstanding a Pastor be deposed, yet the tacks and titles set by him, shall stand, It be now provided and added unto that Act, that if the tack or title be set after the committing of the fact for which the person is deposed, that such tacks, factories or titles whatsoever, shall be null or of none avail.

In the Parliament begun Juny 5. The four petitions of the Assembly, were taken into consideration, whereof the second and third were denied: but for the first, all former Acts of Parliaments for liberty of the true Church were ratified, as also the Parliament ratifieth and approves the Generall assemblies appointed by the Church, and declares, that it shalbe lawfull to the Church and Ministers every year at the least and oftner *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity shall require, to hold and keep generall assemblies; Providing, that the Kings Majesty or his Commissioners, with them to be appointed

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by his Hieness, be present at each generall Assem. before the dissolving thereof, nominate & appoint time and place, when or where the next generall assembly shall be holden: and if neither his Ma. nor his said Commissioners be present for the time in that Town, where the Assembly shalbe holden, in that case it be lawfull to the said Gen. assembly, by themselves to nominate & appoint time & place, where the next Gen. assembly shall be kept; as they have been in use to do in time by past: And also ratifieth and approves the Synodall or Provinciaall assemblies, to be held by the said Church and Ministers twice every year, as they have been, and presently are in use to do, within every Province of this realm; And ratifieth & approves the presbyteries, and particular Sessions appointed by the said Church, with the wholl jurisdiction & disciplin of the said Church, agreed upon by his Majesty in Conference had by his Hieness, with certain of the Ministers convened for that effect: of which articles the tenor folloves, Matters to be treated in the Provinciaall assemblies: These assemblies are constitute for weighty matters necessary to be treated by mutuall consent and assistance of brethren within the Province, as need requires: This Assembly hath power to handle, order & redresse all things omitted or done amisse in the particular assemblies: It hath power to depose the office-bearers of that Province for good & just cause, deserving deprivation: and generally these Assemblies have the whol power of the particular Elderships, whereof they are collected. Matters to be treated in the Presbyteries, The power of the Presbyteries is to give diligent labors in the bounds committed to their charge: that the Churches be kept in good order, to enquire diligently of naughty & ungodly persons, and to travell to bring them into the way again, by admonition or threatening of Gods judgements, or by correction: It appertaines unto the Eldership, to take heed, that the word of God be purely preached within their boundes; the Sacraments rightly administred, the disciplin entertained, and ecclesiasticall goodes uncorruptly distributed; It belongs unto this kind of assembly, to cause the ordinances made by the Assemblies Provinciaall, Nationall or Generall, to be kept and put in execution; to make constitutions, which concern to p̄s̄on in the Church, for decent order in the particular Church, where they govern; Providing that they alter no rules made by the Provinciaall or Generall Assemblies; and that they make the Provinciaall privy of the rules, that they shall make; And to abolish constitutions tending to the hurt of the same; It hath power to excommunicat the obstinat, for nall proceß being led, and due intervall of times observed. Of particular Churches, if they be lawfully ruled by sufficient Ministry & Session, they have power & jurisdiction in their own congtegration in matters ecclesiasticall, And decernes and declares the said Assemblies, presbyteries and Sessions, jurisdiction & disciplin thereof foresaid, to be in all time coming most just, good and godly in the self, Notwithstanding whatsoever Statutes, Acts, Canon, Civill or Municipall lawes made in the contrair; To the which and every one of them, these presents shall make expresse derogation. *And so followes an abrogation of many Acts made in time of Papistry in favors of the Papisticall Church; Also the 129. Act of the Parliament An. 1534. was annulled, that it should in no way be prejudiciall nor any way derogatory to the priviledge, that God hath given to the spirituall Office-bearers in the Church, concerning heads of Religion, matters of herefy, excommunication, collation or deprivation of Ministers, or any the like essentiall censures specially grounded and*

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having warrand of God's word. Item then was annulled the act of that same Parliament; granting commission to Bishops and other Judges constitute in Ecclesiasticall causes, to receive his Highness presentations unto Benefices, to give collation thereupon, and to put order in all causes ecclesiasticall: which his Majesty and Estates foresaids declare, to be expired in itself, and to be null in time coming, and of none avails, force nor effect; And therefore ordaines all presentations to Benefices, to be directed unto the particulare Presbyteries in all time coming, with full power to give collation thereupon; and to put order to all matters ecclesiasticall within their boundes, according to the disciplin of the Church; Providing. the foresaid Presbyteries be astricted & bound, to receive and admit whatsoever qualified Minister presented by his Majesty or laick patrones. *Lykewise* an act, that unqualified persons being deprived, the Benefice vakes, and the Patron not presenting, the right of presentation pertaines to the Presbytery, without prejudice of the tacks set before the deprivation. *Lykewise* an Act concerning Manfes and glebes at cathedrall and Abbey-churches. Item an act ratifying & approving all acts of Parliament, Secrer Counsell, and all Proclamations made before against Jesuits, Seminary-priests and receipters of any of them: & also decerning that in all time coming the saying of Masse, receipring of Jesuites, Seminary-priests, traffiquing Papists against the K. Ma. & Religion presently professed within the realm, is and shall be a just cause to inferre the pain & crime of treason, both against the Jesuits, Masse-priests, traffiquing Papists, and receipters of them; providing, howsoon the Jesuites and priests satisfy the Prince and the Church, the foresaid penalty shall no way stricke against the receipters. Item an Act ratifying the Act made in February 1587. in favors of Ministers their stipends & rents. Item an act forbidding markets on the sabbath, & allowing to chuse a week day for them. Item who give not Confession of faith, shall not enjoy the benefite of any act of Parliament. Likewise an act was made against erection of Churchlands and tyths into Temporall Lordships, with exception of all that were before erected. *Here Bishop Spotswood affirms* that the King was unwilling either to abrogate the acts of the year 1584. or to grant the ratification of the present disciplin; but Bothwells business and the many discontentments within the realm, moved him to give way, lest he be troubled with their outcry. *But this is clearly contrary* unto the K's own promise made in the Ass. year 1590. And in a few pages before, he objects against the disciplin a division, that hapned in the presbytery of Santandrewes, for planting the Church of Luchars, and upon this occasion that presbytery was divided in two whereof the one went to Couper. He had objected this long before against *Epistol. Philadelph.* and it was answered in *Vindicia. Pag. 25.* that the question was for the gifts or abilities of the two persons, and not for any bribe, that either of the parties looked upon: but the Bishops were not wont to try the Spirits of men in that manner, but principally looked upon their friendship or money: as for the division of the presbytery into two, it is said there, two others causes moved them: they were many in number, and so the turnes of their Exercise coming seldom, some were thought to be negligent: another cause was, that many pretended excuse of their absence, because of the distance of place and difficulty of the way. At first there were but two Presbyteries in Fife, towit, Santandr. & Dunfermlin. any man who knowes the boundes, will easily grant these reasons, as the like causes made division of Presbyteries in Anguse, and other places. But moreover can all inconvenients be eschued in any sort

Presbytery is better than Episcopacy.

of Government either political or ecclesiasticall? then was a difference among them: but it was soon remedied. Here I borrow of *The Historicall Narration* in the title *Of the third course of Visitors* sect. 18. where on the margin it is sayd, *Presbyteriall Government is proved to be better than Episcopall*: and in the Section it is sayd; Being Pastors are equall in power by Gods ordinance, the Government can not be lawfull, which bringeth Superiority of one above others. Whereas this parity in power is charged with anarchy & confusion, it is in unjust imputation, proceeding from ignorance or malice: for notwithstanding this parity among Pastors considered severally, there is a subordination of the eldership of particular churches unto a presbytery; and of presbyteries unto Provinciall Synods, and of Synods unto the Nationall Assembly. Again every Pastor is subject to the joynt fellowship of Pastors in the presbytery, Synods and Assemblies. Thirdly there is a priority of order, in that one is Moderator or president in every meeting or Assembly. It is not then loose or single, but compact parity, and ordered. This comely order preserves that parity, which Christ hath allowed, to be among Pastors, considered with respect of one to another severally, and is more convenient for the Church of God, than the superiority of a diocesan Bishop. It can not be denied, that many eyes see better than one, either in trying Ministers, or finding hereticks, or devising remedies for evils, or examining delinquents. Next put the case, the sight of one may be sharper than of many, yet many having equal power are not so equally nor easily corrupted to pervert disciplin& judgement, as one judging and ruling by his sole power or with power by his negative voice, to frustrate the voices of many. One who is a stranger, and not a kindly Pastor, may be more easily induced to wink at hereticks, to admit or tolerate vitious Ministers, or to suffer atheism or Popery to waxe, than a number of Pastors watching over their own flocks. Again the zeal of one stirreth up the coldness of another, and his zeal is tempered by the mildness of a third: the contempt of the world in one beareth down the covetousness of a worldling: the graces and gifts of God in sundry persons, like sundry ingredients in one salve, meet together, and temper one another. It is expedient (say prudent Politicians) that in Assemblies there be some like Cato, Claudius or the like, to correct with their severity the gentle voices of others. Thirdly will not the kindly Pastors be more vigilant or carefull of the weel of their own flocks, than an idol shepherd, set over many with a generall oversight? Fourthly is there not greater liberty, and consequently sincerer Government, where men may utter their mindes freely in propounding, reasoning and voting, when all are of equall power, than when one hath power to present othersto Benefices, preferre, transferr, and on the other side to depresse, vex and persecute? 5. Is it not more convenient for the ease of Gods people, that causes be pleaded, offenses be tryed, and offenders censured, where the offenses is committed, without charges to parties & witnesses, and with expedition, than to trouble the subjects with journeying unto the Bishop, and to wait upon his leisure for tryall and determination? 6. Is not the Government more convenient for the Church, where no man is excoemed from censure, than where Prelates rule without controlement, either of Presbytery or Synod, from whose censure they are excoemed, or of Nationall assembly, which are not, but when it pleaseth them, and then overruled by them? It is oft alledged, that parity is subject to schism and breeding of heresies. I answer, That may be true, where parity is not qualified and ordered with the

Presbytery is more effectually in Episcopacy against heresy & schism.

the subordination above mentioned, or if every man be suffered to live as him listeth: but when it is ordered, as said is, experience in our own Church is a sufficient evidence of the most powerfull mean to suppress schism and heresy: and that was the reason, that K. James alledged unto an English Divine, (admiring why our Church was never troubled with heresy:) for [said he] if it spring up in a parish, there is an eldership, to take notice of it, and suppress it: if it bee too strong for them, the Presbytery is ready to crush it: if the Presbytery can not provide against the obstinate, in the Synod he shall finde more witty heads: if he be not convinced there, the Generall Assembly will not spare him. But wee never heard, that any error was so obstinately maintained; as to be brought to the censure of a Synod, far less to the Gen. Assembly, except only two usurping Bishops, and Tho. Hepburne, yet he was suspended, and after conference with some, which were appointed to argue with him, he corrected his opinion. Wee have the like experience of the Church of France: and if the Reformed Church of the Low Countries had enjoyed the liberty of set and generall Assemblies as the Church of Scotland did, and France doth, Arminianism had not gotte such footing among them: and if that extraordinary Nationall Councell had not been held at Dort, in all liklyhood it had prevailed. But episcopall Government hath bredd and entertained schism, heresy, tyranny. Among presbyteries if one had hatched an heresie, it was soon crushed; unless a Bishop had taken the parrocky of it: but if a Bishop hatch an heresy, or take upon him the defense of one hatched by another, he drawth commonly all the Diocye after him, as may be cleared by infinite instances; and when the universall Bishop was set up, a Generall apostasy followed. All the world hath been shaken with contentions of Bishops, patriarchs and popes for preferment to their places, or advancement of their honors. So that wee may justly averr, that superiority of Bishops hath been the knife, that hath cut the strings of concord & peace. The heathen Emperours have not been greater persecuters, than Lordly Prelats: Catilina did not disturbe the common wealth, more than Bishops have done in some Nations, I as witnesseth Thomas Becket and Anselm, thogh even for the same cause principally they were called Saints] And if we will cast our eyes on our neighbour Church, there we may find Familists, Anabaptists, Lutherans, Arminians, and preachers popishly affected, to live without controlement, but sound & orthodoxe preachers to be (for not conformity in ceremonies, &c.) silenced, imprisoned, banished or otherwise hardly used. Since the golden ring of equality among Pastors was broken in our Church, and the liberty of holding assemblies was reft from her, a fearfull schism hath entered with obtruding of Popish ceremonies; popery and Arminianism is taught in churches and Schools; and none so readily preferred to Bishopricks or inferior Benefices as Arminian and Popish preachers, which (unless God prevent it) in end will draw all the body into apostasy and defection, which is more dangerous than a meer schism. *This the Author did write about the year 1635.* Certainly ambitious men and all who will not be curbed in their loose carriage, are enemies of this Discipline.

XXX. The plots of the Popish Lords (at which I hinted before) being so manifestly discovered, to tend for the overthrow of religion and of the Realm, did animate the King much against the Jesuits, and he published his resolution to spare none, that were tryed guilty of that treason, but make them example to all posterity, in most serious manner requiring all good subjects to beware of these Jesuites, and in their prayers to

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implore the mercy of God, for preserving themselves, their wives and children from the conspiracy intended. The Ministers of Edinb. esteeming it their duty, to make the conspiracy known unto the churches of the country, wrote letters unto the nearest Ministers, desiring them to meet at Edinb. January 8. to give their advice in these dangers. The meeting was frequent: for the report of the discovery drew many of every condition thither. Robert Bruce declared the danger, whereinto the Country and Church were brought. It was thought meet to entreat his Majesty by some Commissioners, to execute the Lawes against Jesuits & their abettors. The King accepteth them, that were sent unto him, and gives thanks unto them all for their readiness to assist him at that time, and wished them not only to give their advice for the course that shall be taken, but to let him know, what help they would contribute for strengthening him. This being reported to the meeting, their advice was, that a Parliament be called, and the subscribers of the blarks be summoned; and because it was not likly, they will appear, and to his Majesty shall be forced to pursue them by force of armes, they did humbly offer their attendance upon his Majesties person, till these be apprehended or expelled out of the Country; as also they will entertain a garde to his Majesty of 300 horsemen and 100 foot, so long as any necessity shall be, and especially till the lawes have taken effect against the rebels; Providing, it be not drawn into a custom, nor prejudice the liberty of the realm. This offer was accepted, and proclamation was made to meet the King at Aberdien February 20. for settling the North. Angus was imprisoned upon another occasion: yet escaping went to the North. So soon as they heard of the Kings coming, all these fled unto the hills, and sent their Ladies with the keys of their houses unto the King. He appointes his Lieutenants in the North, and returns to Edinburgh, March 26. The Assembly convenes at Dundy Aprile 24. David Lindsay is chosen Moderator. I. A supplication was sent unto the King and Counsell, for execution of the lawes against all manner of Papists, and regrating the prejudice done to the planting of Churches, by erection of prelaties into temporall Lordships, whereof they supplicate for remedy. II. An inventory is taken of all presbyteries throughout all the Country: none in Argyle and the west or north Isles; as also an inventory of all vaking and unprovided Churches. III. Commissioners are appointed to try all Ministers in every presbytery who are not qualified, nor resident, scandalous, &c. And to proceed against such by advice of their own presbytery according to Acts of the Church; and for shortening the Commissioners travels, it is appointed, that before their coming every presbytery shall use diligence among themselves; and that every presbytery shall provide for the Churches of these commissioners enduring their absence in visitation. IV. In *Seff.* 7. Sir James melvin of Hallhill Commissioner from the King presenteth a Missive containing the articles following, and the Act of the late Parliament concerning the jurisdiction of the Church these were thankfully accepted, read and ordained to be registred. The articles were. 1. His Majesty declares, that seeing he can not with honor see the priviledges of the Crown hurt, therefore he will see the Act of the Parliament kept concerning the convening of the Generall Assembly by his appointment, willing them therefore before their dissolving to direct two or three unto him to crave of him to appoint time and place of their next meeting. 2. To make an Act prohibiting all and every Minister, under the pain of deposition, to declame in pulpit against his Majesty or Counsell's

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sell's proceedings, seeing they know his good intention, to set forth piety & justice, and he at all times gives ready access to sundry Ministers for informing, delating or complaining either in their own name or in name of any of the Brethren. 3. Because M^r Craig is old, he craves, that they would give in here five or six Ministers, out of which he may chuse two, to serve his house. 4. Seeing the standing of religion and the welfare of his Ma^y person are inseparably joyned, that whosoever are enemies to the one, are common enemies to both; therefore let some be appointed in every Presbytery, to advertise & inform him diligently for the more speedy remedy, not only of whatsoever practises they can hear of Papists and the Spanish faction, but of their receipts, and of the practises of Bothwell, whose wholl courses as they are directly against his person, so they tend wholly to the subversion of religion; With direction also unto them, to inform all the Barons and honest men tenderers of his Ma^y weefair, to attend and give intelligence of these practises as they can learn from time to time. 5. That where is any port or landing place, some brethren be specially appointed, to deal so with the Burghs, that they take sufficient tryall according to the law made, of all who shall come into, or passe forth of this countrey, from whence they came; whither they intend, what is their purpose; and so after good and sufficient tryall, if there be any thing of weight & importance, that they fail not to acquaint his Majesty there with, to the end, he may the more readily discover all forrein or intestine practises, which are or shall be plotted against the estate of the present religion; And this he craves to be done so faithfully, as he hath good opinion of their earnest affection no less to the preserving of his person, as to the defence of the common cause; As also he promiseth to aid and assist you in all your good resolutions, that may tend to the furtherance of peace and quietness with the advancement of true religion presently professed within this realm. The humble answers of the assembly. 1. Unto the first, it is agreed according to the Act of Parliament, which was delivered with the Articles. 2. It is ordained by the wholl Church that no Minister utter from pulpit any rash or unreverent speeches against his Majesty or Counsell or their proceedings: but that all their publick admonitions proceed upon just & necessary causes & sufficient warrant in all fear, love and reverence, Under the pain of depositing those, that do in the contrary, from the function of the Ministry. 3. The Commissioners that are directed unto his Majesty shall nominate the Brethren, and whom he shall chuse, shall be admitted by the presbytery where his Majesty makes residence for the time. The 4 & 5. are condescended unto, and order taken, as the Commissioners will give particular information. V. No Colledge shall make disposition of their rents or livings by tack or any other title, without the advice & consent of the Generall assembly, Under the pain of deposition of the persons disposing. VI. For furtherance of the residence of Ministers, it is appointed, that all parishes shall build manse, where are none, or where they be ruinous, upon their own expences: or if they refuse after they are duly required, not only shall they be judged the only cause of the Ministers not residence: but it shall be lawfull unto the Minister, his aires exequitors or assignayes departing, to retain the possession of the Manse built by him, if he build or repair the same upon his own expences, ay and while the Intrans Minister refound unto him or his forefairs the wholl expences, at least so much as the Parish can not be moved to refound: And that the presbytery at the Intrans admission take order for performing this: providing that the ex-

pences exceed not 400. marks: And the presbytery, after the repairing or bigging of the Manse, shall take exact tryall and account of the expences, and give him their allowance to be registred in their books; And likewise the Minister succeeding shall have the like title to crave of the Intraunt after him the like expences, ay untill the Parish shall outquite the Manse. VII. Commissioners are appointed to attend the Parliament with the petitions of the Assembly. VIII. As the books of Presbyteries are tryed in the Provinciaall assemblies, so the books of the Synods should be brought unto every Generall assembly for the better understanding of their proceedings, Under the pain of the censure of the Church. IX. For remedying controversies among Ministers, it is concluded, that where any pleat hough in a civill matter, ariseth betwixt two brethren, if they be both of one presbytery, they shall chuse what number they please thereof, and the elected shall chuse an overman, and they shall summarly decide and give Sentence, which shall be irrevocable or without appellation. And if they be of sundry presbyteries, they shall chuse equall number out of them both, and the elected shall elect an Overman; and these shall give Sentence as said is without appellation. And if any shall refuse this form & submission, he shall be held by the Church, to be contumacious. X. The Generall assembly by the authority given by God unto them, dischargeth all and every Christian within the Church of Scotland from reparing to any of the King of Spain his dominions, where the tyranny of Inquisition is used, for merchandice, negotiation or exercising of sea-faring occupation, Untill the Kings Majesty by advice of Counsell have fought and obtained speciall liberty from that King for all his subje&s to negotiat there without danger for the cause of religion, Under the pain of incurring the censures of the Church, untill the last Sentence of excommunication. *The reader may judge of the fyve articles, and the answers. B. Spotswood saith, the first two articles were favouring of discontent: but he gives not a reason: and he saith, the King esteeming the second answer to be no restraint, but rather to Minister an excuse to the unruly sort, when they transgressed, rejected it as not satisfying his demand: whereupon the petitions of the Church against the Papiests at the same time, and against the erections of tyths into temporalties, were not regarded. And the merchants (saith he) offending at the Act made concerning them, did petition his Majesty and Counsell for maintaining their liberty: which was granted: and nevertheless the Church proceeded in their censures, till the merchants promised to surcease their trade with Spain, how soon their accounts were made: and they be payd of their debtors in these parts. As for Bothwell, he had fled into England, when his treasonous attempts were discovered: and when the English Ambassador did interceed for him, the King said, His offenses were unpardonable, and to be abhorred of all Christian Princes. In Juny he returned privily into Scotland, and found the means to surpris the King within Halirud house, and caused him subscribe articles: which the King afterward did revoke in a Convention of the Estares, as dishonorable; and made offer to grant the same upon a new supplication, when he is now at liberty. But Bothwell falleth to his wonted formes, and threatned to make the King observe the conditions. Wherefore he was cited to compare before the Counsell, and not comparing, was denounced rebell. Much trouble followes with the Popish Lords, whereof is mention in the next Assembly.*

Melvin is chosen Moderator. I. James Drummond and other Burgesſes of Perth being cited by the Presbytery there, for receiving the excommunicated Lords into their houses, do compeare. They are demanded, whither they had received and entertained these Lords? They answer, They did receive them, but sore against their wills, and in obedience unto the Kings charge: and before the coming of the charge, the greatest part of the town had condescended to receive them. They were urged with their own promise, not to receive them; and that they had violate their promise. They answer, A promise of assistance was made unto them, and that promise was not kept unto them. They were removed, and after they had consulted with some others, they return; and confess for themselves and in name of the town, to the glory of God and satisfaction of the Assembly, that they were too rash and suddain in receiving these notorious enemies of God; craving most earnestly, that none take offense nor evill example by their doing, protesting before God, that these had entred the town against their hearts, who are here present; and promising in time coming to maintain and assist the Church and true religion presently professed within the realm, and to resist the enemies thereof, to the uttermost of their power. This confession and promise they gave in writ, and subscribed in the face of the Assembly: and the Minister of Perth is ordained, to declare in pulpit of that town, the satisfaction accepted, &c. II. The Sentence of excommunication pronounced by the Synod of Fife in October, against the Apostate Lords, Angus, Huntly, Arroll and others; the Assembly in one voice ratifieth and allowes, as also the process led against them: and ordaines all Pastors within the realm, to publish at their churcheſ the same Sentence, lest any man pretend ignorance of it; Exception is made of Alexander Lord Hume, who hath satisfied the Church, as follows. III. After particular search of diligence used by Presbyteries, for extirpation of papistry, and what disciplin they had used against papists and the receivers of excommunicats and priests; that so the danger of true religion may be the more known and considered: It was thought meet, to consider his Ma^s good endeavours: and here they remember his Ma^s good designe at Aberdien, where He and the Noble men and Barons made a Bande for defence of religion, took the houses of the Apostates, and put men to keep them: he called some Papists and sent them to Edinburgh: he gave commission unto the Earle Marshall of Lieutenentry for suppressing Papists, and had called sundry Barons before him, for cognoscing the subscription of the blanks, which had verified, that these subscriptions were the hand-writs of the Apostat Lords: and after his return, an Act of Counsell was made, that none presume, to procure any favor unto them, and a charge was given to his Ministers, to take the oaths of his domesticks, that none of them shall interceed at his hand for them: which was also done. And that it may be evident, that the Church hath not been idle in time of these dangers, it was declared, that they had propounded articles unto the Parliament, for forsaking the Apostates: they had directed their petitions unto the King at Iedburgh, and again articles unto Lithgow: of all which small success hath followed, and the danger is no way diminished. The tenor of the Act and Bande above named, is; Wee Noble men, Barons and others subscribing, being fully and certainly perswaded of the treasonable practises and conspiracies of sundry his Hiennes unnaturall & unthankfull subjects against the estate of the true religion presently professed within this realm his Ma^s person & Crown,

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and liberty of this our native Countrey; and finding his Ma^r good disposition to prevent and resist the same, and to repress the chief authors thereof, his Majesty having our concurrence and assistance to the same effect, Therefore and according to our bond duty and zeall wee owe unto Gods glory, love of our native Countrey, and affection to his Ma^r person, crown and estate. Wee have promitted, and by these presents promit, faithfully bind & oblige us and every one of us to concurre and take sinceer and true part with his Maj. and each one of us with another, to the maintaining and defence of the liberty of the saids religion, Crown & Countrey, from thralldom of conscience, conquest and slavery by strangers, and for repressing and pursuit of the chief authors of the said treasonable conspiracies, specially Geoge Earle of Huntly, William Earle of Anguse, Francis Earle of Arroll, Sir Pa. Gordon of Achindoun, Sir James Chisholm of Dundaruy, M^r Ja. Gordon, William Ogilvy, Robert Abercromy and all other Jesuits, Seminary-priests, trafficking papists and others his Hieness's declared traitors, rebellious and unnaturall subjects, treasonable practisers against the estate of the true religion, his Ma^r person & Crown, and liberties of this our native Countrey; And to that effect wee and every one of us shall put ourselves in arms, rise, concur and passe forward with his Majesty, his Lieutenents or others having his Ma^r power and commission, at all times, when wee shall be required by proclamations, missives or otherwise; and shall never shrink nor absent ourselves for any particiclar cause or quarell among ourselves; Weeshall not ride with, assist, shew favor, give counsell nor take part with the saids Earls, Jesuites nor others foresaid, nor with the persons denounced, or that shall be denounced to the horn, or fugitives from his Majesties lawes for the treasonable raising of fire and burning of the place of Dunibrisfell, and murder of umquhil James Earle of Murray, nor receive, supply nor entertain them, nor furnish them mear, drink, house, nor have intelligence with them privarly nor publickly, by messages, letters nor any other way; The skaith and harm of others wee shall not conceile, but disclose and impede to our power; The quarell or pursute of us or any of us weeshallesteem, as presently wee do esteem as equall to us all; And by ourselves, our wholl forces, like as his Maj. with his force and authority hath promitted and promits to concur & assist together, each one in the defence of others to our utter powers: and if any variance shall happen to fall out among any of us for whatsoever cause we shall submit, as we presently submit us to the judgement & deliverance of any two or three of the principals of us subscribers of this present Bande, fulfill whatsoever band shall be declared by them without reclamation; Atover his Ma. by whose direction & command with advice of his Counsell certain Barons and gentle men are directed to remain in the south parts of this realm, hath promitted and by these presents promits in the word of a Prince, that the same Barons shall not be licenced to return unto the said north parts, nor shall any favor or pardon be granted unto the said Earles, Jesuits nor other above specified, any order be taken, nor dispenced with, without the speciall knowledge and advice of the Lieutenant or Commissioner for the time, and fixe of the principall Barons at least, inhabitants of the said north parts, subscribers of this present Band; And this to, do wee the said Noble men, Barons and other foresaids have sworn and swear by the great God our Creatour, Jesus Christ his Sone our Redeener, and the Holy Ghost our Sanctifier, witness of the verity here agreed upon, add revenger of the breach thereof; and further wee oblige us thereunto under the pain of periury, infamy, and

and losse of credite, of honor & estimation in time coming, besides the Lawes, to be executed against us. In witnes whereof we have subscribed these presents with our hands, as followes, even as his Ma. in token of allowance and approbation of the premisses hath subscribed the same Act, At Aberdien the day of March 1592. *Sic subscribitur*, Ja. R. Lennox, Athol, Mar, Marshall, James L. Lindsay, John L. Innernefs, John M^r of Forbes, &c. With this is written the Proclamation made at Halirudhouse Jan. 5, 1592. [1593. according to the reckoning now] Forso much as albeit the dangerous effects of the couered and busie travells of Jesuits Seminary-priests born subjects of this realm, and others strangers in these late years have been feared and espied, and for that cause by sundry lovable lawes, Acts & proclamations, both their own remaining, and the receiving of them, have been prohibited under diverse high paines; yet their coloured simplicity hath so far prevailed, as they have not only purchased unto themselves favor & credite to be kept, huirded & entertained in sundry parts of the realm, After many promises made, that they shall depart forth of the same, but also have taken occasion and leisure to perswade sundry of his Hieness's subjects to apostasie from that religion, wherein they were once instructed & grounded, and have confirmed in their errors, and at last have seduced them to cast off their due obedience, which they owe unto his Majesty, and enter into a treasonous conspiracy for in-bringing of strangers, Spainards, into this realm the next Spring or sooner, to the overthrow of his Hieness and all professing the true religion with him, and to the ruin and conquest of this antient Kingdom, and liberty, which this Nation hath enioyed so many ages; that it may be subject hereafter to the slavery & tyranny of that proud Nation, which hath made so unlawfull & cruell conquest in diverse parts of the world, alswell upon the Christians as infidels, wheresoever the aid of Spain hath been sought, Regarding in end no berter the inbringers than them against whom they were brought, being once victors & commanders, as easily may be proved by speciall exampls which the malicious and minaturall subjects of this Land would repute but as generall and improbable discourses, published in hatred of that Nation, to which they have already sold themselves slaves, and are their friends & factors in this Land as they speak and write, Were it not, thath it pleased the almighty God, to make the proof heerof certain and without all doubt, by detecting of the simple trueth of the intention & finall causes of all the crafty practises of these pernicious trafficking Papists, Jesuites and Seminary-priests, against God, true religion, his Ma, and liberty of this Country, namely, M^r James Gordon father-brother to the Earle of Huntly, Ro. Abercromy father-brother to the Laird of Murtle; whose letters, directions, advices; yea and the messengers or carryers of their credits, and certain others, chieff instruments and furtherers of their trade, God hath casten into his Hieness's hands, when the ship appointed for their transporting was in full readines: Whereby his Majesty is now not only sufficiently forewarned of the imminent danger to the true religion, his own estate & person, his realm and faithfull subjects, but resolved with Gods help (by whose providence he hath been so wonderfully delivered from many former perills) to try the full circumstances of this so high a conspiracy and detestable treason; To withstand it, and punish it and on all guilty thereof, in example to all posterity, that none of his subjects heretofore abused and deceived by the crafty illusions of these pernicious and busie workmen, shall remain any longer doubtfull of the truth of his Majesties mind & intention, Ordaines Letters to be directed to

Officers of arms, shirreffs in that part, to make publication of the premisses by open proclamations at the market-crosses of the head burghs of this realm and other places needfull, for warning them of the many dangers, if they shall suffer themselves to be any longer in error by these deceiving spirits, to the perrill of their souls, landes and goods; And therefore to abstain from further hearking to their treasonous persuasions, and from all entertaining, receiving, supply, intercommoning or having intelligence with them directly or indirectly, under whatsoever pretext or color; Under pain of treason; Commanding also all & sundry his Ma^t faithfull & obedient subjects, that love & feare God, wish the standing & wel fare of his Majesty their Sovereain Lord & King, professing with him the true and Christian religion, and desire that their own wives, chidren and posterity should now and hereafter enjoy the commodities of this their native Countrey unconquest, and made slaves in souls & bodies to merciless strangers, That they implore the mercy & protection of the Almighty God for their defense & save guard; and put themselves in arms by all good meanes they can, remaining in full readines to pursue or defend, as they shall be certified by his Majesty, or other wayes find the occasion urgent, in the mean time diligently espying and getting intelligence of the treasonable courses and proceedings of the said Jesuits, priests, their favorers, maintainers and receipters, and make advertisement to his Counsell thereof, with all speed & celerity, as they will answer unto God and his Majesty thereupon.

Sic subscribitur, James R. These being read, the Assembly gives their power & commission unto Pa. Galloway, Pe. Blackburn & Pa. Simson, to give information unto his Majesty [residing then at Sterlin] of the evident danger imminent to the Church of God within this realm, according to the instruction given unto them, and to present unto his Majesty their humble articles & petitions for removing the said dangers; and to insist with all humility and due reverence for hit Ma^s good answer therunto, and to report with all diligence his Ma^s answer, before the Assembly dissolve. The tenor of the articles followes; The same dangers which before by the crafty & pernicious practises of the Jesuits, and malicious, unnaturall & treasonable conspiracies of the Earls, Arroll & Anguse with their complices, threage the subversion of true religion and the professors thereof, his Ma^s Crown & person, and betraying of this our native Countrey to the cruell and merciless Spaniard, and were at that time discovered so evidently, that none can pretend ignorance, At this time are imminent, more urgent and more to be feared than when the danger seemed to be greatest, as may evidently appear by the reasons following.

1. It is certain, that the Spaniard, who with so great preparations in the year 88. interprised the conquest of this Isle, remaines as yet in that firm intention, and waites only upon a meet occasion, to accomplish that his purpose, as appeares clearly by his continuing in this entertainment of intelligence and trafficking with the foresaid excommunicates ever since the dissipation of his Navy.
2. The manifest rebellions of the foresaid excommunicates, and defections from his Ma^s obedience after so evident appearances of their wrack for their manifest & treasonable attempts, at the bridge of Dee, Faulkland, &c. And the proof of his Ma^s clemency and favors toward them in pardoning their said treasons, declare that their malicious & restless engines in prosecuting their unnaturall conspiracies against the religion & Countrey, can not leave off nor cease, so long as they are not punished and restrained by execution of justice.
3. Whereas the Church hath at all occasions, insisted to declare

unto

unto his Maj. Counsell, and Estates the danger evident for the time, and to craue convenient remedies thereunto, yet in effect nothing hath been obtained, notwithstanding whatsoever promises, Acts, proclamations and levying of Armies, whereby they have been always put in great security, and take liberty & boldness of further practises & astempts. 4. Notwithstanding it was expressly provided by Act of Counsell, that none should presume to traffick or speak in favors of these excommunicates under the pain of losing their Offices, yet now they are advanced in greater credite of his Maj. thar are known, to have been their chiefest favorers; and they cease not as yet, contrary to their promises, to procure them all favors, oversight & immunity, as it appeares in effect, whatsoever they pretend. 5. The erection of the idolatry of the Masse in sundry places of the Land, as in Wal. Lindsay's house of Balgay in Anguse, in the young Laird of Boniton's house of Birnes, in the Earle Anguse his house of Bothwell in Clidsideall and other places of his residence in Douglasdeall, in the Earle of Huntly's house at Straboggy, in the Earle Arrois house of Logy-amont and Slaines, prove clearly, thar either they find themselves sufficiently assured of such favor & assistance within the Country as may plainly maintaine their cause by force, or that they are persuaded of the aid of strangers, to be in such readines, that in due time may serve for their relief, before his Maj. and the professors of religion perform any thing to purpose in their contrary: for otherwise they durst never discover their idolatry so openly. 6. The refusing the act of abolition offered unto them by his Maj. to the great grief of his good subjects, proves sufficiently the same: for it is very probable & manifest, that they would not have refused so great a benefit, unless they had thought themselves fully assured of a better, either by favor of court & assistance within the Countrey, or by concurrence & aid of strangers. 7. Their refusing to enter in ward, notwithstanding his Maj. indignation, and all that may follow thereupon, proves the same. 8. The late arriving of a ship at Montros evidently shewes, that their dangerous practises are presently at the point of execution against religion and the Country, and on an hastily bringing forth some great inconvenient; unless they be prevented and resisted by a present remedy. 9. The open conventions of the forenamed excommunicat Earles holden at Brechin and other places since the arrivall of that ship, declare, that they esteem their courses to be so substantially layd, that they fear not, what may be done for resisting them. 10. The diligence of the said excommunicats in preparing & putting their wholl forces in the north, in armes & readines upon advertisement, shewes that they have some present enterprize, and attend only upon concurrence, which appearingly they are very much encouraged to expect, since the arrivall of that ship. 11. Whereas his Majesty and Estates at the first discovery of their conspiracies apprehended a very great danger to true religion, the Kings estate & Crown, and liberty of the Countrey; and albeit the same causes of danger as yet remain wholly unremoved, there is no apprehension of any danger, nor earnest care to with stand it; It is evident, that either there is a great inclination & purpose to cover, extenuat and bear forth the evill cause, which they will not see, or els the Lord in judgement hath blinded and hardened the hearts of all Estates, to grope in the mid day that which they can not see: which is the greatest danger of all, and a most certain argument of the wrath of God and his heavy judgement hanging over the Land, and so much the more to be feared, because no cause of fear is apprehended. Follow the remedies of the same, with the Kings answers on the margine. For remedy of these dangers, the assembly ordaines the Commissioners, to deal earnestly with

his Majesty, that he may apprehend the perrill, and be moved with a bent affection to proceed against the forenamed excommunicates, papists, traitors, as followes. 1. That these excommunicates be forfeited without favor and to that effect, the

To proceed against the exco. There shall nothing of that be undone on my part, as I have at length declared, to the bearers.

2. Great reason & further as I have shewd the bearers.

3. Great reason, the forfeiture being ended.

4. How willing I am to be employed in apprehending any practicing Papists, I remit mee to the bearers declaration.

5. Great reason, how soon these are forfeited, and I thank them for their counsell.

6. Great reason, their forfeiture always preceeding.

7. To be ready at my charge, it is very meet: But I understand not the last clause

8. I shall omit no diligence in that which can be required at my hands, as I shall answer to God.

9. Distingue tempora, & conciliabz Scripturas: The meaning of this the bearers will expound unto you.

10. The complaints belong not unto your offices alwayes

Parliament appointed to the 27. of this Instant, be held precisely without any delay: the advocat be sufficiently instructed in every point, that the summons may be found relevant, and sufficient probation provided. 2. That none suspect of religion be chosen upon the articles. 3. That they be pursued after the forfeiture with all extremity, and their lands and rents annexed to the Crown, to remain with his Majesty and successors for ever, and no part thereof disposed to any in favors of the persons forfeited. 4. That in the mean time his Ma^s Guard, be employd for apprehending Walter Lindsay, the Abbot of New-abbay, Boniton younger, Ge. Ker, Alex. Lesly, Tho. Tyrie with all other traffickers, Jesuits, priests not contained in the summons of forfeiture. 5. That the rebells houses be taken, charged and manned, and their living intromitted with to his Majesties use without favor, and no part thereof be disposed to their friends or any other person for their commodity. 6. That all persons be inhibited under the pain of treason, and losse of life, lands and goods to receipt, supply, rise with or concur, or have intelligence with the foresaid excommunicats, under whatsoever pretense of vassals or dependes. 7. That all the subjects be charged to put themselves in arms by all good means they can, remaning in full readines, to pursue and defend, as they shall be certified by his Majesty or otherwise finding occasions urgent. 8. That the ship arrived at Montros be apprehended, and the persons which were within her, together with others which have had any dealing with them, according as they shall be given up in writ, be called and diligently examined, for discovery of the practises and purposes which they have presently in hand. 9. For so much as the Lord Hume hath contravened sundry points, wherein he was obliged unto the Church of Edinb. by his promise at the receiving of his subscription, as, in not satisfying the Synod of Fife, in not receiving a Minister into his house, in not removing out of his bounds Captain Andrew Gray and Thomas Tyrie, whereby (as also by his scandalous life since his subscription) he hath given just cause of suspicion unto the Church and all good men, that as yet in his heart he is not sanctified truly, or converted to the true religion; Therefore that his Majesty would take earnest tryall of the premises and thereby judge, if there appear in him such sincerity of religion & life, as his Majesty may trust him, and the Church may expect true friendship in so dangerous a time in the cause of religion, and if that be not found, that his Majesty would remove him from his company, and discharge him of all publick office and command. 10. That the guard presently taken up, be tryed together with the Captaines, because many complaints

plaints are given unto the Assembly against them. IV. *I have satisfied the beaver.* Whereas a horrible superstition is used in Garioch and in *Subscriber, James R,* other parts of the Country, in not labouring a parcell of ground dedicated to the devill, under the name of the *goodmans croft;* the Church for remedy hereof hath found meet, that an article be propounded unto the Parliament, that an Act may proceed for ordaining all persons possessors of such lands to cause till and labour them before a certain day to be appointed thereunto: or in case of disobedience, the same landes to fall into the Kings handes, to be disposed unto such persons, as shall please his Majesty, who will labor them. V. Alexander Lord Hume compeares; and is asked by the Moderator, Whither he confesseth with his heart and mouth as before the Lord, that he was justly casten out of the Church, by the Sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the Synod of Fife? and as he will answer upon pain of salvation & damnation, to speak the truth simply. He protestes and acknowledges, that he was justly excommunicat, and confesses his fault in deserving it. Then he is asked, Why he sought not to be relaxed from that Sentence, according to the direction to the Presbytery of Edinburgh? He excuseth himself by ignorance of that part of the Act. And being accused. Why he detained the stipends of some Ministers, namely, of Chirnside? he answereth, he is ready to pay whatsoever he oweth by law. Why he hath not observed the conditions named in the Act of the Presbytery of Edinburg, towit, that he should have a Minister in his Family, and remove Tho. Tyry out of his company? He remembreth not, that he was required to have a Minister in his family, but now he is willing to accept any, whom the Church shall appoint; as for Tho. Tyry, he was in was in his service after that time, but understood not that he was obliged to remove him, untill the Church did excommunicate him, and since that time he hath discharged & removed him. He is asked, Whither he knew a priest named Cowy? or any that was set on land out of that ship coming lately from Flanders? He denieth both. He is asked Whether the Jesuit Mackwherry was in his house lately? He confesses that he was in this house within these five dayes, and came without out his knowledge, nor had he any missive or commission unto him, and he staid not above an half hour. Lastly the said Lord confesseth and protestes in the presence of God, whom he takes to witness, and the Lord Jesus, who will judge the quick & the dead, that he professeth from his heart the religion presently professed by the Church here present, whereof he hath already subscribed the Articles before the Presbytery of Edinburgh; and now acknowledgeth to be the only true & infallible religion which leadeth unto salvation, and wherein he intends to live and dy, and which he shall to his uttermost defend against all the enemies thereof; and as he shall answer to the dreadful God, he forsakes the Romane religion as Antichristian and directly opposit to the truth of God and his true Service. And these things he testifieth by lifting up his hand, and declaring before God, that he hath no dispensation nor indulgence, to subscribe or swear. Certain brethren are appointed to conferre with him at his own lodging, for the fuller tryall of his resolution. On the second day thereafter, Alex. L. Hume compeares, and humbly craves to be absolved from the Sentence of excommunication, protesting, that in time coming he will give proof of obedience and service unto God, and maintain the truth of His religion presently professed by the Church here present, unto his lifes end, and howbeit some

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time he had been of a different religion, now he avoweth (since he hath been better informed in the Heads, wherein he differed) the Confession of faith and religion presently professed by the Assembly; and if hereafter he shall decline from it, he submits himself unto the Censure of the Church, hoping by Gods grace, that he shall never make defection. Because all these answers and professions have been passed by word only, the Assembly judgeth it meet that some articles be written, and then subscribed by him, and thirdly to consider of his absolution. The next day these Articles were propounded in write unto him; 1. That Alexander L. Hume ratify & approve the subscription and oath given by him unto the Confession of faith at Edinburgh December. 22. last, or subscribe again in face of the Assembly, 2. That he remove and hold out of his company all Papists and traffickers against the true religion, and whatsoever persons shall be delated unto his L^p. to be corrupt in religion: and that he shall receive and entertain within his family Archbald Oswal as his ordinary Pastor, and failing him, another godly Minister by advice of the Presbytery of Dumbart; and that he make his family subject unto the word and disciplin. 4. That he resort unto the publick hearing of the word in all places, where he shall repair, or have his residence; and that he communicate, when occasion offereth. 4. That he make all his servants & tenants subject to the disciplin of the Church, where they remain. 5. That he repaire all the ruinous churches within the Priory of Couidingam, and provide sufficient livings for Pastors planted or to be planted at them, according to the Act of Parliament, and so of all Churches within his bounds, so far as law and reason require. 6. That he make ready payment to the Ministers of Chirnside, Swintoun and Fishak of their stipends, according to their assignations and decreets, if he be obliged thereunto by law. 7. That he concur by his counsell, credite and assistance, for maintenance of the true religion publickly professed within this realm; and the maintainers thereof against all who within the Country or without shall come in the contrary. 8. That he neither receive maintain nor intercommune or have intelligence with the excommunicat Papist Lords, Jesuites, priests or trafficking papists, nor sollicite for them, nor shew them favor directly nor indirectly in judgement nor out of judgement. 9. That he neither argue, nor suffer any arguing to be against the true religion or any point thereof, in the places where he may inhibit it. 10. That he employ himselfe carefully, to apprehend and present to Justice Alexand. Macquithy and whatsoever Jesuits, Seminary-priest and trafficking Papists, that shall resort within his bounds; and that he do nothing, which may be found by the Minister appointed for the tryall of his behavior, to be prejudiciall unto the true religion presently professed by the Generall assembly now convened; And if he shalbe found to contraveene any one of the foresaid points, in that case he consent to be summarily excommunicate upon the notoriety of the fact. And in testimony of his acceptance of these conditions, that he subscribe these presents with his hand. These articles being read severally, he consenteth unto, and in token of his acceptance of them all, he protests that he doth it sincerely, and subscribes them; earnestly craving, that in respect of his repentance & obedience, the Church would relaxe him from the Sentence of excommunication. In respect that Alexander L. Hume hath so professed and subscribed, the Generall Church gives commission unto whatsoever presbytery, that shall understand of his contraveening of the said conditions, To call

call him, and try him, in that contravention, and convict him thereof, if he shall be found guilty, and the Sentence of conviction to be directed and sent unto the Presbytery of Edinburgh, To whom the Church gives commission to pronounce the Sentence of excommunication summarily against him. Then the action of his absolution is committed unto David Lindsay. After exhortation unto sincerity and constant walking, the said Lord is asked, Whither he besory in his heart for the offence he had committed, and that he had deserved the Sentence, and that he was separated from the Church so long time? and if now he thirsteth earnestly to be joyned thereunto, as a member of Christs body? and doth promise, as he shall answer unto God, to continue in time coming a constant professor of the true religion presently and publicly allowed by the Church of Scotland, to his lifes end? and to shew the fruits of a true Christian in his life, and remove all scandalous persons out of his company? He answereth, protesting before God, it is his true meaning, and he intendes to shew the same by evident effects in time coming. The foresaid David gives thanks unto God, and prayeth for increase of grace unto the penitent; then solemnly absolves him from the Sentence of excommunication, and in name of the Assembly embraces him as a member reconciled unto the Church.

VI. In *Seff. 13.* Because the King had conceived an offence (as was made known unto the Assembly by some) against John Ross a Minister, The assembly ordaines, that the Kings Ministers with other twelve shall convene immediately after the rising at this time, in the present place, and enquire the matter, and handle it narrowly, and thereafter bring it before the assembly publicly; And so many of the Synod of Perth as are here present, are warned to attend them, when they shall be called. In *Seff. 18.* these brethren report their proceeding & advice in write, as followes. 1. They have found that the people departed not out of the church before the end of the doctrine, as it was reported unto his Majesty; and that the Synod had pronounced no damnatory sentence against the young man, but that they admonished him, upon such causes and considerations following. 1. That he delivered that doctrine at that time, when rebells and enemies of the King were on the fields, and so it might seem unto the people, that the Church allowed Bothwells treasonable attempts, and that the Assembly had placed him in that place, to alienate the mindes of the people from his Ma^s obedience. 2. In respect of certain speeches delivered by him without a sufficient warrand, so far as they could see or understand, and namely, that sentence pronounced against the House of Guise *de futuro*. 3. In respect of the hard expressions concerning his Majesty, which were thought to have craved greater years and more experience. And all the brethren both of the Conference and of the Provinciaall of Perth in one voice acknowledge that there is just cause of a sharper rebuke, and threatning of heavy judgements out of that text, than hath been or should have been uttered by him; and what he uttered, as he depones before God and upon his conscience, he spoke it out of love, seeking his Ma^s standing, and not of a preoccupied mind, prejudged opinion or troubled affection, but with his soul thirsting and seeking alwise his Ma^s honor and weel in God; And therefore approve his wholl doctrine in that point, as it hath been read and declared by him selfe in such heads, as might seem most offensive: And as concerning the admonition of the Provinciaall of Perth, and the causes moving them thereunto, the brethren do reverence & allowe their judgement in all things, upon consideration, as is

before expressed; Only concerning that sentence of the House of Guise *de futuro*, because none of the brethren heard it, and he himself professeth, that to his remembrance he spoke it not, nor had he such meaning at any time; and confesses it a fault, if any such word hath escaped him; The brethren think, that in that point, if he hath spoken so, he hath failed, having no just warrant; And being minded to satisfy his Majesty in all respects so far as possibly can be done with a good conscience, after earnest calling upon the name of God for assistance of his Spirit, and after long advicement, hath found it good, that the admonition of the Provincial of Perth be revered of the said Generall Assembly; and that the Assembly at this time give further admonition to John Rofs, to speak at all time reverently and with such wisdom, of his Majesty, that he alwayes may have so clear warrant of his speeches, as may fully satisfy his own conscience before God; and have the approbation & allowance of all his godly brethren; And this admonition be extended to all young men of the Ministry, yea and to all the Assembly. This judgement of the brethren being read and considered, is voted by the Assembly, to be followed in all points. The said John Rofs is called-in, and protests before God, that whatsoever he spoke at that time, he spoke it not, of any respect to the traitors being then in the fields, but in love to his Ma^r weell and standing, and so forth as is written above. The Moderator in name and at command of the Assembly admonishes him and all the Assembly, in the name and fear of God, that in all time coming he and they all speak so reverently of his Majesty that they may have so clear warrant of their speeches, that may fully satisfy their own consciences before God, and have approbation of all the godly, and that his Majesty have no just cause of complaint or misliking in time coming. This admonition this said John acceptes with humble reverence.

VII. In *Seff.* 17. Androw hunter is delated to have deserted his flock, and bruited to have joyned himselfe with the rebels of the King: wherefore the Assembly presently deposeth him from the function of the Ministry, ay and untill he shall satisfy the King and Church, for that offence.

VIII. In *Seff.* 15. the assembly ordaines a fast to be kept within the presbytery of Edinburgh and other parts, where advertisement can be made, upon sunday next, immediately preceding the Parliament; and that his Majesty be entreated, that Exhortation may bee according to the former laudable custom in the first day of Parliament, and a thanksgiving at the conclusion thereof, by some Minister; and also that the said fast be made known unto his Majesty, and entreated that he and his house would keep it. It is also ordained, that a generall fast be universally observed through the realm the two last sundayes of July coming, because, &c.

IX. In *Seff.* 18. Sir Rober Melvin of Murdo-Cairny and Alexander Hume of North-Berwick in name of the King, present to the Assembly these their instructions; 1. To protest that his Ma^r royall priviledge set forth by act of Parliament be not prejudged in appointing the next assembly, and to that effect, that before their dissolving at this time, they direct some of their number, unto his Majesty to be resolved by him, of the time & place of the next meeting; According to his Ma^r proposition, and their promise in the last Assembly at Dundy.

2. That they will ratify and approve by Act of this present assembly their promise made to his Ma. in their foresaid Ass. in any thing that any of the Ministry, had to crave or complain to his Majesty in any thing, that they should do it by particular conference, and not utter publicly in pulpit any unreverent speeches against his Ma^r person, Counsell or estate, Under the pain

of deprivation; And for this cause, that they will presently try and censure one of their number, who hath contravened the said Act, and specially they will examine so many of their number as were present at the last Synod at Perth, and charge them upon their great oath, to declare what treasonable and unreverent speeches they heard John Ross utter in all their audiences; and next whither they censured him for them thereafter, or not; and to desire them, in his Majesty's name, that according to the Synodall censure of him; they will judge him, as he demerits on the one part. and his Majesty's modest behaviour ever since that, hath deserved. 3. That they will excommunicate Andrew Hunter for bringing a scandal upon their profession, as the first open traitor of the function against a Christian King of their own religion & their naturall Soverain. 4. That by Act of their assembly they will ordain every particular Minister within their charge to dissuade as well by publick as private exhortation, their flock committed to their cure, from concurring with the treasonable attempts of Bothwell or any other traitors, that raiseth or shall raise up themselves against the lawfull authority placed by God in his Majesty's person; And specially that they shall narrowly take heed, and not suffer any of their flock be seduced under color of religion or whatsoever false pretext to receive wages, and become souldiers for service of any persons; except they see his Majesty's warrant thereunto; and namely of Bothwell, who presently in sundry parts of this realm hath attempted the same. 5. That in respect the time of Parliament is at hand, and the occasion will suddenly serve for declaring his Majesty's godly and honest intention in persecuting the Papists & excommunicate Lords both by law and other ways; therefore they will select one or two Commissioners of the discreetest & wisest of every principall Presbytery, and give them Commission to attend upon his Majesty at this time, as well that his Majesty may have their good advice & assistance in this good business, no less concerning the estate of religion than the estate of his Majesty's Crown and Countrey; and likewise that his Majesty may by their means direct and inform what he would wish to be done by all the rest of the Ministry, as occasion shall from time to time present. The humble answers of the Assembly unto these articles. 1. The time and place of the next General assembly is appointed by the advice of his Majesty's Commissioners, according to the Act of Parliament to be at Montros the last tuesday of Juny come a year. 2. The act made by the General assembly at Dundy is ratified *de novo*; and the particulars of Jo. Ross is resolved, as his Majesty shall be informed more by the Commissioners of the Church. 3. The Assembly hath pronounced the sentence of deposition against An. Hunter, untill he satisfy his Majesty and the Church. 4. Every Minister is straitly commanded to dissuade their own flocks, as well by privat as publick exhortations, from concurring in the treasonable attempts of Bothwell or other traitors to his Majesty, &c. As in the demand. 5. A certain number is appointed to wait on his Majesty for satisfying the last article. *Against the Sentence of excommunication pronounced by the Synod of Fife against the Papist Lords, B. Spotword P. 396.* objecteth, it was unlawfully done by them having no power. And nevertheless not only did the Assembly approve it, but the King also in his fifth article calleth them the excommunicate Lords; and albeit the L. Hume was at the same time excommunicated, yet when he came into the Assembly he named nor that exception, whereupon he might have had such benefite as the Earle of Angus had found in the Assembly of the year 1590: he was guilty of the objected crime, and yet the Sentence was declared to be null, because of informality. But an enemy is ever objecting, whither true or false. What

he hath of the Assembly slighting the business of John Rofs and An. Hunter, is clear by what is above. In the Parliament following in Iuny the excommunicated Lords were forfeited, and Lawes were made against all willing hearers of Masse; against all that are or shalbe excommunicated by the Church. After the Parliament, because Bothwell had failed of his attempts by himself, he joynd with the Lords in the North: whereupon followed more troubles; yet so, that the rebels were fain to leave the Country, before February.

1595.
The 57.
Assembly.

XX XII. The Assembly convened at Montros Juny 24. James Nicolson was chosen Moderator. I. The Assembly declares themselves Judges of marriages, what are lawfull, and what are unlawfull in so far as concerneth the spirituall part thereof. In *Seff.* 9. they declare two sorts unlawfull. 1. When a person marryeth another, whom he had before polluted by adultery. 2. If the innocent person is content to remain with the nocent, and the guilty or adulterer will take another. Likewise marriages made by priests, or by them who had served in the Ministry and are deposted from the function, or by a private person: such marriages are unlawfull. II. All presbyteries are ordained to proceed against Papists within their bounds; and against all their receipters or entertainers, Under pain of deposition of the Minister, in whose default the disciplin of the Church shall not be executed; And the same disciplin to be used against all that have intercommoning, intelligence or familiarity with excommunicates. III. Because many professing the truth of the Gospell, do abstain for many years from participation of the Lords table, under pretence of feud; thereby declaring how litle they esteem that great benefite, and in very deed cut off themselves from the communion of the Church, Therefore ordinance is given unto all presbyteries, to charge all such persons within their boundes, to do as it becomes the members of Christ, And if any person throgh infirmity or weakness of conscience shall refuse, the Presbytery shall by information bring them into duty, granting them some competent time, to resolve themselves: and if they continue obstinat, to proceed against them to the sentence of excommunication. IV. Sundry Sessions were taken up with advising upon a way and meanes of a constant Plat for setting of Ministers stipends or assignations, which were wont to be changed yearly. V. Sir James Chisholm in humility confesses his offences namely, his apostasy from the religion, for which he was excommunicated: he craves mercy from God: he declares that now he renounceth Antichrist with all his errors, and resolves by the grace of God to continue in the true religion; and he craves to be received into the bosom of the Church again. The Assembly appointes some to deal with him by conference; and others to draw up the form of his satisfaction. In *Seff.* 9. he was received, and the Sentence of his absolution was pronounced by the Moderator. VI. Some articles of inquisition concerning the dilapidation of Benefices are prescribed unto Presbyteries. VII. The Kings Commissioners give the articles following, to be read and answered; 1. His Ma. craves, that an Act be made, ordaining that whosoever shall practise any treasonable enterprize or conspiracy against his Ma. person or estate, being found and declared culpable, by the Law, shall also for that incur the Sentence of excommunication; That thereby an inseparable union may be betwixt the two swords. 2. that an order be taken in excommunication; specially in three points, first that it be not at the appetite of two or three persons, but by a convenient number of the Church gravely assembled:

secondly, that it be not for civill causes, or small faults, specially for any Minister's particular interest; lest it be thought, they imitate the Pope's curse, and so incurr the like contempt; thirdly, the form of summary excommunication without any citation to be abolished. 3. Because Mr Craig is waiting in sicknes, what hour it shall please God to call him, and is altogether unable to serve any more, and his Maj. intends to place J. Duncanson with the Prince; and so hath no Minister but Pa. Galloway; therefore craves an ordinance granting two Ministers whom he shall chuse. The humble answers;

1. The Assembly grantes the first, *Legitima cognitioe Ecclesiastica praeiunc.*

2. Concerning the first particular of the second, the Assembly agrees; and the other two importing great weight, and requiring deliberation the Assembly thinks meet, to conclude nothing therein, untill the next Assemb. when by Gods grace these shall be determined; and in the mean while ordaineth, that none in the Ministry proceed to excommunicate without citation, *nisi periclitetur Ecclesia.* 3. It is agreed that his Maj. shall have his choise of godly and learned Ministers: and to this effect ten Ministers or any sixe of them are directed to advise with his Maj. in his choise.

VIII. In favor of the exequitours of Ministers it is ordained, If a Minister dy after September. 29. *quia fuges sunt separate à solo*, his exequitours shall have all that years stipend or rent, and the half of the next. IX. Because there is great cause of humiliation before God, whose anger is visible on this Land, and is litle regarded by the most part, therefore the Assembly indites a generall fast and humiliation to be observed universally in all churches upon the first two sundayes of August next, and the causes thereof to be gravely declared according to the grounds they see and conceive.

X. It is ordained, that Presbyteries take order within their own boundes for visitation of Grammer Schools, and reformation of them, as occasion shall require. And certain brethren are ordained to visite Colledges, to examine the life and doctrine of the Masters, the discipline and order there; and where they find any abuse, to reform it so far as they can; and to report both what they shall do, and what abuse they can not reform. That year was quietness in the countrey, excepting great troubles betwixt the Maxwells and Johnstons in the South; and the like in the Hiellands: and by windy harvest followed great scarcety and dearth.

XXXIII. The King knowing that the Gen. Assembly was to convene in March, sent for Robert Bruce one of the Ministers of Edinburgh and (as B. Spotsword hath it) hoping that by the sway he carried in these meetings, some proposition that tended to the reclaiming of the exiled Lords should be made by the Assembly, shewed, how much it concerned his estate, to have them called home, that the Queen of England was grown old, and if any after her death shall withstand his Title, he would have need of his subjects assistance: and that having many Nobles exiled, he might be less respected of strangers, and be a great deal weaker at home: If therefore he could wonne them to confess their offence, & so embrace the true religion (without which they shall never get any favor from him) he believed the course would not be disallowed by wise men, and these that loved him: and he desired to know his judgement: for as yet he had not shewed his mind in that matter unto any person. M. Bruce answered, he thought well of the reasons: and that it were not amisse to bring home Angus and Arroll, if they will conform themselves to religion: but Huntly could not be pardoned, because he was so hated of the subjects. The King reasoneth in the contrary, If Huntly be will perform what may be re-

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The 58. Assembly.

quited of him, he saw no reason. why he should not be received as well as the other two: and as he could not but know, that his care of that man was great, seeing he had married his Cousine, whom he accounted his own daughter, so was he the man of greatest power, and one that could be most usefull unto him: therefore he willeth, that Robert think of that matter, and after a day or two give him his advice. *I have not found this communication in any other: but for the next day, that a Minister could speak so sawcily unto his Soverain, it is the more unlikely, that it comes from the penn of the adversary both of his person and of the discipline, of which he was so zealous.* This yeare was remarkable for two things, great dearth, and the beginning of the division betwixt the King and the Church. The scarcety and dearth presently felt, and the feare of enterprises by the Papist Lords, was apprehended by the assembly, as tokens of Gods wrath: and therefore they took such course, as followes. The King was not pleased with the course: and therefore he would have a change of that discipline. The Assembly convenes at Edinburgh March 22. year 1576. Robert Pont is chosen Moderator. 1. In *Seff. 4.* the King is present, and the Moderator declares unto him the two heads of which they had been treating, and how they had proceeded, towit, first the substantiall wayes and means, how to resist the enemy. This was recited by the Lord Kinlofs in name of that number of Noble and Gentle men, which were deputed to consult thereupon. The other was the purging of the Church from enormities. Because the first was not as yet thoroughly weighed, the Assembly thought expedient, that the deputed Barons should further advise of it in the afternoon, and report their advice unto the Assembly in writ. The King answereth, Albeit there was no great cause to fear any such invasion at that time, yet they shall do well to give their advice, as if the danger were at hand, and it might serve, when necessity shall require. And he propoundeth a lamentable disorder and inconvenient by the yearly alteration of Ministers assignations by the Plat; and he is desirous of a more constant course. In *Seff. 5.* The Barons give their Overtures for resisting the enemies of Religion and Countrey, both forreine and intestine. 1. All which have appeared in action with the forfeited rebels, and all their known favorers may be charged to enter in ward, and continue there, untill they shall finde sufficient caution, that they shall not medle nor entertain intelligence with these rebels nor any other enemies of the realm or religion, nor shall joyn with them, nor give them any assistance. if they repair into the Countrey: and that they give their eldest sones or nearest friends as pledges of their sure observance. 2. That all the revenues of the rebels be taken up exactly by his Ma^r officers, and be employd for the entertaining of souldiers for defence against the enemies, and for other charges necessary unto the advancement of the good Cause: As an effectuall means to encourage them all, who are affectionat unto the good cause, and to procure their hearty concurrence to their uttermost. 3. That there be chosen in every parish by his Ma^r authority, and vote of the Session and chief men of every parish, Captaines, who are known to be most meet and of best affection, to convene all the parishionars monthly in musters, and to see, that they be sufficiently armed according to their ability, and trained up in the exercise of their arms; And that there be chosen Generall Commanders in Shyres and severall quarters of the Country, to convene in arms at all occasions needfull. 3. That a substantiall order be provided for bringing home a sufficient number

number of weapons, and that the same may be bought and received from the merchants with all expedition. 4. That all the cautioners which are bond for the good behavior of these rebels without the Countrey, be charged before the Counsell, and convicted in the penalties contained in the acts of cautionry: and that these penalties be employd upon the relieff of burdens necessary for the weell of the Cause. II. It was consulted betwixt the assembly and the Counsell of Edinburgh for division of the town into moe parishes, and of dividing the great church into two, and of building moe churches. III. Because Niddeall, Annoandeall, Galloway are destitute of Ministers, the Kings Commissioners propound that the Assembly would appoint some qualified men, for the Ministry there, as the King will provide for their living and indemnity. IV. Concerning the defection in the Ministry, the advice of some deputies, and their overtures were read, and the Ministers consenting thereunto, they were concluded: and because by Gods grace. they intend a Reformation, and to see the Church and first the Ministry purged, therefore and that the work may have the better success, they judge it necessary, that this Assembly be humbled for the want of such care as it became them in these points, that are named or marked; and that some zealous brother lay them out in a Sermon, for the better humiliation; and that all make solemn promise before the Majesty of God, and renew their Covenant with him, for a more diligent and reverent discharge of their Ministry. To this effect John Davidson was chosen, and thursday next in the morning appointed in the new church for that effect: whereunto all Ministers that are present in the town shall resort; and the manner to be resolved to morrow in the Privy Conference. The tenor of the advice concerning the corruptions in the Ministry, and remedies thereof follows. 1. Because by too suddain admission and slight tryall of Intrants, it comes, that many scandalls fall out in Ministers; it would be ordained, that in time coming more diligent inquisition and tryall be used of all, that shall enter into the Ministry, especially, that the Intrant shalbe posed upon his conscience in a most grave manner before the great God, what moveth him, to accept the office and charge of the Ministry. 2. That it be inquired, whither by any solicitation or moyan directly or indirectly he hath sought to enter into that office; and if that shall be found, the Presbytery should repell all them of their number from voting in the election and admission, who shall be tryed to deall for the soliciter and give their oath to declair the truth in that matter. 3. Because by presentations many are forceably thrust into the Ministry and upon Congregations, who thereafter shew, that they were not called by God; it would be provided that none seek presentations to Benefices without advice of the Presbytery; and if any shall do in the contrary, they shall be repelld as *Rei ambitus*. 4. That the tryall of persons to be admitted into the Ministry, consist not only in their learning and ability to preach, but likewise in conscience and feeling and spirituall wisdom, namely, in the knowledge of the bounds of their calling in doctrine and disciplin, and wisdom to behave himselfe accordingly with the diverse ranks of persons within his charge, as with Atheists, rebellious, weak consciences, and such others: (in these the pastorall charge lyeth much) and that he be able to stop the mouths of adversaries; And who are not found qualified in these points, should be delayd untill further tryall, or be more qualified; And because men may be found meet for some places: which are not meet for another, It should be considered

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red, that the principall places of the realm be provided with men of best gifts, wisdom and experience: And that none take the charge of greater number of people, than they are able to discharge. 5. Who are not given to their book or Study of Scriptures, not carefull to have books, not given to sanctification and prayer: who study not to be powerfull and spirituall, not applying doctrine to present corruptions (which is a chief pastoral gift,) obscure or too Scholastick before the people, cold and wanting zeal, negligent in visiting the sick and caring for the poore, or indiscreet in chusing parts of the word not fittest for the flock, flatterers, and dissembling sines; especially of great persons in their congregations for flattery or fear: all such persons should be censured according to the degrees of their faults: and if they continue, should be deprived. 6. If any be found to sell the sacraments, or collud with scandalous persons, by dispensing with them for money, should be deposed *simpliciter*. 7. Every Minister should be charged to have a Session established of the fittest men of his congregation: and that discipline strick not only against gross sins, as whoordom, bloodshed, &c. but against all repugning to the word of God, as blasphemy, banning or swearing, profanation of the Lords day, disobedience to parents, idle and unruly without a calling, drunkards, and such deboshednes. and all that make not conscience of their conversation, ruling their families, especially in education of their children, slanderers, backbiters, flatterers, breakers of promise; And this should be an univerfall order throughout the realm; and who are negligent, and continue therein should be deposed. 8. none falling into open scandalls should be received into the fellowship of the Church, unless his Min. have an appearing warrant in conscience, that he hath a feeling of sin, and apprehension of mercy: and to this end the Minister should deal with him by private information, especially in the doctrine of repentance: if this be neglected, publick repentance is turned into mocking. 9. Dilapidation of Benefices dimitting them for favor or money, that they become as laick patronages, without advice of the Church; and interchanging of Benefices by transaction, and transporting themselves without knowledge of the Church; should be punished precisely; as also the setting of racks without consent of the Assembly, should be punished according to Acts of the Church. Follow corruptions in their persons and lives. 1. Who are wanton and light in behavior, as in gorgeous or light apparell, in speech, using light & profaine company, unlawfull games, as dauncing, cardes, dice and the like not becomming the gravity of a Pastor, should be gravely & sharply rebuked by the Presbytery, and continuing therein after due admonition should be deprived, as scandalous to the gospel. 2. If Ministers be found swearers, profaners of the Lords day, drunkards, fighters, guilty of any of these should be deposed *simpliciter*: and liars, detractors, flatterers, breakers of promises, brawlers and quarellers, after admonition continuing, should incurr the same punishment. 3. Minister using unlawfull or incompetent trades for filthy gain, as hostlers, ufurers, bearing wordly offices in Noble or Gentle men's houses, merchandice, buying visuall and keeping it to dearth, and all wordly occupations that may distract them from their charge, or may be scandalous in a Pastor, should be brought to the feeling of such sins, and if they continue in them should be deposed. 4. Not-residents should be deposed, or the fault to be layd on the Presbyteries, and they should be censured for it, and the Assembly should command that no Ministers wait on the Court and affaires

affaires thereof, without the allowance of their Presbytery. 5. No Minister should intend action of law without the foresaid advice, especially in small matters; and for remedies of the necessity whereby some are compelled to enter into plea of law, it would be petitioned, that short process be used in Ministers actions. 6. Ministers should have special care in using godly exercises in their families teaching their wife, children and servants, using prayers ordinarily, reading the Scriptures, removing scandalous persons out of their families, and in other points of godly conversation; and Presbyteries in visitation should try Ministers and their families in these particulars; and if they be negligent, they should be judged unfit to rule the house of God. 7. Ministers should strive to be spirituall and profitable in all companies, and talk of things appertaining to godliness, to wit, which may strengthen themselves and others in our Christian calling; of the means, how to have Christs Kingdom established in our congregations, and to know how the gospell flourishes in our flocks; and of the hinderances and remedies that wee find or know: herein are manifold corruptions and the contraveeners should be espied and sharply rebuked. 8. No Minister should countenance nor assist a publick offender challenged by his own Minister for a known offence, as if his own were too severe, Under pain of admonition and rebuke, In *Seff. 12.* As the brethren have convened this day in great humiliation acknowledging their sins, and have entred into Covenant with God a new, protesting to walk more warily in their waies, and a great part of the Ministry is not here present, therefore the Assembly commandeth that in all Provinciall Synodes the like humiliation be observed, and the like protestation, and so many as shall not be at the Synods, shall be required to do the like in their Presbytery. V. In *Seff. 13.* three Ministers were sent to conferre with the King and Queens Majesties upon these articles following. 1. As strangers and good subjects repairing to Court have been comforted, to see Christian religion religiously exercised, so now they are somewhat troubled, when they see the exercise of reading the word at table, and the reverent saying of grace before and after meat, omitted. 2. On the week dayes repairing to hear the Sermon is more rare than before; and that the King wold forbear to speak with others in time of Sermon. 3. To recommend unto his Ma. privy meditations with God and conscience. 4. His Ma. is blotted with swearing, and the Courteours are moved to do so commonly by his ill example. 5. His Ma. would be pleased to have such company about himself as himself is and according to his own profession: this is to be prudently recommended unto his Ma. that he would put it in practise, and remove murderers, papists and all profaine persons. 6. The Queens Ma. is to be informed, especially concerning her company, her not repairing to preachings and sacrament, and concerning her gentle women. 7. Because it is lamented by the Brethren of the North, that gentleman and burgeses are speaking of leaving their houses and that part of the Countrey for fear of the enemies, and seeing their insolency unrepressed by returning of their wives, and by providing of their houses & castles for their own home-coming, against which it is greatly murmured in all the Countrey; For remedy, it is to be craved, that the Ladies of Huntly & Arroll be brought back and placed in Santand, and the Lord Gordon be put to the Schoole there; and their friends to be confined in the South, as, Cluny, Giecht, Aberyeldy, Cowbairdy, Bonitoun younger, Craig younger, Alexander hay of Achmader, Alex. Lesly of Piell, Jo Gordon

of Newtown to be apprehended, Towy-barcley, Patrick con; And it were good that some were directed into the North as commissioners for the good of religion. VI. The common corruption of all Estates within the realm;

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1. An universall coldness and decay of zeall in Estates, joyned with ignorance, and contempt of the word, Ministry and Sacraments; and where no knowledge is, can be no sense or feeling: which appears most manifestly, that they have not religious exhcise in their families, as prayer and reading of the word; and where it is, it is but abused by the cooks, stewarts and other attendants; and the Masters of families are ashamed to use these exercises of godliness in their own persons; and no conference is at their tables, but of profain, wanton or worldly matters. 2. Superstition and idolatry is entertained, as is manifest by keeping festivall days, bonefyre, pilgrimages, singing of carols at such and such days. 3. Great abuse of the name of God with horrible cursing used by all estates in all their speeches. 4. Profanation of the Lords day, specially in Seed time & harvest, and by common journeying on that day, and trysting about earthly business, exercising all sort of wanton games, keeping of markets, dauncing, open drinking and the like. 5. Small reverence and obedience of inferiors unto their superiors, and litle care of Superiors in discharging their duty to inferiors, as children plead in law against their parents, and many of them do marry against their fathers will; and parents have litle care of their education in godliness. 6. A flood of bloodsheds and deadly feuds arising thereupon, and universall maintaining of bloodshed for eluding the law. 7. Adulteries, fornications, incests, unlawfull marriages and divorcements allowed by Judges under color of law, and children begotten in such marriages declared to be lawfull, excessive tipling and carowfing: these (no doubt) are the causes of this dearth and famine; so, gorgeous and vain apparell, filthy and bawdy speeches. 8. Sacriledge in all Estates without any conscience, growing continually more, to the undoing of the Church and staying the planting of the gospel. 9. Cruell oppression of the poor tennents, whereby all the commones of the Countrey are wrecked, by extream dear setting of lands, and holding forth their corne be untimous tything, and extreme thraldom in services. 10. Oppression under pretext of law by usury and contracts against law, forestalling of markets, albeit regrated by gentle men, burgeses & commons; whereby prices of victuall are marvelously raised to the great hurt of the poor, and keeping up of corn or holding it from the markets, and not threshing it in due time. 11. A great number of idle persons without a lawfull calling as pypars, fiddlers, songsters, scorners, pleasants, strong beggars living in harlotry, and having children without baptism, and never reparing to the publick service of God.

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judgement.*

VII. Offences in Courts or judgement-seats. 1. Universall neglect of justice both in civill & criminall causes, as, granting remissions or respite for blood, and incests; no execution of good lawes made against vices or in favor of the Church; and in civill matters the Judges (in a great part) unsitt either for want of knowledge, or conscience, or both, and when an office vaikes, the worst men advanced both in higher and inferior roomes. 2. No execution of lawes against the adherents unto the detected enemies, nor against the enemies themselves, nor employing of their revenues to the use of resisting enemies, but the enemies are rather helped in their estate than hurt. 3. The odious murder at Dunnibrissell. 4. In Parliament, sacrilegious persons, as Abbots, Priors and titular Bishops voting in name of the Church, contrary to the law of the Countrey, and by

by whom the law of the Church is damnified. 3. The Session is charged with buying of justice & bribery, as is evident by their extraordinary and suddan conquests. VIII. Grievances to be humbly meaned unto his Ma. concerning the chieff offenses in the Estates of the Country, that by his Majesties counsell and authority sufficient remedy may be provided in time.

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1. It is humbly meaned, that, to the great hazard of religion, and peace of the Countrey and grief of all good men, the forsaited rebels and enemies of his Majesties estate do enjoy their lands and livings als peaceably and to their greater advantage, than if they were at his Majesties peace within the Countrey; and their confederats & friends, partakers and assisters with them in their treasonous attempts, are suffered in so great liberty, never so much as entring their persons into warde, nor giving surety nor pledges for their good and durifull behaviour and obedience unto his Majesty, if these rebels or any other forrain enemies shall repair into the Countrey; and disquiet it; As if they had exemption and immunity from all lawes, to confirm themselves, to strengthen the hand of the enemies, when they shall arrive; As appeares, their intention is, by their preparation, force and armour, and leagues of friendship, which they are dayly binding up.

2. Many Jesuites and excommunicat Papists are kept within the Country, detaining such as they have perverted, in their errors, and seducing others into the same corruption, and holding them in hope of the Papist Lords, with assistance of strangers; such are, Robert Abercromy, Alex. Macquhirry, the Abbot of New-abbay, John Gordon of Newton, Pat. Con, Alexander Lesly of Piell, young Bonitoun, Alexander Ramsay and many others.

3. In many places people are altogether ignorant of their salvation, and that for want of Pastors and maintenance; nor know they their duty unto God, or their King; and so the Land is overflowed with atheism and all kind of vice: There be 400 Parish-churches destitute of the Ministry of the word, besides the Churches of Argile and the Isles.

4. It is universally lamented by his Majesties subjects, that by delaying, perverting and eluding of justice, murders, oppression, incests, adulteries and all kind of hainous crimes abound. 5. It is heavily lamented, that the Ministers, who have obtained some small provision by assignation in An. 1595. are frustrated by the Lords of Session refusing to decide the suspensions, according to the Act of February 1587 year. The overtures for remedy were adioyned, as they are related before in *Seff.* 5. IX.

In *Seff.* 10. John Preston and Edward Bruce Commendator of Kinlofs Commissioners from his Ma. do give in these articles, or instructions.

1. Yee shall shew unto the Assembly our good will to have all the Churches of Scotland planted with Ministers and sufficient livings, to the great hurt of our own revenue and that portion of the thirds, which was assigned to our house, and our Counptrollars in possession thereof: but finding that all the thirds is not sufficient to plant all the Churches, nor is it commodious for Ministers to serve in one, place and have their livings in another far distant from their cure; Therefore we have thought good, to set forward an order for locall stipends, founded on this ground, that all the churches of Scotland shall have Ministers, and all Ministers shall have stipends within their own parishon, of such value as by our authority on the one part, and by concurrence and procurement of the Church on the other, may be obtained from the tacks-men of tyths and present possessors of them: for which effect wee have caused an Act of Parliament to be made in the year 1592. granting Commission to certain Noble men, Counsellors, Of-

ficers, and Ministers on the one and other parts, To treat of and prosecute this matter; and also have given command particularly to certain of our Lords of Checker, to help by their advice and labors, to bring this matter unto some perfection: wherein, as wee understand, some thing is done as part of the brethren can testify; As wee continuing in our good mind, to have in our time the Church settled with livings, and not entangled yearly with process, and to have all our churches planted within the realm; By these presents offer and promitt unto the Assembly, to cause our Commissioners, Counsellors and Officers, to convene presently before the expiring of this Assembly, with the saids Commissioners from the Church, to begin this good purpose, and to lay the ground, and to set down the order time and place of convening, to prosecute the same unto the end, conform to the Act of Parliament, So that if any stay shall bee, it shall be on the Church's part, as oft before, and not on our part. 2. Yee shall shew them, that it is a stay of this good work, that by some of their preachings the people are made to understand, that wee and our Counsell would stay the planting of churches, and take away the livings possessed by Ministers albeit the contrary is true, that wee and our Counsell are most willing, that the churches be wholly planted, and the provision of Ministers be augmented, so far as lawfully may be obtained, with consent of our Nobility and other tacks-men of tyths, whose rights without order of law wee can not empare: and therefore this form of preaching discourageth our good Counsellors most willing of the work, and is an heavy slander upon the Ministers, wherein yee shall crave order be taken, and the like be not done in time coming. 3. Yee shall desire those your instructioes in our name to be registred in the books of the Assembly as a perpetual testimony of our good will; and also, that answers be given particularly by a generall vote of the wholl Ass. and no way to be referred to a privat Conference; and the answers so voted to each particulare head, to be registred in like manner; and the extract of all these articles and the answers to be delivered unto you, and to be reported unto us. *Sic subscribitur*, James R. In *Seff.* 13. with the abovenamed overtures, these petitions were sent unto the King; 1. That his Maj. would prosecute his good purpose and intention, declared concerning the planting of all the churches with qualified Ministers and sufficient provisions for their entertainment; And for that effect, that he would give commission to the Visitors named by the Assenbly, to take inquisition of all churches within the boundes of their visitation and to deal in his Majesties name with the tacks-men & possessors of the tiths, for sufficient provision unto the Ministers out of the every parish, and to report their diligence unto his Majesties Commissioners appointed for the work of the Plat; and to provide for the charges of the Visitors in that journey. 2. That his Majesty would be pleased, to take order substantially by advice of his Counsell and Estates; how the Principall Judgement-seats, and other inferior Judicatories may be purged of unqualified and corrupt persons, and filled with others, meet to discharge that Calling faithfully, for the comfort of his Majesties peaceable and well disposed subjects. 3. That his Majesty would command and ordain the Lords of Session; to administrat justice unto the Ministers, who have obtained a small augmentation of their stipends or new provision by the Modifiers in the year 1595. and according to the Act of Febru. in the year 1587. as they are bound by their solem oath and promise, Seing the extraordinary dearth urgeth them with so great necessity, that unless his Maj. have consideration

Adieration of their estate, they and their families are driven to extreame poverty and want. X. Articles propounded by the Commissioners of the constant Plat, to be advised by the Assembly, and passed in Acts; 1. It is thought requisite, that the Assembly would ordain, that the Moderators of each Presbytery should give presentations *jure devoluto* of all Benefices of cure, belonging to Laick patrons that have not presented qualified persons within sixe months after the decease of the last possessor, and also of these Benefices, which hereafter shall vaik, if these patrons neglect to present within sixe months, Under the pain of deprivation; And if there be not actual Ministers presently at the said churches, that the said Moderators deal effectuously with other qualified persons, to accept presentations, and to prosecute the same by law. 2. That all Beneficed persons here present be moved presently to interdite themselves from all setting and disposing any part of their Benefice to whatsoever persons, without the speciall allowance of the Generall Assembly; and the interdiction to be subscribed by them; and others which are absent, be urged by their presbytery to do the like immediatly after this assembly. 3. Because churches in many places sustain great hurt throught want of qualified Ministers instructed in the Schools of Divinity, therefore it is craved, that an Act be made, ordaining every Provinciaall assembly to furnish all sufficient entertainment unto a Student in the Newcolledge of Santandr. this 1596. year, and so forth yearly in all time coming; and that every Provinciaall assembly shall have the privilege, to present their Student so oft as the said place shall vaik; and if any Minister within the Province have a son of meet gifts, that he be preferred to all other; And after the expiring of his course in the study of Theology, that he be bound to employ his travells within the Province, to the which his gifts may be answerable; and that it be not leesome unto the said Student to employ his travells in any other place, but by the speciall advice and consent of that Province. 4. Seeing the necessity of the common affaires of the Churches craveth that there bee a continuall attendance at Court both for the furtherance of the present work in hand for planting the churches, as also in respect of the continuall diligence of the enemy waiting all occasions, specially when they find any slackness upon the part of the Church, in the discovery and resisting the enterprises of the said enemies; Therefore it is craved, that a care and burden of the common cause be layd on some brethren, by the Gen. assembly, either of them who are residents here about Court or some others to be appointed out of sundry parts of the Countrey; because otherwise none find themselves bound in conscience to have any care heerof, or to take paines heerin. The assembly accordeth unto all four, but ordain the third to be first moved in the Synodes.

XXXIV. Here I adde what is written in *The Historicall Narration*, at the title, *The first course of episcopacy; and first of the occasions of altering the Ecclesiasticall Government*. The beauty of this Church both for purity of doctrine and order of discipline was becom admirable to the best Reformed Churches: The Assemblies of the believers were never more glorious and comfortable; the parochiall and Classicall elderships, the Provinciaall and Nationall Synods never in greater authority than in the beginning of the year 1596. For when the apostat Earles traffickers with the King of Spain were excommunicat, and at procurement of the church at home and of the Queen of England, were for their unnaturall conspiracy forfeited and expelled out of the Countrey; their chief care was to was to

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search

search out the sins of the Land, corruptions and abuses in whatsoever estate, Calling or Judicatory, that they might be repented of and amended; and to advert unto the safety and preservation of religion and liberties of the Church: which at that time required opposition to the reentry and restoring of these Earles. Whereupon in this Assembly the corruptions and enormities found in Ministers, their calling and conversations, as also the offenses of others without any partiality were considered [*as is above written.*] On thursday March 30. they had that humiliation, wherein were present 400. persons, Ministers, Commissioners and others professors: within one hour they looked with another countenance, then that wherewith they entred, being moved at the Exhortation: such sighes and groanes were not heard at any other fast since the Reformation for any imminent danger; and teares were shed such in abundance, that the place might justly been called *Bochim*. They testified their new entering into league with God by holding-up their hands..... Their next care was, to advert, that the Church were not endangered by any enemy [*as is written before.*] Commission was given unto some brethren, to assemble as they shall find urgent occasion, To consult, reason and advise upon, and propound articles unto the King for preventing all dangers, which in all likelihood might befall the estate of religion [*It is clear before, that this course was motioned first by the Lords of the Parliament: and (as followes) was ill-taken by Courtiers*] The Devill envying the happines and laudable proceedings of our Church, stirreth up Papists and Politicians to disturb her peace, and to deface her beauty. The Papists saw, there was no peace for them in Scotland, if that power of the Church shall continue. Politicians feared, that their craft and trade (which is to use indifferently all sorts of men and means, to attain their own ends, and to set up themselves in the throne of Christ) should be undone..... Huntly returnes secretly in June, whereof the King was advertised in July: at the entreaty of his Lady, the King calleth a Convention of the Nobility, (specially such as favored the exiled Lords) at Falkland in August. Offer was made in his name, and it was concluded, that he shall return and remain in the Country upon the performance of such conditions, as his Majesty propound to be performed by him; Notwithstanding, that Ministers An. Melvin, Ja. Nicolson, Pa. Galloway, Da. Lindsay and other Ministers protested in the contrary, in respect it could not stand with the Kings honor, to hearken unto any conditions, till first it were manifest, that he is not in the Countrey, as they do alledge, who sure for him; nor could it stand with the assurance of religion, and peace of the Countrey, in respect, his apostasy (which was the ground of his excommunication) or his conspiracy with the Spaniard (the ground of his forfeitry) were not confessed offences by him. Another Convention was held at Dunfermlin in September, where the conditions were agreed upon: which were tendred unto him without consent of the Ministry. Arroll returnes in the same month. Their friends and abettors vanted, that they had obtained his Majesties protection and peace passed and subscribed in Counsell, and that they hoped assuredly for advancement to Offices, charge of guards; and Lieutenancies, as they had before. Some Commissioners of the Generall assembly and some other Ministers convening at Couper directed some of their number unto the King at Falkland, namely, An. Melvin, Ja. Melvin, Ia. Nicolson and Pa. Galloway, to crave, that the dangerous enterprises of the enemies might be prevented. The King seemed to be offended at their meeting, and commission.

Andrew

The beginning of the variance next the K. and Church.

The first debate.

The next debate.

And Melvin answered with great liberty; Sir, there are two Kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: Christ is a King, and the Church his kingdom: you are a subject unto Christ, and a member of his Church, and neither Head nor King: the spirituall office-bearers, to whom He hath committed the Government of his church, have power and warrant to convene, which you ought not to controll nor discharge, but rath to assist: Sir, when you were in your swadling cloaths, Christ reigned freely in this Land in despite of the enemies; the office-bearers had their meetings, and their meetings have been steadeable unto your Maj. when the enemies were seeking your destruction; and now when such necessity urgeth them, you will find fault with their conveneing. The wisdom of your Counsell (which is pernicious) is this; Because Ministers and Protestants in Scotland are too strong, and controule the King, they must be weakned and brought low by stirring a party against them, and when the King is indifferent to both, both shall fly to him, and so he shall be served, grow in grandure, and attain his purpose: But this wisdom may prove folly, and in serving both, you shall lose the hearts of both. The King setleth a litle, and dimirs them pleasantly, promising, that albeit the Convention had licenced them to make their offers, they shall not be licenced, untill they be out of the Countrey again, and whatsoever they offer, they shall find no favor at his hand, till they have satisfied the Church. Nevertheless they were permitted to remain, and travell by their friends for reconciliation. The Commissioners of the Generall Assembly and Commissioners from sundry Synodes meet at Edinb. Octob. 23. as was appointed at Couper. It was thought expedient, that some commissioners be appointed for every quarter of the country; and one of every quarter shall abide at Edinburgh monethly by turns, to communicate the advertisements, that shall be directed from diverse parts, and to consult upon the most expedients in every case. Robert Bruce, Robert Pont, David Lindsay, Jac. Balfour, Pat. Galloway and Wal. Balcanquell Ministers within the Presbytery of Edinburgh were appointed to convene always with them. From this convention were sent unto the Presbyteries informations of the dangers arising from the forfeited Earles; and for remedy the Ministers were desired to make professors sensible of the danger, to keep a publick humiliation the first Sunday of December to urge an universall amendment in all estates, beginning at themselves, to intimate solemnly in all the churches the excommunication of the Apostate Earles, to proceed with the censure of the Church against them, who entertain any society with them, or take any dealing for them, *quia periclitatur salus Ecclesie & Reipublice*. November 9. these who convene, sent Da. Lindsay, Pa. Galloway, Ja. Nicolson and Ia. Melvin unto the King, to crave in all humility, that he would shew, what moved him take so hardly with the Ministry; to offer all satisfaction, and to propound their grievances. November. 11. they report to the brethren the Kings answers, There can be no agreement betwixt him and the Ministry, till the marches of their Iurisdiction wer rid; they should not speak in pulpit of the affaires of State and Counsell, the Generall assembly should not convene but by his authority and speciall command; Synods, presbyteries and particular Sessions should not medle with causes whereupon his lawes strick, but fornication and the like scandalls; and he will be satisfied in these and such other heads. As for their grievances, his answer was; he had granted nothing to the excommunicate Earls, but what his Counsell and Estates thought needfull for the peace of the realm, and upon condi-

The third
debate.

tion, that they satisfy the Church; The Lady Huntly, who was come to the baptisme of his Daughter, is a good discreet Lady, as Papists may be honest folks, and his Mother was a Papist, and yet an honest Woman; The Lady Livingston shall satisfy the Church, or els, she shall not come neer his Daughter: but he could not refuse to concredite her unto the Lord Livingston; And they reported, that they had replied, The free rebuke of sin without respect of persons was warranted by Gods Word; Ministers speak alway with reverence of his Majesty, but can not spare the enemies of truth, nor comport with any favorable dealing shewd towards them; The discipline of the Church was established (after many conferences) upon evident grounds of Gods Word, by his Majesties lawes and Acts of Parliament, and use and practise following; His Majesty had not done well, in granting any favor to the forfeited Earls, till they had been out of the Countrey; and all that the favor shewd unto Papists moveth good men to suspect his Majesty; especially if the Lady Huntly come to the baptism, pulpits would sound against it; and the committing of his Daughter unto the Lady Livingston's custody will be thought a speciall pledge of his favor unto Papists. When the brethren heard this report, they perceived clearly, that the ruine of the liberty of Christs Kingdom was intended, and seing the King had uttered his mind so plainly, they thought meet, to advertise the Presbyteries, and exhort the brethren to study diligently the grounds of disciplin, and that they argue not upon articles, which are to be sent unto them from the King, till their Commissioners be advised: For they feared to call into question, the determined and undoubted disciplin of Christs Church. Here yee may see, the alteration of discipline was intended before December; and I have heard [saith

David Black. *hether.*] that the King had a role of Ministers, whom he purposed to preferre unto Bishopricks before December 17. The same eleventh day of November they were enformed certainly, that David Black Minister at Santand. was to be charged to compear before the King and his Counsell, for some words spoken in a Sermon in October. The next day the foresaid Ministers were sent again unto the King to understand, what were his doubts & questions he had to propound, concerning the marches and calling of the Ministry, and to advertise his Majesty how it is taken hardly, that Ministers of Gods word be vexed and charged for calumnies and trifling delations, when the enemies of Gods truth are favored and overseen. They reported on November 15. that they had received no good answer, because his own Minister Pa. Galloway had said unto him in a private conference, The Church gotefair words and promises without effect, but the enemies got the good deeds. Nevertheless the same brethren (excepting Patrick) were directed again, to insist earnestly upon this point, that order be taken with the common enemy, ere any controversie be intended against the Church or any Minister; otherwise, to let him understand, that all the world will say, Nothing was intended, but benefite to the enemies, and trouble unto the Church. The King answered, He had thought much of that matter: only let David Black compear, and if he be innocent, purge himself in judgement, but take heed, that he decline not my judicature: For if he do so, it will be worse. The brethren conceivng on the 17 day; perceive that the Kings and the Counsell's aim was by this preparative, to draw Ministers doctrine under their censure & controlment; And remembring that some decllnatures of this nature given in by some brethren before, were forgotten or denied, because

*David
Black.*

*A fourth
debate.*

*A Declina-
ture
from the
Counsell.*

because they were only verbal, do resolve upon a declinature in write, and fortify it by good reasons, and to be subscribed by them with David, seing the cause is common David compeates upon the 18. day and gives in the declinature. On the 20. day it was thought needfull to send a copy of the declinature, unto every Presbytery, and be subscribed by all the members together with a missive requesting them, to return it being subscribed, with all possible diligence with some brother, who was able to assist them in so weighty matters: and also desiring every one study diligently this question and all the points of the discipline: for certainly Satan was making an assault on the hedge of the Lords vineyard, that at his pleasure he may destroy and wast the plants thereof. Diligence was used in gathering subscriptions so that in short space, the hands of about 400. were at it. None so diligent, as John Spotswood afterwards Bishop of Santandr. howbeit even then he reveled unto the King, all their counsels & proceedings, either by himself or somtimes by a Courtier with whom he was familiar: he was the only suspected Judas among the Ministers at that time: others were like Hazeal, who understood not their own hollow hearts, till time discovered them. On November. 24. the Commissioners of the Church being for the most part present, and being enformed, that they were to be charged to go off the town, did resolve, that seing they were convened by warrant by Christ and his Church in so dangerous a time, to see that the Church receive no detriment; they wold continue, notwithstanding any charge, so long as it shall be found expedient; and in the mean time they sent Ministers Da. Lindsay, Ro. Rollock and Ja. Melvin, unto the K. to shew him, what inconvenients may ensue, if he enter into hard dealing with the church, and discharge the Commissioners of the Gen. assembly; to beseech him, to desist from pursure of D. Black and all controversies arising thereby, till order were taken with the common enemy, and a Gen. assembly be convocated, for deciding all controversies, and answering all his questions; And to move him to consider the danger, wherein the Countrey lieth by Papiests binding themselves together, associating to themselves sundry Clanns, preparing arms and horses, &c. The next day they report his answer, He was sory, that matters have so fallen out betwixt him and the Commissioners: yet if they will passe from the declinature, at least make a declaration, that it was not Generall, but used particularly in that cause of David Black, being a case of slander, and pertaining by right unto the church, he will passe from the summons and all pursure of David Black. [*By the way here we may understand, that the words wherefore he was charged, were not so odious, as some have reported them.*] Then diverse formes of a declaration were advised, but they could not find one, which in their judgement would please the king. In end they condescended to make this offer, that if his Majesty would passe from that summons, and cease from all charging of Ministers for their preaching till a lawfull Generall assembly were convocated, they will on the other side take up the declinature, and cease to make any use of it, untill the said assembly. The brether that were directed, report on the 27. day, how they had spent much time in reasoning with his Majesty, but could not agree, unless the Commissioners would passe from the declinature, and cause David Black answer, and acknowledge the Judicatory; But they would not undertake it. Upon the same 27. day David Black was summoned again by proclamation and sound of trumpet at the cross, for speeches uttered by him in his Sermons these three years last by past. And because somtimes

Barons and others fare with the Ministers, all the Leedges were discharged by proclamation, to assemble at the desire of Ministers, Presbyteries or other ecclesiasticall judgements, Under pretense of assisting them in their defense, being accused of any cause, crime or offense, or when they repaire to any judgement seat or otherwise, Without his Majesties licence. Letters also were given forth, upon Act of Counsell, charging the Commissioners of the Generall assembly, to depart out of the town within 24. hours after the charge, and discharging them to convene any where els. Immediately the Commissioners convene and lay the proclamation open before the Lord the Judge of soodious imputations, as they were burdened with in these proclamations, and usurpation of Supreme authority over the Church: they advised them, who were to occupy the pulpits, to deale mightily by the word against these proclamations and charges, and to use such arguments as may flow from good grounds, which were then layd befores them. November 29. they resolve to give in some articles unto the King and Counsell, the day following (which was the day of Mr Blacks compearance) wherein they do clear themselves of these odious imputations, and they crave to stay that action, till a Gen. assembly be convoked: they thought it also expedient, in respect of the new libelled summons, that another declinature be formed and used by David in his own name and of the rest of the Ministry. On the 29. day the hour approaching, the Commissioners appoint Robert Bruce, Robert Pent, Robert Rollock, David Lindsay & Pa. Galloway, to present their articles, and to assist David in his action: the rest were exercised in the mean time in praying and confessing their sins, which had procured such trouble. The brethren returning about half an hour after twelve, reported, that some had entred into commoning with them, and condescended upon some grounds of agreement, that the commoners on the K^s part were to travell with his Majesty against afternoon, and themselves were to deal with the Commissioners. One ground whereupon they had condescended was, that they would take up their declinature, and the Counsell their summons, and use a form of protestation. After noon when there was no appearance of agriement, and the Counsell were sitting, the second declinature was given in; wherein David adhereth unto the first, and fortifieth it with new reasons; and the above-named articles were presented. David was wonderfully assisteth with courage and wisdom, and the brether also who were appointed to assist him, especially Rob. Bruce. Nevertheless the King and Counsell do passe to the Interloquiture, and declare themselves Judges competent to all the points of the libell, except one which concerned the Religion of England; So scrupulous were they to medle with matters spirituall or ecclesiasticall. The brether returning unto the rest (who were exercised as before noone) report what was past. It was thought meet, that the doctrine be directed against the Interloquiture, as a strong Fort set up against the freedom of the Gospell; and to give thanks unto God for unity of Spirit among themselves. Immediately after the dissolving, the Threasurer & Provost of Edinburgh crave conference with Robert Bruce, Robert Rollock, James Nicolson, James Melvin. They say, the King (nothwithstanding the Interloquiture) intendeth not extremity against that Minister, but for maintaining peace with the Church, he would pardon him, if they would bring him unto his Majesty, and cause him declare the truth in all the points libelled. After deliberation, they answer, If it were but one mans particular, that were in question or danger, his Majesties

ties offer were thankfully to be accepted: But it is the liberty of the Gospel, which was grievously wounded in the discipline thereof by the proclamation on Saturday last, and now in the preaching of the word, by usurping the judicatory thereof: If the King had taken that mans life, or of moe, he could not have wounded the hearts of the brethren more deeply, nor done such injury unto Christ: they can no way be content, unless these things be retreated and amended, but must oppose such proceedings with extream hazard of their lives. The Messengers taking up the weight of the matter, were much moved, and returned unto the King with their answer. The next day a gentle man of the kings Chamber came timously to one of the brethren, and craved, the bent of the doctrine might be stayd that day, not doubting but his Maj. will satisfy them. It was answered, The edge of the doctrine can not be blunted without evident appearance of amendment of wrongs: yet he and another went unto the king, and these returning, reported the kings mind and offers, to declare his meaning, concerning the proclamations and the Interloquiture. The brethren reioice not a litle: they set down his offers in writ, amending some points; they write the grounds & articles of agreement, that the k. might see, whither they were according to his meaning. The brether, which were directed unto him, found him well content with the articles: he said, he wold abolish the two Acts which were proclaimed, and not suffer them to be booked; and of his own accord he offered to write unto the Presbyteries, and satisfy them concerning the Interloquiture, if they shall give him a band of dutiffulness in their doctrine on the other part; As for Da. Black, let him come, and declare his conscience concerning the libell, before David Lindsay, James Nicolson & Thomas Buchanan; and thereafter he shalbe content, to do what they shall judge meet. In the afternoon they returning found the King changed: he directeth David Lindsay to crave of David Black, that he compear before the Counsell, and there confesse an offense done to the Queen at least, and so receive pardon. David Black refuseth to confesse: for in so doing, he shall acknowledge the Counsell to be Judges of his Sermons, and approve their proceedings to be lawfull, when they had summoned him, and admitted ignorant and partially affected persons, lying under the censures of the Church at his procurement, to be witnesses; albeit he hath ample testimonialls of Provest, Bailives, Counsell, Church-session, of the Rector, the Dean of faculty, Principalls of the Colledges, Regents and other members of the University, his dayly auditors: all which were produced for him, but if it would please his Maj. to remit him unto his ordinary ludge the Ecclesiasticall Senate, he will depone the truth willingly in every point, and underly their censure and ordinance, if found guilty. The King went to Counsell, David Black not compearing, the deposition of the witnesses is read: the points of the libell are declared to be proved, and the punishment is referred unto the King. The Acts of proclamation and whole process is registred. The doctrine in Sermon soundeth freely in the old manner: The king craves conference again with the same Ministers. After much reasoning, they return unto Articles and grounds of agreement: then was produced a form of declaration concerning the proclamation, another of the charge; and a Missive unto the Presb. of Edinb. concerning the Interloquiture. When these brethren had caused diverse things to be amended, they received them, to be communicated unto the commissioners and others waiting upon their returning. The formes and declarations being considered, were not found sufficient to repair the injuries

done, but rather ratified the same. Other formes and declarations were devised, and a Missive unto the Presbytery, as also an Act of their dutifull obedience. Sundry conferences past betwixt the king and Counsell, and the three Ministers above named, but without success: for on wednesday December 8. these three Ministers reported unto a frequent meeting of their brethren (come from sundry Provinces, and joyning with the Commissioners) that the king in presence of the Counsell refused to accept that form of Letter written by them, to be sent unto the Presbyteries, because it imported (albeit indirectly) an annulling of the Interloquiture.

2. He refused the Act of dutifull obedience, as not sufficient, because it contained not a simple Band of not speaking against the King and his Counsell, but limited with certain conditions, which would ever come again into question, and turn to the controversie of the Judicatory [*Note this.*]

3. The formes of declaration (that was penned by the brethren) was refused, because they imported a plain retracting of the proclamations, and an acknowledgement of an offence.

4. The King will no way pass from the interloquiture, nor suspend the execution of it, untill a Generall assembly, but seeing the punishment is in his will, he will declare it unto the brether in private, which was transportation or suspension for a space. They answered, They could not agree for the reasons above named. In end the K. craves to be resolved of certain speeches uttered by him, towit, *The treachery of his heart was disclosed: all Kings are the Devils children*; and he required that David shall chuse seven or eight of 20. or 25. of his auditors, whose names shall be given him, that by their deposition the cause may be resolved; and in the meantime he shall desist from preaching. They answered, They had no commission for that, but to crave the acceptation of the formes propounded, and they will report the answers.

December. 9. their report was heard: the brethren perceive, that nothing is done, and in the meantime the enemies do attain their will: therefore they think it not expedient, to use any more commoning, but by some brethren to let his Majesty know, how they had humbly sought redresse of wrongs done to Christ in his kingdom lately, by that charge, proclamations, interloquiture and process against one of their most faithfull brethren, how they have been most willing, to have condescended to any conditions of peace, till the wounds which Christs Kingdom had received, might be thoroughly cured, to the intent his forces and the Church's authority might be set against the common enemies: but seeing they are disappointed, they are free of what shall ensue; and true pastors can not without treason against their spirituall king, abstain from fighting against such proceedings, with such spirituall armor as are given them, potent through God for overthrowing these bulwarks & mounts erected for sacking the Lords Jerusalem.

Decemb. 10. Da. Black was charged to go north within sixe dayes, and remain by north the North-water, till his Majesty declared his will, Under the pain of rebellion, and putting him to the horn.

Decemb. 11. the Commissioners were informed, that a great number of missives were written and ready to be directed through the Countrey for calling a convention of Estates and a Generall assembly: the tenor followes; Wee greet you well. As wee have ever carried a speciall good will to the effectuating of the policy of the Church, of which wee have often conference with the Pastors and Ministry, so wee and they both resolving now in end, that the whole order of the said policy shall be particularly condescended & agreed upon for avoiding sundry questions

& controversies, that may fall out to the slander & danger of religion; Wee have for that effect, appointed als well a generall Convention of our Estates, as a Generall Assembly of the Ministry, to hold here in Edinb. the first day of February next, To treat and resolve all questions standing in controversy or difference between the Civill and Ecclesiasticall judgement, or any way concerning the policy and externall governing of the Church: and therefore will wee effectually desire and request you, that you fail not (all excuses set apart) to be present at our Convention the day & place foresaid precisely to give your best advice & opinion in that matter, as you tender the effectuating there of, the well of religion and Estate, and will shew yourselves our dutifull and affected subjects. So wee commit you to Gods protection. From Halirud house the day of Decemb. 1596. Here the reader may more clearly perceive, that the alteration of the established government was intended before the 17. day of December, and that not only the marches of the jurisdiction Civile and ecclesiasticall were sought to be ridd, but the order of the church-government was to be called into question, howbeit thereafter nothing was pretended (at first) but the restraint of application & of doctrine, and Ministers vote in Parliament to vindicate them from poverty and contempt, because otherwise strong opposition was feared. On decemb. 14. the Commissioners of the Generall assembly exhorted the Ministers of the presbytery of Edinburgh as they will answer unto God and the Church in so necessary a time, To call before them such persons of highest ranks as are known or may be found to be malicious enemies, and to proceed against them to excommunication. The same day the charge; that was given out against the Commissioners of the Church, was proclaimed with sound of trumpet. After advisement they thought it lawfull to disobey so unlawfull charges; but needles and not expedient, seeing after them others might succeed, and so the work might proceed. So they resolve to depart, committing the cause unto God, and the diligent care of the presbytery of Edinburgh: but fearing, the fearful temptation of poverty might prevail with the weaker sort, and move them to subscribe a Band, which might captiously import the King and Counsells power, to judge of Ministers doctrine, because the King had said the day preceeding, They who will not subscribe, shall want their stipends; they thought it requisite, to send unto every presbytery a declaration of their proceedings. The minute of their proceedings I have now set down. In their declaration they write plainly; that when they were insisting with his Majesty to appear in action against the forfeited Earls, he had converted all his actions against the Ministry with hotter intention, than he could be moved against the adversaries this long time, that so they may be driven from prosecuting their suits against the Papists, and to employ themselves wholly in defense of preaching & discipline; that the restraint of rebuking & censuring sin was the principall Butt aimed at in all this action, because the mystery of iniquity, which hath been intended, begun, and is going forward (whither the purpose be to thrall the gospel by Injunctions or by a policy equivalent to injunctions, or to bring in liberty of conscience, or if to draw more papistry, which is to be feared for many reasons, and will be reveled in time) being such as can not abide the light of reprehension, the only advantage of their cause is thought, to consist in extinguishing the light which can discover the unlawfulness of it, that so they may walk-on in darknes without all challenge untill the truth be overthrown. And because impiety dar not as yet

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be so impudent to crave in express termes; that swine be not rebuked, it is sought only, that his Majesty and Counsell be acknowledged judges in matters Civile and criminall, treasonable and seditious, which shall be uttered by any Minister in his doctrine, thinking to draw the rebuke of sin in King, Counsell or their proceedings, under the name of one of these crimes, and so either to restrain the liberty of preaching, or to punish it under the name of some vice, by a pretense of law and justice, and so by time to bind the word of God, and let sin pass with lifted up hand to the highest, &c. Yee see now whar was the controversy betwixt the King and the Ministry. The King would have the Ministers to heare the offers made by the forfeited Earls, that they might be reconciled unto the Church. On the other side Ministers urge, that they be removed out of the Country again, and that he do the office of a Magistrate, as becomes him for their treasonous conspiracy, the pardon whereof he had professed in the beginning to be above his reach; and their offers import conference, but no confession of an offense; nor were made in sincerity; [as the event did prove.] This could not be obtained: therefore pulpits sounded against the favorers of these; as became faithfull watchmen, to discharge duty in so dangerous a time. Publick rebuke of publick and crying sins was called into question, and so was the established disciplin; and they were driven from the offensive to the defensive part. The Ministry craved but the tryall of Ministers in the first instance to be appertaining unto the Ecclesiasticall Judicatory, for application of doctrine to the rebuke of corruptions and publick offenses, as they should be by the word of God, & practises in former times: but it was refused. What sins did reigne in the land, the catalogue drawn up by the late assem. witnesseth. . . . Had they not reason then to blow the trumpet, and forewarn the people of Gods judgements, and now when the chief enemies forfeited for unnaturall conspiracy were suffered to return and abide in the Country? The wild border-men stood in greater awe of excommunication by a presbytery, than of Letters of horning. I know, a Noble man confessed, that he was more afrayed for the Presbyteries officer [*or Sumner*] than for an officer of arms. Upon the 16. day of December the King sent for four Ministers of Edinburgh: but Robert Bruce refused to enter into any more commoning, untill the Commissioners of the Church were recalled by als publick & honest proclamation, as it was dishonest and calumnious (so he called it) by which they were charged to depart. The Secretary after advisement promised, it should be so. Whill they were thus under commoning, there was a purpose to charge of the most zealous Burgeses of Edinburg to depart out of the town, specially these who did watch in the night for safety of their Pastors: for some of the Cubiculars envying the Octavians (who had the managing of the Kings revenues, whereby the Cubiculars were disappointed of their pensions) had advertised the Ministers, to be upon their guard night and day; and also give advertisement to the chief Octavians to keep their gates shutt: So oile was casten upon the flamm already kindled. The chief Octavians were President Setoun, Sir James Elphinstoun, M^r Thomas hamilton, the Kings Advocate, and Secretary Lindsay: the cheif Cubiculars were Sir George hume (thereafter Earle of Dumbar) Sir Patrick and David Murrays, brether of Balvaird. [*Many of both these sorts were alwise suspected of Tapistry.*] December 17. the charge was executed against one of the twenty four. Walter Balcanquell (being advertised before he went to pulpit) layd forth before the people all the proceedings betwixt the King, the Octavians, and the Mini-

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of Decem-
ber 17.
An. 1596*

Ministers; and according to a warrant he had from the Church, he requested Barons & gentle men present and others well affected, to convene in the little Church, and consult how the imminent danger to religion might be prevented. When they were convened, Robert Bruce layd forth the present dangers, and exhorted them to hold up their hands and swear to the defense of religion presently professed. Then they directed two Noble men, Lindsay & Forbes, two Barons, Bargainny and Blairwhan, and two Bailives of the town, unto the King with certain articles for redressing wrongs done unto the Church, and preventing imminent dangers. They entreat Robert Bruce to accompany them, and to propone the matter. Then hearing, that the King was come to the Tolbooth, they went unto him in the upper-house, and the Minister said, The Noble men, gentle men and others presently convened, apprehending the danger imminent to religion by hard dealing against the Ministry and zealous professors, have directed some of their number unto your Majesty. What appearance is there of danger? said the King. The burgessees best affected to religion are (under commoning) charged to depart out of town; the Lady Huntly is entertained at Court, and there is vehement suspicion, that her husband is neer at hand. The K. said, What have yee to do with that? and so goeth from them, drawn (as appeared) by the President and others about him. They who were sent, return unto the rest which had sent them, and report thus, Wee went to his Majesty as yee desired: but were not well accepted, nor our grievance heard: and now yee have to consider, what is next to be done. It was thought good, to reserve their grievances to a better time, and for the present to knit up a covenant with God, to stand to their profession and defense of the good cause to their last breath. Whereunto they all agree, testifying it by holding up their hands: then was a great applause of the present company. The Minister craves to behave themselves quietly for regard unto the cause. At this time comes a cry from the street, to the Church-door, with these words, *Save yourselves, there is a tumult in the street*. Another cry went through the street with these words, *Arme, arme*. I heard [*said my Author*] a Noble man, a Counsellor affirm, that it was one suborned by the Cubicularies, who came to the door, and after went to the street, and raised the cry: but who it was, it is not yet known. The people within the Church, apprehending it was a fight among parties (as was frequent in these dayes) leap to the streets. The greater number of Burgessees being in their houses, sent forth to enquire what the matter meant: they hear, that the Ministers were invaded, and the cry went, The Ministers are slain: whereupon they run into the streets in arms. The Gentle men which were in the Church, accompanied R. Bruce into his house, and then went to their lodgings, yet purposing to return into the Church-yard: for they feared, the Minister was to be invaded. The other Ministers went into the streets, to try what it was: after a little space the gentlemen return into the church-yard, they call for Robert Bruce, and tell him of the great disorder among the people by a false alarm, and none could know what was the ground of the fray. They all lament the case, they send for some of the Magistrates, and entreat them to pacify the people, running some one way, and some another; some to the church, thinking that the Ministers were invaded or slain; and some to the Tolbooth doore (which was shutt) thinking that the King had been slain. Two or three cried at that doore, for three of the Octavians, that they might take order with them. Another, cried, *The sword of the Lord and*

of Gideon. The King sent a charge to the Provost and Bailives to stay the tumult. The people at command of the Magistrates went to their houses, and layd aside their weapons. Whill the Magistrates were doing their best, the King sent the Earle of Marre and Lord Halirudhouse, to the Barons & Ministers convened in the church-yaird with many and plausible speeches: but some hote words passed betwixt Lindsay & Marre. The Barons and Ministers went into the litle Church again, sate down, and directed the former commissioners (at least the most part of them) to shew his Majesty, that they were grieved at their heart for the tumult, and to beseech him to provide some remedy against the present evils. The King seemed to be well pleased, willed them to set down their petitions, and promised a reasonable answer. Soon thereafter the Lairds of Cesford, Traquair, and Col. Stewart weresent to them, to put them in expectation, that all shall go well. So they disolve with publick thanksgiving to God for his gracious providence, disposing such an accident after such a manner, that no man had received harm, and the people had retereed to their houses at the voice of the Magistrates. The Lord Forbes, Bargainny, Blairwhan and Faldounside were directed again with these articles, that such Octavians as favored the forfeited Earls, and were authors of the present troubles in the Church, be removed, the excommunicated Earls be commanded to depart out of the Country, before any of their offers be heard; and the commissioners of the generall assembly be recalled by a publick proclamation. When these came to the utter court of the Palace, they understood, the King was commoved for the dishonor, he apprehended done unto him that day: therefore they left off their commission, and vvent to their lodgings. The next day the King vvent to Lithgow: all that vvere not ordinary inhabitants in Edinburgh vvere commanded to leave it: the Lords of the Session vvere vvarned to be ready to remove, and to sit vvhether they shall be advertised by the next proclamation: the Magistrates vvere commanded to search and apprehend the authors of that hainous attempt. Some of the burgeses vvere committed to sundry vwards: the Ministers of Edinb. were commanded to enter into the castle of the town, because the Kings wrath was hottest against them, and to the end, the chief Octavians might use them at their pleasure. After advice with some others, it was thought expedient, they should withdraw themselves till the present flamm were over. For all the diligent inquisition which was made many daies, no ground could be found of any conspiracy against the King or any other: only when the tumult was raised, one or two cried to have some of the Octavians abusers of the King, to take order with them: for which words they were fined. If there had been any intention, to do harm unto any man, what could have himdred then from doing it? there was no party in readines, able to withstand them. Yee see then, the tumult of Decemb. 17. was no just cause to move the K. to charge the Government of the Church, nor to wrong the wholl Nationall Church for the tumult of one town, howbeit their fact had been grounded on bad intentions; nor may K^e thrust Christs government to the door for the faults of men and bring-in what forms they please. But as no just occasion was givē, so that tumult can not serve so much as for a pretence, seeing as it is now discovered, the alteration was intended before December, 17. On the 20. day Pa. Galloway was sent unto the K. at Lithgow: but was not suffered to come neer the King: only a copy of a Band was sent unto him (whercof mention was made before) to be subscribed by the Ministers. Under pain of losse of their

their stipends : but he and others after him refused for many reasons. The questions (whereof mention was made before) 55. in number came forth in print soon after : and the Convention of the Estates and of the Ministry was appointed to be held at Perth February 29. for consulting upon and determining the jurisdiction spirituall of the Church, as well in application of doctrine as the whole policy : in all these questions the main point of policy, to wit, the superiority of Bishops was concealed, howbeit chiefly aimed at. In time of these sturs in Scotland began throughout England the more solemn and pious observation of the Lords day, upon occasion of a booke set forth *An. 1595.* by P. Bound Doctor of Divinity [and enlarged with additions *An. 1606.*] wherein these following opinions were maintained. 1. The command of sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Mosaicall decalogue, is moral and perpetual. 2. Whereas all other things in the Jewish Church were taken away [priesthood, sacrifices and Sacrament] this sabbath was so changed, that it still remains. 3. There is a great reason, why we Christians should take ourselves as straightly bound to rest upon the Lords day, as the Jews were upon their sabbath, it being one of the moral commandments, whereof all are of equal authority. 4. the rest upon this day must be a notable and singular rest; a most carefull, exact and precise rest, after another manner then men are accustomed. 5. Schoollers on that day are not to study the liberal Arts, nor Lawyers to consult the case, nor peruse mens evidences. 6. Sergeants, Apparitors and Sumners are to be restrained from executing their offices. 7. Justices not to examin causes for the conservation of the peace. 8. Ringing of more bells then one that day is not to be justified. 9. No solemn feasts, nor wedding dinners to be made on that day. 10. all honest recreations and pleasures lawfull on other dayes [as shooting, fencing, bowling] on this day is to be forborn. 11. No man to speak or talk of pleasures, or any other worldly matter. It is almost incredible, how taking this doctrine was, partly because of its own purity, and partly for the eminent piety of such persons as maintained it; so that the Lords day, especially in Corporations, began to be precisely kept, people becoming a law to themselves, forbearing such sport as by Statute were yet permitted; yea many reioicing at their own restraint herein. On this day the stoutest fencer layd down his buckler; the skillfull Archer unbent his bow counting all shooting to be besides the Mark; May-games and Morish-dances grew out of request, and good reason that bells should be silenced from ginging about mens leggs, if their ringing in Steepls were judged unlawfull: some were ashamed of their former pleasures like children, vvho grovvn bigger blush themselves out of their rattles and vvhistles. Others forbear them for fear of their Superiors, and many left them off out of a Politick compliance, lest othervvise they might be accounted licentious. Yet the learned vv ere much divided in their judgement about these doctrines; some embraced them as antient truths consonant to Scripture, long disused and neglected, and now seasonably revived for the encrease of piety. Others conceived them grounded on a wrong bottom; but because they tended to the manifest advancing of religion, it was pitty to oppose them, seeing none have just reason to complain, being deceived into their own good. But a third sort flatly fell out with these positions, as galling mens necks with a Jewish yolk, against the liberty of Christians, that Christ as Lord of the Sabbath had removed the rigor thereof, and allowed men lawfull recreations; that this Doctrine put an unequal Lustre on

The keeping of the Lords day began in England.

the Sunday on set purpose to eclipse all other holy dayes to the derogation of the authority of the Church; that this strict observance was set up of faction to be a character of difference to brand all for Libertines, who did not entertain it. How ever, for some years together in this controversy, Dr Bound alone carried the Garland, none offering openly to oppose; yea as he in his second edition observes, many both in their preachings, writings and disputations did concur with him in that argument: and though Archb. Whitgift in the year 1599. by his Letters had forbidden those books any more to be printed, and Sir John Popham Lord chief Justice in their year 1600. did call them in, yet all their care did but for the present make the Sunday set in a cloud, to arise soon after in more brightness for the Archb. his known opposition to the proceedings of the [Anti-episcopal] Brethren rendred his actions more odious, as if out of envy he had caused such a pearle to be concealed, and some conceived, though it was most proper for Judge Popham's place to punish felonious doctrine (which robbed the Queens subjects of their lawfull liberty) yet he was no competent Judge in this controversy: and though he had a dead hand against offenders, yet these doctrines (though condemned by him) took the privilege to pardon themselves, and were published more generally then before. *Th. Fuller in the Church hist. lib. 9.*

XXXV. The Synod of Fife meeting at Couper February 8. 1597. ordained every Presbytery within the bounds to direct two of their number to meet at Santand *february 21.* to confer and resolve with common consent upon the most solide answers unto these questions, for strengthening the brethren. They sent also some Ministers, to supplicat the King not to hold that Convention, which was appointed to be at Perth, or at least to delay it untill the time of the ordinary assembly, which is to be in Aprile; and to shew unto him, that no presbytery hath power, to give commission unto any of their brether, to call in question, or put into doubt the determinations & conclusions of the Generall assembly; as also to supplicat his Majesty to relaxe the Ministers of Edinburgh from the horn, and restore David Black to his own place. They set down instructions & limitations unto the Commissioners, that were to be sent from the Presbyteries to Perth, if the dyet shalbe kept. The Presbytery of Edinburgh and others did the like. The brethren that were appointed by the Synod of Fife, meet in Santandrews and resolve upon answers to the questions: others also, namely, Pa. Galloway took paines there-in. The Ministers come to Perth february 29; moe out of the north, than were wont to be seen at any Gen. assembly. Great paines was taken by Courtiers & Politicians to divide them into factions: they complain unto the Ministers of the North. that the South Ministers were severe, undiscree, arrogant; and usurp the government of the wholl, they commend the Ministers of the North as men of better disposition and more discretion, and doubted not, if they were acquainted with his Majesty, they shall in short time see all matters brought to a good point. Sir Patrik murray was diligent in making their acquaintance with the K. and they had access late at night, and early in the morning. The cheif of these wrought upon others comming from the North: so they began to look bigg on their brethren, and blamed the Ministers of the south, namely (as they were informed to speak) the Popes of Edinburgh, that they had not handled matters well, and had almost losed the King. Others howbeit grieved at such speeches, stood to their instructions both privarly and publickly, so that the sitting of the Assembly was put off for
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two or three days. James Nicolson had long conference with the King till midnight, and when he returned to his chamber, he told James Melvin some of the Kings speeches, insinuations mixed with threatnings, and added, I perceive, the King will wreck himself and the Church both, unless we look better about us, and yeeld so far as wee may, rather than lose all James Melvin perceiving him to be changed, said, I see no better resolution, than as they have done in former times, to seek God by prayer, and discharge our duties faithfully, committing the event unto God, to whom the cause belongeth; as for my selfe, by Gods grace I will never yeeld to any thing contrary to what we have sufficiently warranted by his word, and have possessed so long with so comfortable frutes: If wee passe at this time from the least point, it will shake us loose, disarm us of the trust we have in the equity of our cause, and break that unity, whereby we have stood so strong untill now. On the third day the Ministers were urged by Sir Patrick Murray in the Kings name, to resolve, Whether they would hold the Assembly, or not? Peter Blackburn Minister at Aberdien maintained, that they might, and James Melvin held the negative. The brethren seemed for the most part to incline unto the negative, but by the persuasive speeches of James Nicolson, and especially by the Kings authority many were induced to consent: Commissioners from eight Presbyteries voted in the negative, that the meeting could not be held for a Generall assembly; and commissioners from eleven allowed it for an extraordinary Generall assembly. They which were in the negative, acknowledged the meeting to be lawfull, and that they came in obedience unto his Ma. but not as having the power of a Gen. assembly, but rather to remitt the final answer unto the Assembly; it was a meeting of the Ministry upon the Kings missives sent unto them, and others than Ministers should be members of the Generall Assembly according to the acts and practise of the Church, and whereas the Moderator of the preceeding Assembly was wont to begin with exhortation and prayer, and then a Moderator was chosen, now by instigation of Courtiers David Lindsay Minister at Lieth took upon him the office of Moderator without election. The former Clerck being defunct, now another was not chosen, nor taken sworn according to the former order. So here order and unity was broken. *So far from the beginning of Section 34. I have written out of The Historicall Narration: Now I returnt unto the book of the Assemblies.* 1. In Sess. 3. March 2. The Kings Commissioners do present the articles following with this preamble; Seing the quietnes of the Church, and the freeing of the same from slander. which upon the contrary effects would necessarily follow, is the chief Butt and end, at which his Majesty shuteth in the conveening & holding of this present Assembly: Therefore and for avoiding fashious and longsom disputations, whereupon diverse uncomely controversies and debates may arise, his Majesty hath thought good to remitt the decision of a great number of the pretended questions to a better opportunity, to be reasoned in the mean time by such as shall be authorized by commission to that effect; and for the present shall content himself with the decision of these few articles following, having made choice of none but such as necessity of time could not permitt to be delayd, without great harm and slander to follow. 1. That it be not thought unlawfull either to the Prince or any of the Pastors at any time heerafter, to move doubts, reason or crave reformation in any point of the externall policy & government or disciplin of the Church, that are not essentially concerning salvation, or is not answered

red *affirmative* or *negative* by any expresse part of the Scripture, Providing it be done *decenter*, in right time and place, *animo edificandi, non tentandi*.

2. Seing the Civill & Politicall government of the Church belongeth alannerly unto the King, his Officers and Counsell, and is no way pertinent to the Spirituall Ministry of the word; that no Minister shall hereafter at any time medle with matters of the Estate, in the pulpit, or with any of his Maj. lawes, statutes and ordinances; but if any Minister shall think any of them hurtfull to religion, or contrary unto the word, they shall privatly complain thereupon unto the King or his Counsell.

3. It shall not be lawfull to the Pastors to name any particulare mans name in the pulpit, or so vively to describe them, as may be equivalent with their naming, except upon the notoriety of a crime; this notoriety may only be defined by the guilty person being fugitive for the time, or being condemned by an assyse, or excommunicate, for the same.

4. Every Minister in his application shall have only respect to the edification of his own flock and present auditors, without expatiating upon other discourses no way pertinent to that congregation.

5. Every particular presbytery shall be commanded to take diligent heed unto their Pastors doctrine, and that he keep himself within the bounds of the premisses.

6. That summary excommunication be discharged as inept, and that three lawfull citations, at least of eight dayes intervall betwixt every one of them, precede the Sentence.

7. That no Session, Presbytery nor Synod use their censures upon any, but them that are resident within the bounds committed unto them; otherwise their decreets and Sentences to be null.

8. All summons shall contain a speciall cause and crime, and none *super inquirendis* to be summoned, *quod est merè tyrannicum*.

9. That no meeting or conventions be among Pastors without his Maj. knowledge & consent, except their ordinary Sessions, Presbyteries & Synods.

10. That in all the principall townes Ministers be not chosen without the consent of their own flock and of his Majesty; and that order to be begun presently in the planting of Edinburgh.

11. That all matters concerning the rest of his Maj. questions be suspended, unmedled-with either in pulpit or any other Judicatory, whill first all his Hiennes questions be fully decided, specially, that all matters emporting slander come not in before them in the mean time, wherein his authority Roiall is prejudged highly, but only in causes meerly ecclesiasticall.

12. That seven or eight wise & discreet Ministers be authorized by commission to reason upon the rest of the questions, as opportunity of time shall serve.

13. That they give commission to the Ministry of the North to be at a point with Huntly; and if he satisfy them, to absolve him.

For the better answering these articles, the Assembly ordaines certain brethren chosen out of every Shyre presently conveened, to give their advice & Overture upon them, and thereafter to report them unto the Assembly.

These wer 21 in number, of whom nynewer Bishops thereafter.

In *Seff. 5.* the brether being desired by the Kings Commissioner (sent for that effect) to repair unto the place, where his Majesty and Estates were presently sitting, to conferr on the foresaid Articles; at his Maj. desire they went to the Counsell-house: and there before any reasoning (after his Majesty had discoursed of the things to be propounded) protested in manner following, Sir, forsomuch as wee are come hither to testify our obedience unto your Majesty, and to heare what shall be propounded by your Majesty unto us, In all reverence we protest, that this our meeting be not esteemed, as if wee made our selves an assembly with the Estates, or do submitt any matter ecclesiasticall either concerning doctrine or

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disciplin unto this Judicatory, but after that wee have conferred and reasoned with your Majesty concerning the articles propounded unto us, we must return to the ordinary place of our assembly, there to reason, vote and resolve in all these points according to the word of God and good conscience; And this our protestation we most humbly crave, may be admitted in your Maj. books of Counsell, for eschuing inconveniente, that hereafter may arise. This protestation was ratified, iterated, and confirmed by his Ma. So after some reasoning upon the articles the brethren were dimitted. In *Sess.* 6. the same day, they gave their answers, agreeing *simpliciter* unto the first, second, fourth, eighth, tenth & eleventh; unto the third, with this addition, that the notoriety be defined, if the person be fugitive, convict by an Assise, excommunicat, contumax after citation or lawfull admonition; Unto the fifth with this change, That he keep himselfe within the bounds of the word. Unto the nyenth with exception of visitations of churches, admission & deprivation of Ministers, reconciling of enmities and such like: Unto the twelfth also, and to that effect they appoint Ministers Ja. Nicolson, Jo. Cauldcleuch, An. Clayhills, D. Lindsay, Tho. Buchanan, Ja. Melvin, R. Wilky, W. Couper, Io. Couper, Ia. Brison, Ro. Rolock, Pa. Galioway, Io. Duncanson, & Ro. Howy, To treat of the questions, and report their advice unto the next Gen. assembly, Referring the time and place of conveening unto his Ma. The sixth and seventh articles are referred to the next gen. assembly. Concerning the 13. they give commission unto the Ministers of Murray and Aberdien Presbyteries to insist in conference with Huntly: and they adioyn five Ministers out of Merns and Anguse: and ordain them to report his answers to the articles given them in commission for his tryall. II. In *Sess.* 7. the articles for tryall of the Earle of Huntly are 1. That from the day of his compearance before the said commissioners, he shall make his constant residence in Aberdien, that he be not abstracted from hearing the word and ordinary conference, enduring the time appointed for the same. 2. That he be well enformed with knowledge to condescend in the principall grounds of religion *affirmative*, and the untruth of the errors contrary unto the same: and that he be able to give a reason of his knowledge in some measure. 3. That he be brought to a plain acknowledging of the Church within this Country, and profess himselfe adioined to the same as an obedient member thereof: and be content to hear the word, to participate the sacraments, and obey the disciplin of the Church, as presently avowed by the K. and Estates. 4. That he solemnly promise by word and written band to remove out of his company & wholl bounds under his power, all Jesuits, priests and excommunicat persons. 5. That he swear and subscribe the Confession of faith in presence of all the Commissioners. 6. That he agree to satisfy in the chnrch of Aberdien in most humble manner for his apostasy, and there renew the foresaid promises and bandes in most solem manner. 7. That he declare his grief and repentance for the slaughter of the Earle of Murray, and promise to make assithment [or satisfaction] unto the party, when it shall be accepted: and declare his foresaid repentance and grief at the time of his foresaid publick satisfaction. 8. Because by occasion of service done to his Ma. in pursuing the said Earle by force and otherwise, sundries in these parts have incurred his displeasure, that he be content, to remove all these occasions with such convenient diligence as these commissioners shall think expedient. 9. for declaratiō of his sincerer adjoyning with us, that he be content at their sight, and advice of his best disposed friends to provide sufficient stipends unto his churches. 10. That he shall acknowledge

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his faults, for which he was justly excommunicat, especially, his apostasy and the burning of Dunibr. 11. That he shall have an ord. Minister continually resident in his family; With power to them, to convene March 22. instant, or sooner if they can; and to confer with Huntly, and to resolve in the articles named, and to report his resolution at the next Gen. Assembly to be holden at Dundy May 10. next. III. Upon petitions presented in names of the Earls of Anguse and Arroll, the Ministers of Murray and Aberdien are ordained to confer likewise with Arroll, and the Ministers of Anguse & Merns are ordained to confer with the Earle of Anguse, Upon the same articles, excepting these concerning the slaughter of Murray, and to report their resolutions, as said is, And these commissions to be extended unto the Lairds of Bonitoun and Newtown, if they offer themselves to satisfy the Church, And if these excommunicat persons or any of them shall resort to any other place within the realm, the assembly gives full power, and commission to the Ministers of the Presbytery where they shall happen to resort, to travell and confer with them in the above written articles. IV. Articles sent unto the King by the Ministry are. 1. It is humbly craved, that your Majesty with advice of the Estates presently convened, considering how it hath pleased God, to give good success to this present convention, and that all things here concluded tend to the peace and quietness of the whole estates within this Country, and the disappointing of the expectation of the adversaries, Would publish by open proclamation the good success of this present convention, Together with the declaration of your Ma^s intention uttered by your selfe at this time in presence of your Estates, Declaring your good will, to maintain the true religion presently professed within your Country, with the disciplin adjoynd thereunto, and the Ministers to whom the charge of the same is committed; And to declare, that your Majesties will is, that whatsoever law, Act or proclamation hath been made prejudiciall to the same, shall be esteemed contrary to your Majesties meaning, and to have no force nor effect in any time hereafter; And that none of your subjects pretend under color thereof, to molest or trouble any of the saids Ministers, but that they be under your Majesties protection, And that you will esteem the contraveeners as troublers of your estate, and punish them accordingly. 2. That all Papists, Jesuits and excommunicates remaining within the Countrey, be charged to passe out of it before May 1. next, or to satisfy the Church: and if they obey not before that day, that Sherifs, Provests and Bailives be commanded to apprehend them within their bounds, and present them unto your Ma. or Counsell, to be punished according to lawes; And if these be negligent in apprehending them, that commission be given to certain most zealous persons and willing to do the same. 3. That it may please your Majesty according to your wonted clemency, to relaxe presently the Ministers of Edinb. from the horn, and suffer them peaceably to remain within the Country; as also to relieve and set at freedom the Gentle men Professors of Religion, who now are under challenge, seing your Majesty knowes, that their love to Religion moved them to these things, where with they are burdened. 4. Seing Edinburgh hath that honor, to be the chief Burgh of this country, and the place where Religion since the beginning hath been most flourishing, and now are both destitute of their own Ministers, and called from time to time before your Majesty, which is no small grief to their hearts, in respect, your Majesty knowes, that the greatest part of the Town are most willing, to give your Majesty all obedience,

dience, and to hazard life and substance for your Majesties standing, That it may please your Majesty favorably to deal with them according to your accustomed gentleness, that it may appeare, your Majesty is more enclined to shew favor unto them who mean uprightly unto your Hieness, than to Papists: wee are moved to crave this, that all your subjects may see a general agreement. 5. That it may please your Majesty, seeing David Black hath obeyed the things were enjoyned unto him, to give him liberty to return to his flock, and also John Welsh, and John Howeson. 6. Because many complaints of hurting & mutilating Ministers, are given in before us, namely. We most humbly crave, that your Majesty will take some substantiall order for punishing the offenders to the example of others. 7. That provision be made for planting of Churches, and that the augmentations and planting of new Churches ordained in the year 1595 be allowed, Follow the answers; The first is granted in substance: the 2. is granted: concerning the first part of the 3. the Ministers of Edinburg are ordained to be relaxed upon caution, that they shall underly the law: as for these Gentle men, let them by mediation of friends be suiters for themselves. As for the 4. his Majesty will no way trouble innocent men, but only the guilty, and mindeth to be at a point with them shortly. Concerning the 6. a commission is ordained to call and punish the offenders. And certain persons are appointed to take order als well for planting churches as with the augmentations that are granted. *So it is written in the book, B. Spotswood shewes, that the advice of the deputed Ministers concerning the 13. articles was conceived by them otherwise, as. 1. They held it not expedient to make any law or Act of that matter, lest a door be opened to turbulent spirits, otherwise they did think it lawfull to his Majesty by himself or by his Commissioners to propound in a Gen. assembly, what soever point his Majesty desired to be resolved in or to be reformed in specie exteri ordinis scing substantia externe administrationis Ecclesiastica est plenissime prodita in sacris literis* For the. 2. Their advice was, that that the Acts already made, which are hurtfull to religion, and prejudiciall to the liberty of the word should be discharged, and no Act to be past hereafter concerning religion without advice & consent of the Church; As for matters of Estate mentioned in the article, they craved a further explanation of that point. He goeth on in the rest of them, in that manner: and he saith, that the King held nor these sufficient: and a little after, he saith, Hereupon ensued a reasoning, which kepted a long time, and ended in good agreement, and so the Ministers were dimitted [*towit, from the Counsell*] and assembling in the ordinary place, they corrected their first answers in this sort, *towit, as it is written*: But how long time that reasoning did take up, it may be understood that the assembly did convene first in the church, where the Kings Commissioners desired them to go unto the King; and all the speeches on both sides, and all the reasonings were ended before midday; and the same day they convened in their sixth Session. But the author of *The Historicall Narration* saith, The advice of the brethren was approved, but again altered through pretended haste, and otherwise conceived, and set down in the register: no reasoning was in publick. Which of the two is to be believed, I leave to decide. The fifth article which the Ministry propound unto the King, is not answered in the book and B. Spotswood supplicth the third, saying, The King esteemed the Ministers most guilty, and knew not what course to take with them. It being replied, that by examinations taken, it appeared, that they all;

especially Robert Bruce was a chief instrument in staying the tumult, and therefore they should be rewarded rather than punished. He answered, Granting they did stay the tumult, yet they were the cause of it, and if they were they were first corrected for that fault, he would not be much troubled with their reward: not the less at the assemblies request, he will be content they be relaxed upon caution to underly tryall of law *And in the next page he saith*, The Ministers were permitted to return, and had their peace granted, but not suffered to preach in their places; the King taking now the occasion of finishing the work, which some two years before had been moved, for distributing the people [*of Edinburgh*] into severall parishes, and planting more Ministers among them. Here I add a remarkable comparison of preceeding Assemblies with this and others following, as it is word by word in *The Hist. Narr.*

1. Before the spiritual office-bearers appointed time and place of meeting; after, they were appointed where & when it pleased the King.
2. They were directed by the word of God; after, by the Kings letters, commissions or speeches.
3. Before, matters were propounded in simplicity of heart, and brethren were directed to seek light out of the word by conference, meditation, prayer; after, courses were plotted in the Kings Cabinet, and all means were used for execution accordingly, and impediments removed: every man is observed, and either commended or censured, as, this man is the Kings man, an honest man, a discreet man, a peaceable man, he goeth this way; That man is seditious, brain sick, factious, he reasoneth in the contrary.
4. Before, matters were discussed at length, pleasantly, without controulement, and the wholl number acquiesced to reason; Now, if a man that stands for the truth insist, and can not be shifted with a frivolous *distinguo*, the King (if he be present) falleth upon him, beares him down, and puts him to silence.
5. Before, the common aim was at Gods glory, and the good of the Church: the presence of such as were learned, zealous, holy and powerfull preachers procured good order & reverence to the Assembly: Now the Prince's presence or purpose is only regarded: an honest man is taunted & mocked either by gesture or speech.
6. Men of best gifts (before) had free access, and their gifts were employd: Now plots are layd down, how none shall have place, but such as will serve to the purpose.
7. Before, matters were put to deliberation and to voting freely & indifferently; now, nothing is suffered to be agitated in publick, but that which the Kings men are sure to carry with plurality of voices: and to this the catalogue of Commissioners names must be viewed, that they may know, who will vote with them, and who against them; and when the roll is called, the wonted order is not observed, but as at this last Assembly, such are called as favor the course.
8. In a word, the advancement of Christs Kingdom was sought before; now the chief care is to frame & conform the policy of the Church to the estate of a free Monarch, and to advance his supreme and absolute power in all causes. Wee shall have occasion to point at more in particular hereafter. *The same author shewes*, that the innocency of the Ministers of Edinburgh was tryed and found by the tryall of others. D. Black was suffered to return out of his confinement to Santandrews. This shew of calmness made many the more secure: and in the mean time the plots were a laying. The next Generall assembly was held in May at Dundy: when it was lawfully begun by the doctrine of Robert Pont the last chosen Moderator, the members were wearied with attending on Robert Rollock's coming, whom the King intended to have Moderator: he was a godly & learned

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learned man, but credulous, not so fitt for Government and disciplin as for the pulpit and schools; nor was made privy to all the mysteries of iniquity, that were then in working, but only so far as the plotters thought needfull. His old Master, Thomas Buchanan was now wonne to the Kings side, and tooned & tutored him as he saw fitting: they thought, the estimation men had of him, would enduce many to their course: so much travell was taken in his election. The Ministers that were acquainted before, brought others of any note to be acquainted with the King: this was their exercise morning & evening. After that terrors and threats were carried to Andrew Melvin to drive him out of the town: the King sent for him, and after some rough conference, was dimitted calmly. *So far in that place.* Before I enter upon the Acts of this Assembly, it is to be marked, that B. *Spotswood* saith here, In this Assembly Mr Robert Rolock was elected to Preside, though he was not as yet in orders. It is doubted, what he meaneth here, seing the Christian world knowth, that Robert Rolock was a famous Minister many years before that time, as is cleare by his learned Commentaries, namely, that on the Ephesians was published in the year 1590. as the epistle in the reprintings do still carry, and the tittle page calleth him Minister of Edinburgh: I omitt that he was a member of severall assemb. before. Wee may guesse at one of two causes, why he hath wirtten so; one, that he thought imposition of hands to be the proper work or prerogative of prelates; and so where is no prelate, can be no ordination. But by what law? certainly not by a law of God. Where is it? By the ordinance of man, he would say. That was not universall, before Popery prevailed, as is before in Century XI; nor after the Reformation, as appears by the Churches of France, Low Germany, Helvetia, &c. and also of Scotland, where episcopacy was abjured, and also condemned by Acts of Parliament, yea and the word *Order* in that sense is a meer Popish term, never known in the world but since they devised the degrees of the Cararchy or (as they call it) Hierarchy; yea and the Papists hold that imposition of hands is but accidentary or not necessary unto Orders, seing our Savior layd not hands on this Apostls; as Bellarmin *de ordin. sacram* witnesseth of some PP. and Schoelmen judging so. For clearing this doubt is a question, Which of these two is most properly a Pastor, he that hath not received imposition of hands, and hath received from Christ pastorall gifts, and a call from a flock, & obeyth the call in feeding that flock conscienciously; Or he that hath received imposition of hands, and hath the charge of 100 or 200 flocks, and they never seek him, nor see him, but he waites upon other affaires not belonging to a pastorall charge? I grant, in the Court of Rome, and in the judgement of Satan, a ceremony is better then substance. But the question is, Which of the two is the truest Pastor in the ballance of the Sanctuary? Can any consciencious man think, as the Court of Rome judgeth? Another motive may be thought, that since, that Writer was guilty of perjury (for many times had he subscribed that Confession abjuring Hierarchy, and yet took a Prelacy one after another) he could not speak nor write a good word of that disciplin, into which he had sworn so oft, nor of the maintainers of it, but with some spight, as appears through all his booke, which he calleth *The History of the Church of Scotland*, but may rather be called, *The calumnies and railings against the Church of Scotland*, whereof he was an enemy, and by which he was justly and solemnly excommunicated in the year 1638. What is in that book, of the faith, doctrine or piety of the Church? Many of these ca-

lumnies in this posthum book, he had written before in a Reply *ad Epist. Philadelphi*, and it was told him in the *Vindicie*, that he had written against his conscience: It is, said *Pag.* 50. *Why should one believe a man, whomakes not conscience of his words? And Pag.* 56. *Whatsoever may have the shew of a reproach, this ingrate son scrapeth together, to spue it out against his Mother, the Church. In which words envy, which appeares throughout, vented it self wholly: for what can be said or forged in a Narration more wickedly, than to be silent in that which is good, and to proclame what is evill, [or which may make a shew of evill?] And Pag.* 67. *Should not a Bishop, whe, though he were a Papist, yet should at least have the shadow of gravity, be ashamed to faine [like a brawling wife] what all men know to be false? And because in that pamphlet he had written (as he doeth oft in this later booke) that the King applied himself (contrary to his mind) unto the will of the Ministers, it was told him, Pag.* 59. *What can be spoken more vilely and unworthily, against the Royall honor, then that he applied his will unto the wicked endeavours of his subjects, and losed the raines unto the boldnesse and crimes of wicked men? But this is the imprudence (by the just judgement of God) of flatterers, that when they wold most earnestly catch, they do most offend. So that in a word, who-soever regardeth the honorable memory of K. James VI. or the credite of the Church of Scotland, will not believe that booke of lies and calumnies. I return unto that Assembly. I. The first three Sessions were taken up with the election of a Moderator and Clerk, and one ordinance, that Acts of every Assembly should be formed by certain brethren, and be publickly read before the dissolving of the Assembly, and be in-booked. II. The 4. and 5. Sessions have some particulare references. III. In *Seff.* 6. The Commissioners that were appointed to deall with the excommunicat Earles, report their diligence severally, and that they submit themselves unto the Church in all the prescribed articles. The Assembly ordaines the same Commissioners to see the performance of their promises in all the articles, so far as possibly can be performed for the time; and after performance, to absolve them from the Sentence of excommunication, and to receive them into the bosom of the Church. IV. In *Seff.* 7. Notes in form of declaration of certain of the Acts of the G. Ass. holden at Perth in Febr. last, for explaining his M^s and the Assembly's meaning for the satisfaction of them, which were not acquainted therewith, and which are ordained to be registred in the Acts of this present assemb. 1. Concerning the lawfulness of the said Ass. holden at Perth, it's declared, that one of the reasons moving the brethren, to acknowledge the lawfulness of that Ass. is found to have been, that the Commissioners of the Church had accorded with his Maj. therein, as is expressly set down in his Maj. Letters. 2. The reason moving the Ass. to grant the more willingly to the second article concerning the reproving his Maj. lawes, was that his Maj. earnest & constant affection to the religion, and obedience to the word, was evidently known unto the said Ass. and that it was his M^s declared will & intention, alwayes to frame his lawes & wholl Government according to the same: for this cause the Ass. agreeth to the said article. 3. Concerning the article ordaining no mans name to be expressed in pulpit, excepting notorious crimes, &c. the point of notoriety is further defined, If the crime be so manifest and known to the world *ut nulla tergiversatione celari possit*. 4. Concerning the Article ordaining that no convention of Pastors bee without his Ma. consent, &c. His Ma. consent is declared to be extended to all and whatsoever form of G. Ass. or speciall, permitted & authorized by his law, and as they have warrant in the*

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word of God; As being the most authentick form of consent, that any King can give. 5. Concerning the article of providing Pastors to Burghs, It is declared, that the reason thereof was & is, that his Majesty was content and promised, that where the Gen. assembly findeth it necessary to place any person or persons in any of the said townes, his Majesty and the flock shall either give their consent thereunto, or a sufficient reason of the refusal, To be propounded either unto the wholl Assembly, or to a competent number of the commissioners thereof, as his Majesty shall think expedient. V. Answers to the rest of his Maj. questions, as they were propounded by his Majesty and his Commissioners in the present assembly. 1. Concerning the propositions craving that before the conclusion of any weighty matters concerning the estate of his Hiennes or of his subjects, his Ma. advice & approbation be craved thereunto, that the same being approved by his Ma. may have the better execution, and if need require, be authorized by law; the assembly craves most humbly, that his Ma. either by himselfe or his Commissioners, in matters concerning his estate or the wholl estate of his subjects, and others of great weight & importance, that have not been treated before, would give his advice and approbation thereunto, before any conclusion of the same; And for the better obedience to be given to the like statutes in all time coming, that his Majesty would ratify the same either by Act of Parliament or Secret Counsell, as shall be thought needfull. The which his Majesty promiseth to do, according to his proposition: which was accepted and allowed by the wholl assembly. 2. The Assembly ordaines that there be an uniformity in the ordination of Ministers throughtout all the Country by imposition of hands: and that they be admitted to certain flocks, upon the which they shall be astricted to attend according to Acts of Assemblies made before; And ordaines that none who is not admitted to the Ministry, be permitted to teach in publick and great places, except upon very urgent necessity in defect of actuall Ministers they be ordained to supply such wants, by the presbyteries, provincially or generall assemblies: who shall take diligent order, that they keep themselves within the bounds of their gift, and specially in application. 3. That no Pastor exerce any jurisdiction either in making constitutions, or leading process without advice & concurrence of Session, Presbitery, Provincially or Generall Assembly. 4. That all Sessions be elected with consent of their own congregations. 5. That all Sessions, Presbyteries and Provincials use such form in all their proceses, as may be found lawfull & formall, and able to abide tryall: the which shall be registred in matters of importance: And to this effect ordaines the proceedings of privat Sessions to be sighted at Presbyteries; and the proceedings of Presbyteries at the Provincially Synods, and the proceedings of the Synods at the Generall Assemblies. 6. That in the Exercise, when the Ministry are convened at their Presbyteries, no application be used. 7. That in the determination of matters of importance, where the votes shall be different upon two or three only, nothing be concluded, till better resolution; and that in such difference he who sustaines the negative, shall give *Rationem negandi*. 8. The Presbyteries shall meddle with nothing in their judicatory, which shall not be found without controversy proper to the Ecclesiasticall judgement; and that in this an uniformity be kept in all the Countrey. 9. That all proceses and acts be extracted unto all parties having interest, where is a written process. 10. Assembly delays to answer the article concerning

summary excommunication, untill the next Generall Assembly; and in the mean time suspends all summary excommunication; Yet in great crimes, a publick intimation thereof is to be made, and the committer is to be suspended *à sacris*, and prohibited *à privato convictu*. II. If any Presbytery shall be desired by his Majesties missive to stay the proceeding of any thing prejudiciall to the Civill Jurisdictions or privat meanght, it is ordained, that the Presbytery shall desist in that matter, untill they send unto his Majesty for his satisfaction therein. VI. In *sess*. 9. The king being present declares, that seeing the shortness of time hindreth sundry things of weight not only concerning particular flocks, but the estate of the wholl Church, as the planting of particular congregations, and of all the Churches remaining as yet unplanted in default of honest entertainment, and a solid order to be taken for the sustentation of all the Ministry, that they be not compelled (as heretofore) to wait upon the Modifiers of stipends, and his care and earnest desire ever hath been, and as yet continues, that every Church may have a Pastor honestly sustained; Therefore he willeth them to consider, whither it be not expedient, that a generall commission be granted to certain brethren to convene with his Majesty for effectuating the premises. For this end fourteen Ministers, are named, or any seven of them, to convene with his Majesty and to make such Overtures, as they can best devise concerning the constant Plat; and generally to give their advice to his Majesty in all affaires concerning the well of the Church, and entertainment of peace, and obedience to his Majesty with expresse power & command to them, to propound unto his Majesty the petitions & grievances of the Church in generall, and of every member thereof, as shall be shewd unto them *Promitten*, &c. VII. A supplication of John Retorford, who was deposed by the presbytery of Santand. was referred by the preceeding assembly unto this; and now is referred unto the above mentioned commissioners or any seven of them, to be examined and decided. VIII. James wood of Bonitoun craves a conference in matters of religion; and that the assembly would interceed betwixt his father and him, as he professes to give all satisfaction both to them and his father, that he may be absolved from excommunication. The assembly appointes certain brethren to deale both with him, and then with his father. IX. The next Assembly is appointed at Sterline the first tuesday of May 1598. It is *clear by the first Act* of this Assembly, and by the Notes of declaration, that this Assembly was not content with the booking of the former Acts. II. By the gracious providence of God a plot was discovered in the same moneth of May: Hugh Barclay of *Lady-land* been committed the year preceeding in the castle of Glasgow, and escaping went to Spain, that year entred into the Isle Elsa with some complices, intending to fortify it for the service of Spain. John Knox getting intelligence went with some others into the Isle: Hugh thought that none in the Countrey knew of his purpose, and all his folks being abroad in the Isle, came to see who these were, and when he perceived, that they were set for apprehending him, he ran into the sea, and drowned himself. The Popish Earles hearing this newes, did the more readily perform obedience unto the articles that were demanded of them. And this shewes that the fear of the former year was not altogether vain. III. Concerning this generall Commission, *The* *Historicall Narration* observeth, that whereas before Commissioners were appointed to present articles, petitions or grievances unto the King Parliament and Counsell, now these have commission to sit with the King and

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and exerce jurisdiction, and they having accessse unto the King when they pleased, and commission to sit and consult with him, began to change their manners: they would rule both in and out of Assemblies. Matters which were to be treated in the Generall assemblies, were first prepared by them at Court. Some were put in the roll for fashion; and were not made privy to the secret plots: for seven were sufficient to site and plot what they pleased. So these Commissioners were a wedge taken out of the Church, to rent her with her own forces; and this generall commission was the very neede to drawe in episcopacy. In Juny following these conveeneing with the King at Falkland reduced the Sentence of deposition pronounced by the Presbytery of Santandrews against John retorford for non residency and not waiting on his calling, but praftizing Medicine. In July they removed David Black out of Santand. and placed George gladstanes in his room, who was one of these commissioners, and thereafter B. of Santandr. They displaced also Robert Wallace another Min. there, because he had spoken against John Lindsay Secretary; and this they did against the will of the presbytery, alledging, that they had not power to take away any action from them which was in proceß, and not decided. They made also a Visitation of the Colledges, and made new canones concerning the election of the Rector, and his continuance to be but for a year; and the exemption of all the Masters from the Church Session. Concerning the next stepp unto Prelacy (which was the vote in Parliament) *The Historicall Narration* saith, At the Parliament in December 1597. the workmen for Episcopacy, the commissioners of the Assembly presented a petition in name of the church that Ministers may have vote in Parliament. They had not commission to petition it either for the Church in generall, or for Ministers in particulare. It is true, it was an old complaint of the Generall assemblies, that others, who had the Benefices of the Prelacies did vote in Parliament in name of the Church, and therefore they petitioned, that none do vote in name of the Church, but they who shall have commission from the Church, if there were any necessity, that some must vote in name of the Church, but that Ministers in particulare should vote in Parliament, was not petitioned. The Assembly in October 1581. being required by the King to give some Overture, how he shall not be prejudged, seing they have damned the office of Bishops, whereunto is annexed a temporall jurisdiction, by whom the Prince was served by voting in Parliament, assisting in Counsell, contributing in taxations, and the like: Th'etty Barons and Commissioners from Burrous and Ministers, were appointed to consult apart upon it. After consultation they returned to the Assembly with this Overture; that for voting in Parliament and assisting in Counsell, commissioners from the Generall assembly shall supply the place of Prelates, as for exercising criminall and Civill jurisdiction, the head Bailives may exerce it. The Assembly allowed the Overture, but did not determin to send commissioners for that effect. When the same question was propounded by the Convention of Estates in Octob. 1582. answer was returned from the assembly, that they would not consent, any should vote, but they who bear office in the Church, and were authorized with commission from the Church: but they did not determin, whither Min. or Barons or Burgesßes who were Elders. The Assembly in May 1592. enjoined every brother to consider w hither Minister may vote in Parliament in place of the old Prelates: but no conclusion was resolved-upon. So the Assemblies were never earnest for vote in Parliament, but complained, that

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the Lords which had the abbacies, priories and Bishopricks, voted in name of the Church, by whom the Church was damnified in sufficient maintenance for the Service of God, or answered to the King complaining for the want of the third Estate. But the ground is not right, that of necessity the Church must be an Estate of Parliament: for by the Church is meant either the Ministry only according to the Popish sense, taking the Clergy only for the Church; Or the Ministry together with the commonality of Professors, which is the right acceptation of the word: Ministers may not lawfully sit as members in Parliament, because the Parliament is a Civile Court or great Counsell convened for making Lawes concerning rights of inheritances, weights and measures, forfeitures, losse of limbs or life and the like, whereof Ministers should not make lawes, seeing they are set apart to preach the gospell, &c. And howbeit Church-affaires or matters of religion besometime treated in Parliament, yet it is a Civile assembly, and their proceeding or sanction of such lawes is Civile. If yee will comprehend all the professors or members of the Church under the name of the Church; then all the subjects within the kingdom shall make but the third Estate; or the wholl Country is but a part of the Parliament. Moreover the subjects being considered materially, they are the same persons both in the Church and Commonwealth; but considered with diverse respects, they are distinguished formally: as citizens of the Kingdom, their body is represented in Parliament; as members of the Church, they should medle only with things spirituall in their Judicatories and Councils. The truth is, None voteth in Parliament in name of the Church or as ecclesiasticall persons, but only as Barons or in respect of the Baronies annexed to the Bishoprick, abbacy or priory. So that if prelates were not Barons, the Church would have no vote. I grant, Ministers may be present at Parliaments, but with the book of God in their hands, if they be required in any doubt; nor should the Estates make any Act concerning religion without the advice and consent of her representative Body: but Ministers should not be members of that Court, nor none other in name of the Church. The Noble men, who possessed the great Benefices, and so many others, as they could move to assist them, opposed this vote: but by the Kings earnest dealing with sundries, it was granted, that so many as his Majesty shall provide to the office, place title & dignity of Bishop, abbot or other prelate shall at all times have vote in parliament. It was thought, no honest man in the Ministry would accept these titles & dignities; and the Estates were the more liberall in their grant. The consideration of the office was remitted to the consultation & agreement of the King & generall assembly, but expressly without prejudice of the Jurisdiction & disciplin of the Church in Generall or Provinciall assemblies, presbyteries & Sessions. But what office of Bishop, abbot or prior should be, and not prejudiciall to the disciplin of the Church, is hard to determin. The Commissioners, as if they had procured a great benefite to the Church, sent their Missives to the presbyteries, to inform them, with what difficulty they had obtained this, and what danger was in delay: and therefore had anticipate the time of the Assembly, and with the Kings consent had appointed it to be holden the seventh of March. Under fair pretences the diets appointed by ordinary assemblies were altered, and either anticipated to surprize men, or prorogated till they had prepared persons, or dressed purposes, till at last the whole liberty of appointing any diet at all, was rest out of their hands. In the Missives they

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was carried.

inform lyke wise what order was taken for the Plat and provision of Apends, to make the other point the more acceptable.

X X X V I. Nevertheless, the judicious and sincerer sort of the Ministry discover the Mystery of iniquity lurking in this pretended benefite of Ministers - vote in Parliament, at the Synode especially of Lothian and Fife about the end of February. In the Synod of Fife David Ferguson (the antientest Minister of Scotland) had a discourse of the travell and paines taken by the Ministry, to purge this Church from the corrupt estate of Bishops: But now (sayd he) I perceive a purpose to erect it again: I can compare the manner of bringing it in to nothing more fitly than to that which the Greeks devised for the overthrow of Troy, by trimming up a brave horse, and by a crafty Sinon persuading them to demolish a part of their walls with their own hands, to receive that for their honor & wellfare, which served to their utter wreck & destruction: therefore he would with the two brethren, which had already given warning, cry, *Equo ne credite Teucrit*. John Davidson being there occasionally, sayd, Busk him als bonily as yee can, and bring him als fairly as yee will, wee see him well enough: see how he sets up the horns of his miter. Sir Patrick Murray had been directed to this Synod from the King, and a missive was sent from Commissioners of the Generall Assembly, persuading to accept so great a benefite, which was procured with great difficulty. The greatest number were enclining, untill Andrew and James Melvines began to forewarn them of the danger. On Saturday, February 25. was that fearful Eclipse of the Sun; which continued the space of two houres, so fearful, that that Saturday is yet called by the people *The Black Saturday*; a prognostick (as the time gave occasion to interpret) of that darknes falling upon the Church. The Generall Assembly convenes at Dundee March 7. Peter Blackburn is Chosen Moderator. I. The Ministers that were appointed to deal with the excommunicated Earles give in their diligence in write; their proceeding & absolution of the Earles, are allowed, II. The Commissioners that were appointed to plant Churches, produce a book containing all their proceedings; and because some Ministers took exceptions against their proceedings, 25 Ministers were appointed to hear the reasons on both sides, and report unto the Assembly. *In Seff. 6.* The Assembly ratifieth what the Commissioners had done in planting the Ministry of Santandr. and in the examination of the deposition of John Retorford: and further ordaines Robert Wallace to be relaxed from the suspension of his Ministry, pronounced by them (he satisfying the L. Secretary by the advice of David Lindsay, Robert Bruce & Robert Rolock) that he may be placed where the Church shall think best. *In Seff. 7.* They which were appointed to hear the exceptions against the Commissioners, declare, that they had heard the grievances made by the Synod of Lothian; as also the answers thereunto; and they thought it expedient, that both the grievances and the answers were buried. The Assembly ordaines them both to be read in publick audience; and then do vote, and conclude, that the proceedings of the Commissioners shall stand, but the grievances and the answers to be buried for continuance of quietnes in the Church. *In Seff. 8.* For better execution of their proceedings in Lothian, the Assembly ordaines eight Ministers, or any five of them to convene with his Majesty and put into execution their decreet of planting Edinburgh, and place Ministers at their particulare flocks; Ordaining also the Ministers of Edinburgh to obey their decreet, by accepting every one of them their particular

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ticular flock, Under the pain of deprivation; and in that case ordaines these Commissioners to plant the Churches of Edinburgh with other Ministers; And in the mean time, untill these Commissioners shall convene for performing the premises, the Ministers of Edinburgh shall continue in their function. IV. *In Sess. 4.* Grievances were propounded unto the King; 1. Craving relief of the present taxation unto such Ministers, which possesse small Benefices within 300 Marks. 2. Craving generally for the wholl Ministry, that they be not troubled with taxations in time coming, but that the Collectors charge the tacks-men immediatly, who are tied to relieve the Ministers, because otherwise Ministers are averted from their callings, and it breedeth grudges betwixt them and their parishioners. 3. Craving for remedy of abuses in burying, that an Act of Parliament may be made for discharging buriall within churches. 4. That redress be made of adulterous mariages, where adulterers being both divorced crave to be joynd in marriage again. 5. Craving what order shall be taken in relaxing murderers from excommunication, when they are relaxed from the horn, and satisfy not the party, which is a token of no repentance. 6. to advise whither the carrying of professed witches from town to town, to try witchcraft in others, be a lawfull tryall of witchcraft. 7. To lament the great abuse which a late Act of Parliament hath brought into the Church, by giving licence unto Patroness, to possesse the frutes of the Benefice, if he present a qualified man, and the same man is not admitted by the Church: under color of which Act, they do present a qualified man, and have him sworn to set a tack of the fruits of the Benefice unto the Patron: and so albeit the man be qualified, yet the Presbytery can not admitt him for the foresaid impediment: whereby the Patron listeth the fruits, and the Church is destitute. In *Sess. 5.* the King being present answereth, that for the first four and the seventh, petitions be given unto the Parliament, and he will hold hand with them; Concerning murderers, he declares that where any is relaxed, it is upon caution, to underly the law: and therefore the church may continue their censures against such a man, and deny him any benefit of the Church, untill they see evident repentance, and the party satisfied, and thereupon he may obtain a full remission. Concerning that tryall by witches, it is ordained by the last Parliament, that certain persons shall take order therein. VI. It is ordained; that no marriage be confirmed without proclamation of their bans, Under pain of the deposition of the Minister controveining, and the parties to make publick repentance for satisfying the Church. VII. It is ordained, that no pictures or images be carried at burials, Under pain of Ecclesiasticall censures. VIII. Because some beneficed men set tacks to the prejudice of the Church, and then seek transportation to another, It is ordained that none shall obtain transportation untill it be tryed, whether he hath dilapidat his Benefice. IX. Overtures are devised concerning the Plat. X. In *Sess. 10.* Because some brethren were desirous to know the Kings mind towards some of the Ministry, especially of Edinburgh in respect of these accidents within these two years, his Majesty gives all to understand, that he is satisfied with them, and that these accidents shall not be remembered by him, but that neither He nor they shall call any of them to remembrance in private nor publick speeches: unto this the Ministers also willingly consent. XI. Upon motion made by the King, the Assembly gives full power and commission unto nineteen Ministers together with the Ministers of the King and Prince's houses

houses, or any nine of them, To convene with his Majesty at such time and place, as he shall appoint, for setting down a solid ground of the constant Plat, To plant sufficient Ministers in the Principall burghs, where they vaik or shall vaik; and to wait upon the Parliament if any shall bee, and give in their grievances; And to give their advice unto his Majesty for avoiding any danger which may likely fall out in prejudice of the Church; as also if his Majesty find him grieved, or crave redress of any enormity done by any Mini. that they or any nync of them shall sit and cognoſce upon the matter with the advice of ſome of the diſcreeteſt of the preſbytery where the offender dwelleth, as they ſhall think expedient; Finally with power to propound unto his Majesty at there conventions all the petitions both of the Aſſembly in Generall and of every member, as ſhalbe meaned unto them. Concerning this part of their power to cenſure Miniſters, the King declares, that howbeit it be generall, yet he intends not to trouble the Commiſſioners with any ſuch cauſes, unleſs firſt it be notoriously known, that the Preſbytery, where the offender ſhall dwell, hath both known the fact, and hath altogether neglected the tryall of it, or ſatisfyeth not his Majesty with the puniſhment of the offender. XII. In *ſeſſ.* 11. Forſomuch as the Commiſſioners of the laſt aſſembly had upon an earneſt zeal, which they did always bear to the good of the Church, given in certain articles unto the late Parliament In December, concerning the liberty of the Church, and ſpecially had craved, that the Miniſtry as repreſenting the true Church of God within this realm, and ſo being the third Eſtate of the realm, might have vote in Parliament, according to the laudable Acts & conſtitutions made before in Parliament, in favors of the freedom of the holy Church: Which their travells & endeavours proceeding upon a godly intention, they now ſubmitt unto the cenſure of the Aſſembly, deſiring the brethren to allow or diſallow the ſame, as they ſhall think moſt expedient to the glory of God and eſtabliſhing true religion within this realm. Whereupon the brethren being adviſed, allowed the honeſt and godly intention of the Commiſſioners, as conform & agreeing with ſundry acts of other aſſemblies, in which it hath been found expedient, that the Church ſhould vote in Parliament. Then the King willing to declare his good intention, that he hath always to the eſtabliſhing of the true Church of God, declared that for the better performance thereof, he had aſſiſted the Commiſſioners in craving vote in Parliament, which their ſuit albeit in ſome part and in a certain manner granted by the Parliament, yet the acceptance thereof, the form and all the circumſtances of the perſons were reſerved to the Generall aſſembly, to be accepted or reſused, as the Church ſhall think expedient; And ſeing he had anticipated the appointed time of the Aſſembly, and deſired the brethren to convene at this preſent time eſpecially for the cauſe foreſaid, therefore he deſireth that the brethren ſhould enter into a particular conſideration of all the points of the ſaid Act; and firſt to reaſon in publick audience, Whither it be lawfull & expedient, that the Miniſtry as repreſenting the Church within this realm, ſhould have vote in Parliament, or not? This queſtion being debated in *utramque partem*, and thereafter voted: the Aſſembly concludes, that it is neceſſary & expedient for the well of the Church, that the Miniſtry as the third Eſtate of this realm in name of the Church have vote in Parliament. In *ſeſſ.* 12. Concerning the number of Miniſters who ſhall have vote in Parliament, it is likewiſe concluded, that alſo many of them ſhould be choſen, as were wont to be in time of the Papiſticall Church, towit,

Bishops, abbots & priors, 51. or thereby, 3. After reasoning it was voted & concluded, that the election of these who shall have vote, should be of a mixed quality, and appertain partly unto the King and partly unto the Church. 4. And because for shortness of time the brethren can not be presently resolved concerning the office of him that shall have vote in Parliament, to wit, *de modo eligendi*; of his rent, of the continuance of his office, whither *ad poenam* or not; of his name; of the cautions for preservation of him from corruption; and such other circumstances; therefore the Assembly ordaines every Presbytery to be ripely advised in the particulare heads, and then to convocat their Synods through all the Countrey upon one day, which shall bee the first tuesday of Juny next, and there after new reasoning upon these heads, that every Synod chuse three of the wisest of their number, who shall be ready upon his Majesties advertisement (which shall be upon a months warning at the least) to convene with his Majesty together with the Doctors of the Universties, viz. An. Melvin, John Johnston, Ro. Rolock, Pa. Sharp Ro. Howy, Ro. Wilky & Ja. Martin, at day & place as his Majesty shall think expedient, With power to them to treat, reason and confer upon these heads and others appertaining thereunto; and in case of agreement and uniformity of opinions, to vote & conclude all the questions concerning vote in Parliament: but in case of variance, to refer the conclusion unto the next Generall assembly. XIII. It is ordained, that every presytery shall assemble themselves once every week in their full number, at least so many of them as have their residence within eight myles to the place of their ordinary meeting. 2. That every member of the presbytery study the text whereupon the Exercise is to be made. 3. That a common head of Religion be treated every month in every presbytery both by way of discourse and disputation. 4. That every pastor have a weekly exercise of instruction & examination of a part of his congregation in the Catechism. All these heads are ordained to be observed under the pain of incurring the censures of the Church. XIV. Concerning the protestation given by John Davydson for himself and in name of other brethren (as he alledged) protesting that this present Assembly is not free: which his protestation he craved to be insert in the booke of the Assemblies; It being enquired by the Moderator; If any would adhere unto that protestation; none was found that would adhere unto it, nor was of his opinion there-in: and therefore the brethren discharge the clerk to insert it. XV. Because the question of summary excommunication for lack of time can not now be commodiously treated, It is delayd unto the next Assembly; and in the meantime all summary excommunication is suspended. XVI. Because a certain number of Commissioners from each Presbytery unto the Generall Assembly, hath not been prescribed, it is ordained that three of the wisest and gravest of the brethren (at the most) shall be directed from every presbytery: and that none presume to come without commission, except they have a speciall complaint, And that the Clerk take heed to receive no more in commission but three; And that one be directed from every Presbytery; in name of Barons, and one out of every burgh, except Edinburgh which shall have power to direct two Commissioners, VII. Because it is reported, that notwithstanding the Acts made against sailers and traffickers with Spain, that trafficking is not intermitted, It is ordained, that the former acts be put to execution without respect of persons. XVIII. It is ordained, that the Presbyteries of Dundy & Arbroth summon before them the Ladies

The number of members.

dies of Huntly, Suderland and Caitnes, to subscribe the Confession of faith, Under the pain of excommunication: which summons shall be executed by a Minister (named) in the severall Provinces. XI X. The next Assembly shall be at Aberdien the first thuydsday of July 1599. *The Hist. Narr.* hath some observations on this Asssem. 1. The Assessors or Privy conference were named by the King. I will not insift to gather the changes of this which was called *The privy conference: some what hath been marked before.* 2. Nothing of moment was done the first two dayes; but Ministers were brought unto the King from morning till late atnight, and voters were procured to the vote in Parliament. 3. Andrew Melvin was commanded first to keep his lodging; and upon the ninth day he and John Johnston a professor of Divinity in Santand were charged to depart out of the town, Under pain of horning. 4. Some Presbyteries gave in their grievances against the Commissioners: such altercations were not heard before at any time in our assemblies. Papists and Politicians took their pastime, and gathered matter of calumny: but the King fearing that the main purpose could not succeed that way, labored to have the grievances buried; and to please the Ministry he promised to travell with the racks-men of the tyths for augmentation of stipends. 5. A week was spent before the cheif point was propounded, To weary the Ministers coming from the farrest parts, that after the departure of some, they (detaining their own adherents) might the more easily come to their purpose. 6. The King in *Seff.* 10. declared how great care he had to adorn & benefite the church, and to restore her patrimony, and for effectuating this, it was needfull, thar Ministers have vote in Parliament, without which the church can not be vindicated from poverty & contempt. I minde not (said he) to bring in Papisticall or English Bishops, but only to have the best & wisest of the Ministry appointed by the gene. assembly to have place in counsell and Parliament, to sit upon their own matters, and not to stand always at the door like poor supplicants, despised and nothing regarded. Some of the commissioners spoke to the same purpose. Nevertheless there was sharp and hote reasoning in the eleventh Session against that vote. Robert Bruce, Ja. Melvin, John Carmichell, John Davidson, William aird and some others oppugned. The King did commend John carmichell for his acuteness. James melvin's reasons are extant in *The course of conformity.* But what can reason availe, where authority swayed the matter, and votes were procured before hand? Besides the point was made so plausible to the worldly minded, that they thought it the only mean to recover the Church-rents. Some were so simple, that they could not see the bad consequents. The negative voters were overcome by ten votes, and had overcome the affirmative, if Barons not having commission had not been demanded to give votes also. And even then some who consented, that the Church should have vote, would have had Elders, as Barons and Burgeses, chosen by the Assembly to be the Commissioners. Others were content to accept it upon whatsoever conditions. When John Davidson's vote was asked, he desired them not to be sudden in so weighty matters. One said, The title *Lord* could not be denied to him who sits in Parliament, and hath maintenance ansuevable to that dignity. John Davidson then said, See yee not brethren, how bonily the Bishop beginneth to creep out? *novus et palliatus Episcopus.* The King and many others fell a laughing; So light account made they of the matter. But he proceeding said, Have we nor done much, that have striven so long time against that corrupt estate, to bring forth now such a

birth? The deceitfull workers wold extenuate the matter, and cover their proceedings, as if no such thing were intended. 7. The King & Commissioners had framed some cautions to inclose the Voter, that albeit he become never so wild, yet he shall not turn into an English or Popish Bishop; to the end, he might be the more easily embraced: but when these were read, they perceived it, and many began to skar, which had attended to the main point: therefore these were referred to be advised upon. 8. Andrew melvin & John Johnston were debarred, when the main point was to be reasoned and voted, but were permitted to be present at the appointed meeting, where no power was granted to conclude, but in case of universall agreement; to the end, their reasons might be known before the next assembly, and then shifted or suppressed. 9. The Synods were appointed to convene all in one day, that one should not know what another had done, or receive light from another. *Then he shewes what followed.* 1. The Commissioners to plant Ministers in the severall quarters of Edinburgh wrought great vexation to Robert Bruce in Aprile and May: he had been Minister there eleven years, and when he was to accept a part of the town with Ja. balfour, they presse him with imposition of hands. Left it might seem that he had run unsent all the former years, he refuseth to accept imposition of hands as a ceremony of ordination or of entring into the Ministry; but was content to receive it as a signe of confirmation, if they would give in writ their declaration thereupon: which after great debate they gave at last. This ceremony before was held indifferent, but then was urged as necessary, because they were laying the foundation of episcopacy, thogh in words and outward profession they denied it. 2. William melvin a Senator of the Colledge of justice and Sir Patrick murray were directed by the King unto the Synod of Fife in Juny. These were carefull to have three chosen for the appointed Conference, which favored the Kings course. By the advice of their favorers, a number of the most opposite were put upon the lects, to the end, the votes of them, which were so affected, might be divided; where as the votes of such as were wrought upon, were layd upon three only. So Thomas Buchanan, Ge. Gladstones and John fairfull were chosen: which when the other part (that were the greatest part) perceived, they would yeeld to no other commission, but to report faithfully the judgement of the Synod, to reason, vote and conclude nothing but according to it. 3. The Commissioners from Synods convene at Falkland Iuly 25. 1598, the King and his adherents found not such advancement of their course as they expected. When the opponents could not recall the main point, they labored for the straiter conditions [*which follow in the next Assembly.*] To the end, the particulars may be better dressed, the Assembly was prorogated by proclamation untill March 1600; as also that the King by degrees might be-reave the liberty of the Assemblies, in appointing their diets.

XX XVII. In Iuly 1599. The King calleth the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly and some others unto Santandrews, and labored for reconciliation among them, and profession of brotherly love: which was not refused. But by these means the Commissioners thought to insinuate themselves into their affections, and either to gain them to their course, or to blunt the edge of their zeal. It was not personall respects, or difference of opinions only, which made the alienation of mindes, but plotting against the discipline, aspiring to preferment, and vexing of their brethren. In September was the Letter directed unro the Pope, for

*A Policy
in voting.*

for which Secretary Elphinston was afterward accused. In the same year and month certain passages were extracted by James Melvin out of *Basilicon Doron*, and were cast in to the Synod of Eife, wherein the Kings intention to abolish the parity of Ministers, and to erect the estate of Bishops was discovered. Some few copies of that book were printed at first, and these were committed to the trust of some few. John Dykes was suspected to have extracted these passages: therefore the King sent Francis Bothwell with some of the guard to apprehend him: but he withdrew himselfe for a time, that he might not be compelled to discover the extractor. In November a Conference was appointed by the King, to the end, that these which were not satisfied in the doubts concerning the vote in Parliament, might be resolved; and so a way may be prepared for a peaceable Assembly. The truth is, if he could obtain the unanimous consent of them, which were called, (as they were the men of chief note in the Church) he was assured, their judgement would be followed in the Assembly; if not, their reasons would be made known, answers and replies might be prepared, or some other meanes devised to attain the purpose. It was granted unto every one, to argue freely both on the points concluded already, and on the points that are referred unto the Assembly. The opponents doe agree unto reasoning, but with protestation, that their reasoning now shall not be prejudiciall to the next generall assembly, and that it shall be free unto them, to add then as they shall be able. They reasoned pithily against the vote of Ministers in Parliament, against the perpetuity of the Voter, and the title of Lord to be given unto them. They foretold also what wee see and feell tooday (*saieth the Writer*) that they would be distracted from their calling, that they would break the bars of all the *Caveats*; they will vote and reason in Parliament as they please, they will take no limited commission; if they once get the title of Bishops, all the *Caveats* will not restrain them from usurping Lordship and preeminence over their brethren, they will bring from the Court into the Church such behaviour & manners, as they drink there; they will look foure, if they want the titles among their brethren that are given them in the Court, where they shall be stiled Lords at every word, and possessing the highest places in the realm, they will be avenged on them at the Plat or Court or otherwise. If they serve the Prince or Estate, howbeit against the weell of the Church, yet the Prince will maintain them by authority and sway in the Assemblies, having the sustentation of Ministers in his power; Or though the Assembly shall depose them, he will cause them still to enjoy their stiles & rents. They dissolved with little contentment unto the King, who said, If the Assembly will not embrace the benefite, when it is offered, let them blame themselves, when they fall into poverty and contempt: as for my selfe, I will not want one of my Estates, and I will place such men in these places as I think good, and who will accept them, and doe their duty to mee & the Country. Thus the bastard Estate is pretended, and the Service they owe unto the King and Country, whereas their proper service is to serve in matters spirituall for the good of mens souls both of King & people; and others can serve better in things Civile or temporall. The authour of *Vindicie Thiladel*. pag. 80. hath moe of the Opponents reasons. 1. By this vote in Parliament a way is prepared for episcopacy, which our Church hath condemned as having no warrant in Gods word. It was answered by horrible execrations, that they had no purpose to bring in Popish or English episcopacy. 2. They who have

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given

given their names unto holy warfare, should not be entangled with secular affaires. It was answered, The Apostle condemneth not necessary business of this life, that godly men may not have a care of their families. It was replied, The regard of necessary things is one thing, and of unnecessary is another: if a man be not worse than an infidell, he should provide for his family: but a Minister is not tied necessarily to wait on Politicall affaires. 3. What withdrawes a Minister from his own vocation, that the word of God forbids Ministers: but this is such. It was answered, They shall not be drawn from their vocation, because at such times they shall preach. Replied, Where a Parliament shall sit. there be Ministers to preach, nor is that the duty whereunto they are called there, and albeit two or three might preach in time of Parliament, yet what have fifty Ministers to doe, as that number is named? 4. Who are commanded to wait upon their function in time and out of time, can not undertake another function. Answer, They shall be exercised in their function. Reply, To vote in Parliament is not a part of a Ministers function. 5. What charge is more weighty than one can beare, permits not another to be adjoined unto it. The answer and replie as before. 6. Commission of offices which God hath distinguished, is unlawfull. Anf. They are not confounded, but conjoynd. Reply, They are confounded, when they are conjoynd in one mans person; but Christ hath said, ye shall not doe so. 7. Ministers are forbidden ALLOTRIOEPISCOPEIN but that a Minister medle with Civill affaires is plainly ALLOTRIOEPISCOPEIN. Answer, Spirituall and Civile things doe not differ in the subject, but in the way and respect. Reply, Because they are different in respect and way, they are also different in the subject; and that a Ministers be exercised in another object, is ALLOTRIOEPISCOPEIN; as Christ would neither divide the inheritance, nor condemn the adulterous woman. Many other reasons were brought from the Scripture, and testimonies of the antient Writers. It was proclaimed in December, that the beginning of the year in time coming shalbe reckoned from the first day of January, whereas it was reckoned from March 26.

1600.
The 62.
Assembly.

XXXVIII. The Gen. Assembly convenes at Monros March 18. 1600.

R. Wilky is chosen Moderator. I. Where a Parish is spacious, and a great part thereof can not conveniently resort unto the church, in respect of distance, & a number of that parishon will build another church, and provide maintenance unto a Pastor upon their own charges, The assembly declares it lawfull, and will joyn with them to procure approbation of the Parliament. II. Because many are delated, to absent themselves from the Sacrament under vain pretences, It is ordained, that every presbytery shall command every Minister within their bounds, to give up the names of all them within their parishon, who communicate not each year once at least; And then summon them, to compear before the presbytery, to hear themselves decerned to communicate within three months, with certification, if they obey not, the Act of Estates against Non-communicants, shall be execute against them; And if they obey not, after these three months their names shall be delated unto the K. or Counsell for the effect foresaid. III. It was lamented, in the Kings presence, that when Ministers are in process against adulterers, murderers and such other scandalous persons; they are drawn from their calling, and charged to compear before the Counsell, by letters obtained upon false narratives, and so the disciplin of the Church is loosed, and vice is not punished. The K. promiseth, that no Letters

Letters shall be directed from his Counsell against any Minister nor presbytery, at the instance of any person, for execution of their office, unless the party produce a testimoniall in forme of instrument, *de negata iustitia*. IV. The Commissioners, that were appointed to wait upon the King, give in these articles framed with his advice, to be presented unto the next Convention of Estates. 1. All Jesuites, Seminarie-priests, excommunicated and traffeking Papists, which at any time shall return into the Countrey, or are presently within the Countrey shall immediatly after delation of their names unto his Majesty, be apprehended, and kept in ward, untill they convert unto the religion, or be removed out of the Countrey. 2. The receivers of obstinat & excommunicat Papists, and their chief friends whose houses they haunt, shall be charged to find caution, under a pecuniall pain according to their ability, that they shall no way entertain nor receive these persons. 3. That all excommunicat Papists be charged to satisfy the Church within three months, under the pain of horning, and if they obey not, to be denounced, that their escheats & life-rents after year and days rebellion may be intromitted with by the Kings Treasurer, and not to be disposed to any donator. 4. That the Marques of Huntly be charged to present before his Ma. and Counsell J. Gordon of Newtoun, P. Butter and Al. Lesly, according to his band, that they may be committed to ward untill they satisfy the Church. V. Bonitoun younger is ordained to be conveyed before the presbytery of Brechin as his Judge ordinary, and there to offer his satisfaction. VI. Because many inconvenients fall out by marriage of young persons, it is ordained, that no Minister joyn in mariage any man under fourtien year of age, nor a woman under twelve compleet at least; Ordaining also the Commissioners of the Assembly to craue this statute to be ratified by the Estates. VII. Because mariages of persons convict of adultery is an allurement to married persons unto that crime, thereby thinking to be separated from their lawfull spouse, and to be married with the person, with whom they have committed adultery, therefore the Assembly ordaines a supplication to be presented unto the Estates, to discharge the marriage of such persons; and that this Statute be confirmed by Parliament, VIII. The advice of the Conference at Falkland in July 1599. is read in *sess.* 6. concerning the Voters in Parliament. 1. Concerning the manner of chusing, it is condescended, that every one of them shall be recommended by the church unto his Majesty, and that the Church shall nominate sixe for every place, of whom his Ma. shall chuse one, and his Ma. promiseth, bindeth & obligeth him, that he shall chuse none other but one of these sixe, And if his Ma. shall refuse them all upon just reason of insufficiency, and of greater sufficiency of others, The Church shall make a new recommendation of other sixe, of whom his Maj. shall chuse one, without any more nomination; and he that shall be chosen by his Ma. shall be accepted by the Synod. 2. It is concluded, that the Gen. assembly shall have the nomination or recommendation of him who in name of the Church shall vote in Parliament; and he shall take the advice of the Synods and presbyteries directed from them in writ; And the Synod shall have liberty to nominat als well within their Province as without, Providing that if there be one within the Province meet for the place, *ceteris paribus*, he shall be preferred before another. 3. Concerning his rent, it is advised with one consent, that the Churches being planted sufficiently, the Colledges and Schools (already erected) not being prejudged, that the Kings Ma. shall provide him to all the rest that may be obtained of that Benefice,

whereunto he is preferred. As for the cautions, to keep him that shall have vote in Parliament from corruption, they be these following; 1. That he presume not at any time to propound at Parliament, Counsell nor Convention in name of the Church, any thing without expresse warrant and direction of the Church, and such things as he shall answer to be for the well of the Church, Under the pain of deposition from his office; nor shall he consent or keep silence in any of the saids Conventions, to any thing that may be prejudiciall to the well & liberty of the Church, Under the same pain. 2. He shall be bound at every Generall assembly to give an account of the discharge of his commission since the Assembly preceeding, and shall submit himself to the censure and determination whatsoever without appellation; and shall seek and obtain ratification of his doings at the said Assembly, under the pain of infamy & excommunication. 3. He shall content himself with that part of the Benefice, which shall be given by his Majesty for his living, not hurting nor prejudging the rest of the Ministers of the Churches within his Benefice planted or to be planted, or any other Minister of the Countrey whatsoever; and this to be a clause to be inserted in his provision. 4. He shall not dilapidate in any way his Benefice, neither make set nor disposition thereof, without the speciall advice and consent of his Majesty and generall assembly: and for the greater warrant heereof, he shall interdict himselfe not to dilapidate his Benefice, nor consent to the dilapidation of it made by others, To the Generall assembly, and shall be content, that inhibitions be raised against him for that effect. 5. He shall be bound to attend faithfully upon his own particulare congregation, where of he shall be Minister, in all the points of a pastor, and here in he shall be subject to the tryall and censure of his own Presbytery and Provinciaall Assembly, as any other Minister, that beares no commission. 6. In the Administration of disciplin, collation of Benefices, visitation and all others points of Ecclesiasticall Government, he shall neither usurp nor acclaim to himselfe any power or jurisdiction further than any of the rest of his brethren, except he be employed by his brethren, Under the pain of deprivation; And if he usurp any part of the ecclesiasticall government, and the presbytery, Synod or Generall assembly oppose and make any impediment thereunto, whatsoever he do after the impediment, it shall be null *ipso facto* without any declarature. 7. In presbyteries, provinciaall & generall assemblies he shall behave himselfe in all things, and be subject to their censure, as any brother of the presbytery. 8. At his admission to his office of commissionery, these and all other parts necessary he shall swear and subscribe to fulfill, Under the penalties foresaid; And otherwise, not to be admitted. 9. If he be deposed by the Generall assembly, synod or presbytery from the office of the Ministry, he shall also lose his vote in Parliament *ipso facto*, and his Benefice shall vaik. And further cautions to be made as the Church pleaseth and findes occasion. Moreover concerning his name, that shall have vote in Parliament by uniform consent of all the brethren it was advised that he shall be called *The Commissioner* of such a place; and if the Parliament may be induced by his Majesties moyan, to acknowledge that name, it shall stand so: if not, the Generall assembly shall conclude this question concerning his name. The question being propounded, Whither the commission of him who in name of the Church shall vote in Parliament, shall endure for his life time, except sin and offence intervene, or for a shorter time at the pleasure of the Church, the commissioners of the

Synods being of different opinions, thought good to referr this question unto the Generall assembly. These conclusions being read in publick audience of the assembly, were allowed and approved; and it was judged expedient, that these cautions and what others shall be concluded by the Assembly, shall be inserted in the body of the Act of Parliament, that shall be made for confirmation of the vote in Parliament unto the Church, as most necessary and substantiall parts of the same. In *Seff.* 8. the Assembly decernes 1. that he who shall have vote in Parliament shall annuallim give account of his commission obtained from the Assembly, 'and lay down the same at their feet, to be continued or altered from it, by his Maj. and the Assembly, as the Assembly with consent of his Majesty shall think most expedient to the well of the Church. 2. It is ordained, that none of them which shall have vote in Parliament, shall come as Commissioner to any Generall Assembly, nor have vote there, in any time coming, except he be authorized with commission from his own presbytery to that effect. 3. It is decerned by the Assembly, that *crimen ambitus* shall be a sufficient cause of deprivation of him, that shall have vote in Parliament. 4. It is ordained, that every Minister shall intimate this generall, that the vote in Parliament is concluded by the Assembly; and that none utter speeches in pulpit, contrary to the same. I X. The like generall commission as before in every point was given unto the same persons (almost) with addition of four or five more. X. Because sundry parts of the Country are through defect of Visitation becom almost desolate, certain Visitors are directed to visite these parts, namely, Kircudbright, Murray, Caitnes; Orkney, Nithsdeal, With power to enquire into the life, doctrine and conversation of Ministers; to try out the sayers & hearers of Masse, to plant and transport Ministers, as they shall think expedient for the well of the Church; and to report their diligence unto the next Assembly. XI. The next assembly is appointed to be at Santand. the last tuesday of July in 1601. year. *The Historic. Narration* hath some Observations on this Assembly; 1. Peter Blackburn taught good & sound doctrine at the opening of the Assembly; but was induced or rather threatened to recant after noon before the wholl assembly. This was a stepp to a Bishop of the new stamp. 2. The next policy was to draw the chief opposites upon the privy Conference, that they might know how to deal in publick. 3. In the Privy Conference four were chosen on each side to conferr and reason apart on hope, that upon their agreement would follow an universall harmony, as was pretended; but indeed to essay whether opponents might be drawn unto them: if not, to proceed after their wonted manner: some good was expected, if their conference had not been interrupted by the King. They were enioined to set down their reasons in writ. They bestowed an afternoon, beginning at the very ground, to define a Parliament, and what it is to vote in Parliament, &c. The four opponents were square and plain. But the King being informed that night, would suffer no more of that reasoning, but would have it before himself and some of the Counsell in the Privy Conference. They who stood for the established disciplin, proved by many reasons, that the Act of the Assembly at Dundy *Ann.* 1598. being taken according to the mind of the Act of Parliament was flatly repugnant to the Word of God. Their reasons were so strong, that they were all granted [*to wit*, as it seemes, *In the Maior Propositions*] but only it was denied, that any such thing would follow as was alledged [*in the Minors*:] they denied, they

they were to bear any charge in things Civill, or make lawes, judge upon forfeiture, meddle with Civill affaires, confound jurisdictions, &c., 4. The Commissioners of the Generall assembly, I mean so many as were privy to the Course, were aspiring to Bishopricks, and had their meetings with the King for such purposes; and finding this Conference not to succeed as they would, resolved to hold the gripp they had gotten: the Acts already past must not come into question in the publick. Their cheif care was to obtain a ratification of the cautions concluded at Falkland, and consent unto the perpetuity of the Voter in Parliament. 5. The King from his rising in the morning till he went late to bed, was so busy with Ministers, that the Courtiers said [jeeringly], they could have no access unto his Majesty for Ministers. 6. Andrew melvin was commanded to keep his lodging, albeit he was sent in Commission from his presbytery. 7. In the publick Assembly it was oft spoken, that episcopacy was not intended, but only the vote of Ministers in Parliament, to vindicate the Church from contempt and poverty. Nevertheless there was opposition made, that the perpetuity unto the Voter in Parliament *ad vitam* or *culpam* could not be obtained. One and fifty voted that he should be chosen *annuatim* by every presbytery: in stead of *Annuatim*, some cried, *Away with him*: forty eight (of whom many were Ministers) voted *ad vitam*, or *ad defectum*. The aspirers were so grieved, that they convened apart; and devised a glosse, drawing neer to that which was concluded, to wit, that the Commissioner voter in Parliament shall give account *Annuatim*, and lay down his office at the feet of the Assembly, to be continued or altered, as &c. They communicate this device unto the King, who set down the conclusion so: and so it was written. *The Bb.* did never attempt to annull these cautions; and so these being established by the Assembly with consent of the King, were the grounds of deposing and excommunicating the Bb. in the Assembly in the year 1638. Then *The historicall Narration* sets down some pranks (as he speaks) of the Commissioners. 1. The Ministers of Edinburgh were charged August 12. by the King and Counsell to depart out of the town, (all except the two young men that entred last) and discharged to preach within the Kings dominions, because they would not profess unto the people, that they were persuaded, the Earle of Goury and his brother would have killed the King in Perth on the fifth day of August, and persuaded the people to believe it. They profered to thank God for the Kings delivery out of danger, to rehearse faithfully unto the people the history, as his Majesty had delivered it, and to speak nothing in the contrary. But that was not accepted. Not long after, their places were declared vaking, by the Commissioners of the Generall assembly. September 5. they were charged, to compare before the king and Counsell in Sterlin, to hear further punishments decreed against them. William Watson; John Hall, Walter Balcanquall and James balfour professed, that they were resolved, and were appointed to declare their resolution in other churches, as was designed unto them, and to confess their error and incredulity [Robert Rolock was departed this life in the year preceeding]. The Court said, These were sent, to make their repentance. Robert Bruce professed, that he was not yet resolved, and craved time to try & search. He is ordained to depart out of the Country, not to return into Scotland nor England without his Majesties licence, and to remain in Airth untill he departe. 2. The king with advice of the Commissioners of the Generall assembly calleth a meeting of two out of every Synod, to be holden at Edinburgh in October,

October, to take order with the churches of Edinburgh, and to consult with the Commissioners, upon such things as were to be propounded unto the ensuing Parliament. At this meeting the King was earnest to have others planted in the Ministers roomes of Edinburgh (albeit they had declared their resolution, as they were enjoined) except John Hall, whom (said the king) I will take in my own hand. It was answered, That could not be done, unless they were deposed by the Church, or cutt off by some Civill Judicatory. The king was so earnest, that they said, they would try the Ministers own minds, whither they be content with transportation rather than suffer their churches to be destitute. William Scot, James Melvin and John Carmichell were directed, to deal with them. When these were gone unto the Ministers, the king and commissioners propounded, to name three to vote at the Parliament, which is to be holden in November; and obtained it, towit, Peter Blackburn, David Lindsay and Goerge Gladstones were named without regard of the order and cautions concluded in the late Assembly. The three that were sent forth, knew nothing of the matter, till the meeting was dissolved: [nor were the Churches of Edinb. provided before the next Generall assembly]. 3. In the Parliament where Goury was forfeited, these three which were named before, did vote [David Lindsay as Bishop of Ross, Peter Blackburn as Bishop of Aberdien, & George Gladstones as Bishop of Caitnes]. In the Synod of Fife at Santand. in February An. 1601. George Gladstones was accused, and confessed that he had sitten in the Parliament, and had answered as Bishop of Caitnes, when he was called, but (said he) it was against my heart, nor would they name mee otherwise. Such were the slight shifts they had, when they were found guilty of any breach. Da. Lindsay was rebuked in the Synod of Lothian in Aprile. So soon were the cautions or Caveats contemned. *I have written of these Assemblies particularly, the rather that they have never been in Print before; And many either of malice or ignorance, and some of both have published much venom against them. And now I conceive, that some may think, Seing these Assemblies were confirmed by authority of the King and Parliament, how left they off; therefore I adioyn a continuation of them unto their End.*

A Continuation of the History of SCOTLAND'S ASSEMBLIES.

1601. I. **T**HE Commissioners of the Assembly had a meeting with some other Ministers at Bruntelan in March, year 1601: there they agreed to entreat the King for restoring the Ministers of Edinburgh unto their places; and for a free Nationall assembly to determin all matters then in controversy. The Commissioners promised to deal earnestly in both. But how did they perform their promise? saith *the Author of the historicall Narration*. Concerning the first, some of them said unto the King, Sir, They are out now; blame not us, but your self; if ever they offend you again. And in the other point, an assembly was called, but no controversy was handled. At that time John Hamilton and Edmund hay two Jesuits came into the countrey: the King understanding that they were factious and busy men, sent forth a proclamation inhibiting them to remain under pain of treason, and declaring that he would no otherwise judge of such, who shall receive them, but as the pursuers of his own life. Nevertheless they were kept in the North parts, untill after some years John Hamilton was apprehended, and sent to the Tower of London where he died. By the Kings proclamation the Assembly convenes at Bruntelan May 12. there the King was present, and Commissioners. John Hall is chosen Moderator. 1. A generall complaint was of the want of purity zeal and practise of the true Religion in all Estates, which must end in papistry or atheism within a short space, in the just judgement of God, unless substantiall remedies be provided in due time; Nor can this malady be sufficiently cured, unless the originall causes and speciall occasions thereof be ripped up. The Brethren were exhorted to think upon this weighty matter, and the meeting is adjourned for two dayes. Then the causes of this defection were judged to be.

1. The just wrath of God for the unreverent estimation of the Gospell, and for the sins of all Estates in dishonoring their profession
2. Want of diligence on the part of Ministers in discovering them who make apostasy into Papistry; and negligence in executing the lawes and disciplin against them who are discovered.
3. Want of Pastors at unplanted churches, and displanting of churches by diminution of the thirds.
4. Neglecting of towns and churches, that are of greatest importance to the interest of Religion, or not planting them with qualified Pastors, such as the Kings house, the Prince's house, the houses of Huntly, Erroll, Anguse, Hume, Heres, and the places of chief residence, the town of Dumfrise; and other places of the Nobility, who are of great power.
5. The hasty admission of Ministers, before they be known to be of sufficient gifts and experience in these difficult times.
6. The negligence of Ministers in advancing their knowledge by constant reading and meditation of the Scriptures and controversies of the time; whereby they might be the more able to bring the consciences of their auditors to the obedience of the Gospell, and convince the adversaries.
7. The negligence of Ministers in not framing their conversation as patterns unto the people, but conforming themselves excessive

sively to the humors of men, especially in their communications at table, intemperance sometimes, and in their light and prodigal vestures, and of their families. 8. The distraction of minds, which is supposed to be among Ministers. 9. The distraction of his Majesties minde against some of the Ministry. 10. The advancing of men, who are suspected in, and known to be ill affected to religion, unto honors, Offices and credit in Court, Counsell, Session and other places of great importance. 11. The desolation of the church of Edinburgh, through want of Pastors. 12. The continuall entertainment of the Lady Huntly, Margarit wood and other professed and known Papists, in his Maj Court and company. 13. The education of his Maj children in the company of obstinat Papists. 14. The negligent breeding of Noble mens children, and the sending of them out of the country into places where Papistry is professed, and that with tutors suspected in religion, or not well confirmed in it. 15. The impunity of Masters and owners of ships, who bring into the Country Seminaries & Jesuits with their coffers and books. 16. The decay of schools for education of children; especially in the country. 17. That men who are challenged by the Presbyteries for their religion, have continuall access to Court. 18. The lately reconciled Papists are not prest to perform their promises. The remedies of these evils are. 1. A Generall humiliation is to be solemnly kept in all churches on two sabboths of Juny next. 2. The unplanted churches are to be recommended unto the K. whose authority only can accomplish that work. 3. Nothing is more necessary then to have the houses and places (above named) wel provided with learned, wise and godly Pastors; and where the lack of provisions may hinder the present planting, it is judged expedient in the mean whil, that some Pastors be appointed to attend in these Noble men's families for 4. or 6. months alswe for finding out means of planting these places, as for confirming and instructing the Noble men and their families; The Presbyteries taking care to supply the absence of these Ministers from their particular flocks. And severall Ministers were deputed to this effect. 4. Petition is to be made unto his Majesty and Secret Counsell, that who are known to deal with professed Papists more than the lawes do permit, should be accounted as suspect in religion, and not have the honor to be in his Majesties family, Counsell nor Session. 5. A supplication is to be made unto his Majesty and Counsell, that all Papists, men and women who are or shall be under censure for their religion, be discharged from Court, untill they have satisfied, and bring from the Presbytery of the bounds a testimoniall of their obedience. 6. For discovery of the adversaries of the true religion every Presbytery shall with all diligence write the names of all not communicants within their bounds, and send them unto the Ministers of the Kings family, being subscribed by the Moderator, Clerk, and the Minister of the parish. 7. The Presbyteries where the lately reconciled Lords have their residence shall enquire whether they have performed the articles subscribed by them; and urge them unto performance; And if they refuse, the Presbyteries shall certify the King's Ministers. 8. Supplication is to be made unto the King and Counsell, that when Noble men or others send their children out of the country, their tutors be of known religion and be approved by testimoniall of the Presbytery; and that their remaining abroad be in places where the true religion is professed, or no restraint of it by the cruell Inquisition; and that they shall not repair unto the exercise of the idolatrous religion; And if their sons shall repair unto the countries where

Remedies

is restraint of religion, the parents shall give caution, that they shall not entertain them in that time; And if their sons embrace another religion, they shall not have honors nor Offices within the realm. 9. Supplication is to be made unto the King and Counsell, that Masters and owners of ships be inhibited to bring Jesuites, Seminary-priests, proclaimed traitors. . . . And to that effect that they set no passengers on land, but at the common ports; where they shall present the passengers unto the Magistrates. 10. It is expedient to entreat the King, for removing his daughter from the Lady Linlinton an obstinat Papist. The King promisseth to bring her into his own family before November. 11. The King nominates Noble men, and the Assembly appoints some Ministers to meet Juny. 1. to advise upon Overtures for advancing the local provision of stipends, especially unto the unplanted churches. 11. Ministers are appointed unto the houses of the King, Queen and Prince. 12. Some Ministers are designed unto some unplanted churches in Nidsdeal; and the assembly ordaines the Commissioners to recommend unto his Majesty the provision of these churches. II. A woman being charged by the Presbytery of Couper to satisfy for her adultery, which was proved against her, had produced a decreet of adherence obtained before the Commissaries of Edinburgh; ordaining her Husband to adhere unto her, and by consequence acquitting her of adultery. This question being referred unto the assembly, the Presbytery is ordained to put their own decreet to execution, not withstanding the other decreet. III. It is represented by sundry Ministers, that there be some errors in the vulgar Translation of the Bible, and in the meeter of the Psalmis; as also that sundry of the common prayers are not convenient for these times. The Assembly ordaines some brethren who are acquainted with the Originall languages to employ their studies in sundry parts of the vulgar Translation, and to shew their diligence at the next assembly; and ordaines Robert Pont to revise the Psalmis in meeter; As for the common prayers, it is ordained that none be altered nor deleted; but if any Minister wold have any prayer as more convenient unto the time, it should be first presented and allowed by the assembly. IV. The Assembly ordaines the Commissioners, to transplant James Balfour, Walter Balcanquhall and William Watson, from Edinburgh into other churches; and to plant other qualified Ministers in Edinburgh. The Commissioners of Edinburgh protest 1. that they are free of the burden of the transportation of their Ministers. 2. That the transportation shall not prejudice them hereafter, but that those may be reponed into their own places, when it shall please his Majesty and the Assembly. The King and Assembly consent. V. It is ordained, that in every Assembly hereafter those that shall be appointed Commissioners by the Assembly, shall give account of their commission, in the beginning of the subsequent assembly, before other things be heard; and their proceedings to be allowed or dis-allowed as the assembly shall judge of them. VI. Commission is given to twenty four Ministers together with the Ministers of the kings House, or any nyne of them, to plant churches in burghes, with power to transplant any Minister within the realm into the said burghes now vaking, namely, Edinburgh, wherein they shall take the advice of the Presbytry there; With power to judge of any offenses, if it shall happen that his Majesty be offended by any of the Ministry, and to take order there-in; And also power to present the grievances and petitions of this assembly unto his Majesty and Counsell, or Generall Convention of Estates, or Parliament, if any shall happen

pen to bee, &c. VII. Certain Visitors were designed to visit all the Shirefdoms, particularly named unto them, with power to try the Ministers in their qualification, doctrine and conversation; and whether they have wrong'd their Benefices; To depose such as deserve deposition; To plant Ministers where none as yet have been planted; and to this effect to deal with the Tacks-men of every parishon for provision unto a Minister for the church; And to report their diligence, &c. The next Assembly is appointed to be at Santandrews the last tuesday of July. 1602. *The Historicall Narration addeth*, James Melvin [Minister at Kilrinny] being detained by sickness, sent unto this assembly a Missive, advising them to insist with his Ma. to yeeld unto the agreement of the Brethren at Bruntslaw in March, for repossessing the Ministers of Edinburgh; and charging them as they will answer unto God, to endeavour a redress of that wrong done unto the Church of Christ by Act of the Secret Counsell, whereby the Ministers of Edinburgh were discharged to preach at any time in any part of the realm; he adviseth to consider, whether the proceedings of the Commissioners have been conform unto the conclusions of the preceeding assembly; or els, it is not possible to hold out corruption; And to lament the restraint of the freedom of Assemblies, which now are made to depend upon licences, Letters and proclamations, whereas the Barons, and the Burghs enjoy thir severall meetings freely; In end he layth down his part of the Commission at their feet, as the Pioner doth his burden: For it grieved him continually, and now brought him into the danger of death. Albeit he was not acquainted with their secrets, yet it grieved him to sit sometimes among them, even albeit he consented not unto their Sentences. The King took this Letter out of the Moderator's hand, and suffered it not to be read. John Davidson sent another Letter to this purpose; Should James & John seek to sit the one at the right hand, and the other at the left, when Christ is going to Jerusalem to suffer death? Is it time for Baruch to seek great things for himself, when the Lord is about to destroy what he hath planted, and threatens his people with fearfull captivity? is it time for us now, when so many of our worthy Brethren are shamefully thrust out of their callings without all order of just proceeding against them, & *boni malis demutantur*, and Papists, Jesuits and atheists daily flocking home are suffered, countenanced and advanced to great rouns in the realm? is it time for us of the Ministry to be inveigled, and blindfolded with pretence of preferment of some small number of our brethren, and that not to stand so much in the election of the Church as at the pleasure of the Court, to have vote in Parliament, to ride in foot mantles, and to have the title of Prelacies, and so to make preparative in ourselves unto that Hierarchy (as they call it) which the Papists hope to enjoy with speed? what is it but *honorari intra palatium ad servitium*? shall we brethren, sleepe still with Samson on Dalilah's lap, till they cry, *The Philistins be upon thee*? he wrot more in this purpose, and in the end he wished that they would not determine any thing de present concerning the new planting of Edinburgh in prejudice of their brethren not as yet displaced by any order, for any promise de futuro, as punishment of Papists, seeing those two can not stand together. If reason find no place; he exhorts them to remember, that *Melius & optabilius est egregium bellum pace impia & à Deo disstrahente*. Bishop Spotswood addeth that he scoffing at the Kings doings, said. But Boniton is executed, an infamous thief in the highest degree. What is that to the cause of Religion, whereof no question was moved? is there

no Papists nor favourer of Papists in Scotland, but *Bontou*. But the King is found in religion; what can the Papists do? Being found, the danger were the less; but there is nothing either in Church or king according to our Calling, &c. The king said, There was treason in this Letter; and for it the writer was committed to the castle of Edinburgh in the same month, and afterward was confined to his parishon enduring his life. In the *Narration* it is said also; The Assembly began, with little contentment to either party: but the King (to won the people, because of the jealousy many had conceived for the fact at Perth in August) protested with the tear in his ey, that he would be serious for the Church and the liberty of the Gospell. And for more satisfaction it was approved by Court and many of the Ministry, which before was not only neglected, but mocked at, to wit, to ripe up the causes of defection in all Estates from the purity and zeal in the practise of the true Religion, and to advise upon the remedies. So in this they had a taste of the wonted assemblies. But there was small security in the chief directores and others of that side: for neither were the chief causes layd open, nor a right course taken for remedy. The distraction among Ministers, the cause and remedies thereof was not touched. The King was so serious against the three Ministers of Edinburgh, that for his satisfaction it was concluded, they should be transported. The generall Commission was renewed, and almost all the same persons were authorized, so that the plotters were not changed [nor censured] but others were put off and put-in, as they thought expedient. About the end of the Assembly the King holding up his hand, vowed to execute justice faithfully, and to discredit all who shall attempt any thing against religion. In the provincially synod of Fife convened at Kingorn in September, they agreed upon some grievances to be presented unto the next Nationall Assembly, to wit.

1. That notwithstanding the Acts of Parliament and generall assemblies and necessity of the time, the time and place of the assemblies are altered without the knowledge of presbyteries and synods.
2. Ministers are summoned before the Secret Counsell in *prima instantia* for doctrine and discipline: which is a great encouragement unto the enemies.
3. All application of doctrine in the Exercise is condemned, under pretence of an Act of the Generall assembly: which Act would be sighted and clearly interpreted.
4. The government of the chief affaires of the Church continues in the hands of a few under the name of a Commission, to the prejudice of the liberty of the synods and presbyteries.
5. The Doctors bearing an ordinary calling in the Church are debarred from the assembly.
6. The Assembly takes no notice of the Caution that were appointed for avoiding corruptions in the commissioners Voters in the Parliament.
7. The absence of the Pastors of Edinburgh, and alteration of the Ministry there, which was the chief Watch-tower of our churches, hurts greatly the cause of religion, and encourages the enemies.
8. There is distraction in opinions, different from that consent of hearts, which hath been in the Church, and little deliberation hath been or reasons heard, whence it is that conclusions are made, the half of the brethren (almost) gainsaying.
9. The Land is defiled, and the Church endammaged by the French Ambassadors Masse.
10. Persons excommunicated for Papistry go publickly and peaceably.
11. The Noble men lately absolved from excommunication for Papistry, give no token of their profession of the truth, but rather the contrary.
12. The directions and Letters of apprehended Papists are kept up, and not communicated unto the Watchmen, that they may make

faithfull

faithfull warning to prevent danger. 13. The disciplin of the Church against incest, adultery and murder is not practized with holy severity as it becomes; but frequent remissions of criminal persons for avoiding civill punishment. 14. The remedies provided against imminent dangers, in sundry meetings of the Church, are not prosecuted.

II. The Assembly did by the Kings proclamation convene at Holyrudehouse November 10. year 1602. there was the king and (in case of his absence at any time) his Commissioners the Treasurer, Collector, Controlier & Sir Patrik Murray; and Ministers. Before I touch the Acts It is to be marked that in the roll of the members is not the name of one Elder, as also in the two proceeding Assemblies is no mention of any Ruling Elder, either Noble or Gentle man nor Burgeß. It is likely that by the proclamation in December year 1597. they were all terrified. This desertion was a grievous mutilation and weakning of the Assemblies: but I have seen (in time of the Bb.) some Barons keep the former custom in the Presbyteries, by sitting and voicing there. 2. *The historical Narration shewes, that when the votes were given at the election of the Moderator, James Melvin protested as followes; With all reverence unto your Majesty before I speake any thing in this assembly, I must protest, that seeing it is convened extraordinarily, and not at the time appointed at the last assembly by your Majesties authority, and it is kept herewithin your Majesties palace a place not accustomed heretofore for holding the assemblies of the Church: Whatsoever shall be done here contrary unto the word of God, or the former constitutions of the Church and the established discipline (which God forbid) to be null and of no effect; and that it may be remedied at the next ordinary assembly of the Church of Scotland.* Patrik Galloway was chosen Moderator. The hour of meeting of the Privy Conference was appointed to be at nyne a clock; and of the assembly to be at eleven, and to sit untill four in the evening. I. The Commissioners that were appointed to wait upon the Noble men were called to shew their diligence: in summa they had done little or nothing; George gladstons (afterwards Bishop of Santandrews) said, that when he was upon his journey to visit the churches in Caitnes; he went to the Earle of Huntly, who said, that he was upon his journey southward at the kings command, and when he returned, he would shew what scruples he had in the matters of religion. Alexander Lindsay (afterwards Bishop of Dunkell) said, The Earle of Errol was an ordinary hearer of the Word; he professed to have no scruples in religion; he had provided the churches within his bounds sufficiently, and was ready to communicat upon occasion in any church where his residence was. John Sportwood (afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, and then of Santandrews) said, whereas he and James law were appointed to wait on the Earle of Anguse, the King had commanded him to go into France with the Duke of Lenox; and James law said, Because these two were coniunct, he could do nothing alone, but he understood by the report of Brethren, that that Earle resorteth not to the hearing of the word, and he entertaines enemies of the religion. John Carmichell, who was appointed to wait upon the Lord Hume, said, he was not in the countrey; And John Hall said, he was appointed to wait upon the Lord Herefs when he was in Edinburgh, but he was a very short space there. II. For the Commissioners that were appointed to attend the Plat for provision of stipends, the Lord Collector said, They had done nothing, because the Presbyteries had not sent their answers unto his Majesties Letters, without which they could not proceed. The Assembly ordaines the Presbyteries to produce their
(cccccccc) answers

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answers tomorrow. III. The Commissioners that were appointed to visit the Presbyteries had neglected their part. Therefore it was concluded, that hereafter such as shalbe appointed Commissioners, shall accept their commission in face of the assembly, and give their oath to perform it faithfully. Some of those Visitors had done nothing; some were not present, and they who had done somewhat, were judged to have been superficial. IV. The generall Commissioners were ordained to shew their diligence the next day in writ. V. For remedy of those negligences it was appointed first, that certain other Ministers should attend those Noble men; as also the Lords Maxwell and Semple, and the Earle of Suderland; and they should follow the Instructions that were prescribed and given unto them, to wit. 1. Yee shall address yourselves with all diligence to enter into the company and family of. . . . to remain with them the space of three months continually; during which time your care shall be by publick doctrine, by reading and interpretation of the Scriptures ordinarily after meals, and by conference at all convenient occasions to instruct themselves in all the grounds of the true Religion and godliness, specially in the heads controverted, and confirm them therein. 2. Take pains to catechize their families ordinarily every day once or twice at the least, to bring them unto some reasonable measure of knowledge and feeling of religion before the expiring of the appointed time; and that action should begin and end with prayer. 3. Endeavour to purge the houses from all persons living inordinately, whose bad example might bring slander unto their profession; specially from them that are suspect in religion, or found any way busy in dealing against the Truth and quietness of the countrey. 4. Endeavour to have their churches provided with sufficient stipends and welqualified persons, and procure that by their authority and assistance the discipline of the church may have execution within their bounds. 5. Urge the performance of the Articles, which they did subscribe at their reconciliation, and extract these Articles out of the register. 6. Persuade them to make honest provision of stipends for the Pastors resident at their Houses or chief dwelling places, and to make choise of wise, grave and learned Pastors thereunto. 7. Inform the Kings Majesty from time to time, how they do profit and what company resorts unto them, and of what disposition is their company. VI. Certain Overtures were given unto the Commissioners unto the Plat concerning the provision of churches. VII. Certain Ministers were appointed to visit the presbyteries and parriculat congregation in severall Shires, and after deliberation Rules were given which should be observed universally, to wit. 1. The Visitors shall appoint two or three dayes for tryall of each presbytery, and acquaint the presbytery a month or three weeks at least before their coming, and send them an Edict to be published at every parish-church of the bounds by some other brother then the Minister of the place: let it be duly executed, indorsed, and reported unto the Visitors the first day of their meeting. 2. Let the Edict be so directed by the Presbyteries that an equall number of Pastors be tryed each one of the dayes appointed for the tryall of the Presbyteries; and the commissioners of the congregations to be present on their day *respectively*. 3. Try the condition of every Minister particularly; then the estates of the congregations, and lastly of the Presbytery generally. The tryall of the Pastors should be in this manner: 1. Try each one in his graces and ability to discharge his calling: in his furniture of books and other necessary helps of enabling: with what fidelity and prudence he discharges himself in calling, doctrine, discipline and

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for visiting
Ministers.*

and conversation. 2. For this effect enquire of the commissioners of his congregation what testimony he hath of his own Session and others of his flock, and especially whether he reside in his Manse; whether his life and the government of his family be such as he be not scandalous, but edifieth his flock; whether he teaches every sabboth once or twice, or any other day besides in the week; whether he keeps weekly convention with his Session for the exercise of disciplin; whether he Ministreth the Communion yearly with due examinations preceeding; whether he hath an establish'd Session of Elders and deacons; whether he catechizeth weekly a pait of his parishon; whether he keeps an ordinary visitation of some families weekly; whether he visits the sick and distressed, when occasion requires; whether he be diligent to remove all variances in his congregation. Then try him (if need shall be) by expounding some passage of Scripture, and by questions Enquire of him, what helps he hath for advancement of his studies; whether he hath the text of the Scripture in the originall languages; what knowledge he hath of those tongues; whether he hath the Translation of the old Testament by Tremellius, and of the new by Beza with the vulgar English; what books he hath for the common Heads, and the ecclesiasticall history; what commentaries he hath on the Scriptures, specially on his ordinary Text; whether he hath the Acts of Councils; what writers he hath upon the controversies of Religion; whether he useth the conference of Brethren for his resolution in the doubts occurring in his reading, and of whom; whether he hath an ordinary course in reading the Scripture, Ecclesiasticall histories and the controversies; whether he makes any memoriall of his travels in writ; What is his ordinary Text; Whether he be provided to the parsonage, or vicarage, and whether he hath set any racks thereof, to whom and on what condition; In whose hands are the tiths of his parishon, and what Overture he can give for provision of a stipend there, if it be not sufficiently provided. And examin his Session-book. When the brother is removed, let the Presbytery be enquired one by one, and declare upon their conscience what they know of his graces, fidelity in doctrin, disciplin and conversation. After this tryall let him be judged, and either approved, or admonished, or otherwise censured, as the cause requires. Next in the Visitation of congregations, Try every Minister particularly, whether there be any Jesuites, Papists, Seminary-priests, traffickers against the Religion, and peace of the countrey, or any maintainers of them within that congregation; Whether there be any witches, excommunicat persons, or disobedient unto the disciplin of the Church; Whether there be any superstitious dayes kept by setting forth of fires or otherways; Whether there be any superstitious places of pilgrimages, wells or chappels; Whether there be any non-communicants, any homicides or deadly feuds, any adulterers, incestuous persons; Whither the sabboth be profaned by keeping of markets, or working especially in time of harvest; As they shall find in the premisses, let them take order for reformation of any point thereof. Thirdly concerning the visitation of Presbyteries, Let the Moderator be enquired, if they keep their ordinary meetings; If they have their monthly handling of the Common Heads, and disputation; If they visit all the churches since the last generall Visitation; If they take weekly or monthly account of their Brethren diligences in the discharge of their duty by catechizing their flock, and visiting the families; If any of their number be insolent and will not acquiesce in the deter-

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minations of the Brethren; What unplanted churches are within their bounds. VIII. The Brethren that were appointed to consider the propositions of the Synod of Fife (*which are written before*) condescended upon the answers following. 1. The Nationall Asse. should be appointed and kept according to the Act of Parliament July 2. year 1592. *the words are inserted, even as they be here above. P. 489.* 2. If his Majesty shall proceed against Ministers according to his own declaration made and enacted in the assembly at Dundee in the year 1597. the desire of the second article is satisfied; and no other thing is meant. 3. The Act concerning application in Exercise should not be extended to forbid the application of Gods word unto the generall ends thereof, which is lawfull in this manner, This point of doctrine serves for refutation of such an error, for the rebuik of such a vice, for comforting men in such a case: as for personall application; it is to be advised whether it should be or not, and how far; And thinks good that it be argued in the Presbyteries, which shall send with their Commissioners unto the next Assembly their resolution with their reasons; And in the mean while no nomination to be used in application. 4. Let all commissions be used according to the Acts of the assembly. 5. Doctors have had and may have vote in the assembly, if they have lawfull commission for that effect, as it was declared in the assembly at Edinburgh year 1586. and in other assemblies. 6. Let the cautions be precisely kept and looked-unto, as they were ordained. The seventh is answered by the assembly. 8. Nothing is to be done in the assemblies, unless it be reasoned and advised sufficiently. 9. We acquiesce in his Majesties declaration, as W. Balcanquhall will declair. 10. Let their names be given up and order should be taken precisely. The 11. Is ended in the assembly. 12. We acquiesce in his Ma^y declaration, who will acquaint the presbyteries, as occasion shall require. 13 & 14. Let greater diligence be used, and things amended on all hands in time coming, according to the Acts of the ass. These answers were approved & registred. IX. Commission is given unto 24. Ministers or any nyne of them, to attend on the King; with power as in the last assembly; And other 24. brethren are named & adjoyned unto the Commissioners of Provinces that were convened at Holyrudehouse October 15. year 1600. out of which number his Majesty may make choice of whom he will present unto vaking Benefices, who should vote in Parliament. X. The assembly ordaines all persons to keep the sabbath, and inhibites all kind of fishing, and grinding of mills on the sabbath day, Under pain of the censure of the Church; And ordains the Commissioners to petition his Majesty that a pecuniall mulct may be laid upon the contraveeners of this Act. XI. An Act is made for planting the Churches of Annandale, which have been destitute since the Reformation; and that all not provided Ministers shall accept a charge there (sufficient stipends being provided;) or to be declared incapable of the Ministry. To this effect a roll of Expectants: [or Students] is written. XII. The Moderator in name of the Assembly makes humble request unto his Majesty in favour of Robert Bruce, that seeing he is admitted to return, he may be restored unto his former Ministry. The King declares that he will do by advice of their commissioners, as Robert shall give occasion by his behaviour; And because by his Missive unto his Majesty before his waygoing, as also by his ratification and declaration thereof in writ at Perth Juny 15. last bypast he had declared his resolution concerning his Majesties innocency, and the guiltiness of Goury and his brother, and had promised to divert the people so far as lay in him from
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their lewd opinions & uncharitable misconstructions of his Majesties actions in that matter; Therefore his Majesty craves the determination of the Assembly, whether the same Robert should make the same declaration in the pulpit, as it is at length written in the Missive and explanation thereof; Which both were read, and ordained to be registered. The Assembly voiced that the said Robert should do as he had promised. XIII. The Assembly ordaines that all Ministers should keep the fifth day of August by conveneing their people, and teaching that day, by giving thanks unto God for preserving the King from that conspiracy of Goury and his brother; And the King promisseth, that he shall discharge all riotousness, drunkenness and other wickedness, by open proclamation, and shall ordain Magistrats to take heed thereunto. XIV. No marriage should be celebrated in the morning nor with candle light; and judgeth it lawfull to celebrat marriage on the Sabbath or any other preaching day indifferently, so that no riotousness be used. XV. The Sacrament of Baptism should not be refused unto infants, if the parent crave it, he giving a Christian Confession of his faith; and specially that Baptism be not astricted unto particular dayes. XVI. A summons was read, that was raised at the instance of the Synod of Lothian against Dame Elenor Hay Countess of Lithgow, charging her to appear before this Assembly, to prosecute her appellation from the Sentence of excommunication pronounced against her by the Presbytery of Lithgow; With certification, if she appeared not, the Assembly would ratify that Sentence. Alexander Earle of Lithgow gives a large supplication, mentioning how grieved he was for the obstinacy of his spouse, in not consenting to satisfy the conditions that were enjoined unto her, when she was relaxed from the fearfull Sentence of excommunication; And therefore was likely to incurr that fearfull Sentence again, if the Assembly shall not have some consideration of his estate, who can not forsake her society, albeit he be, and promisseth ever with Gods grace to be a sincere Professor of the Religion taught within this countrey, and promisseth to do his best endeavours for converting her unto the truth. After consideration the Assembly suspends the Sentence untill the next Nationall Assembly; Providing that the King remove his daughter out of her company; And that the Earle will promise and cause his children to be catechized in the true Religion; and that his Majesty will give him command to debarr all other Papists out of his house, and deall earnestly upon all occasions with her for her conversion. XVII. Proposition was made by sundry brethren from diverse parts, that some of best judgement be appointed to consider of the chiefeft dangers appearing unto the Religion and peace of the countrey, and of the the principall causes thereof, and how it might be best prevented. Brethren were appointed for this effect, and having severall dayes communicated their thoughts, did find, that a chief cause of danger proceeds from discontentment of some malicious and restless Papists, who rage, and leave nothing unessayed to work trouble, because they are out of all hope to have his Majesties indifferent affection or connivence to them and their Religion, during his Reign; And of others who by the execution of justice find themselves and their friends to have suffered dammage, and to be empai red of their greatness and dependance, and so redacted to live under the obedience of slaves, otherwise then they were wont; And from

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malicious business of some crafty persons, who either for the present necessity of their estate, or in hope of gain to be had in the change of the government, cease not to enflame the hearts of such as they perceive to be discontented in any rank, and make every man to apprehend his own desire in the trouble of the country; not sparing them who are of most sincere affection unto Religion and justice, as if it were not carried with that integrity as is profest; So endeavouring to make the godly and good subjects the colder adversaries against them who intend any commotion; For remedy it is thought good, that his Ma. be informed hereof, that by his care and providence so ungodly counsels and plots may be disappointed; and that Ministers deal with their congregations & auditors upon all occasions both publicly in their teaching, and in their privat conferences with the Noble men and others of credit and power, to persuade them of the Kings honest mind toward the established religion; and the execution of justice; and of his steadfast resolution to hazard his estate, life and crown in the cause of the Gospell; with the standing & falling whereof he thinks his own standing and falling to be inseparably conjoynd; And that they mark carefully the actions of all men, specially of such as either for religion or execution of justice, or the necessity of their own estate do grumble against the present government; and are enclined unto novation; And whom they shall find in any extraordinary kind of business besides their custom, they should acquaint his Majesties Ministers thereof; not ceasing in the mean while to bring them unto a quiet mind; And for this effect, in all their ordinary meetings as of Sessions, presbyteries and synods there should be a privat and particular inquisition in this point, if need shall require, and his Majesty should be advertised with all expedition; As also it is thought expedient that his Majesties Ministers should inform the Presbyteries of things occurring so far as the good of Religion shall require; And that this advertisement should be extracted, and sent with diligence unto every presbytery. XVII. The next assembly is appointed to be at Aberdien the last tuesday of July in the year 1604. In one copy I have found this modell following.

The order of proceeding in the Provinciaall Synods.

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down.</p> | <p>1. By the Moderator that last was, in exhortation, prayer, and delivering the books of the Assembly with the Acts formed, booked and subscribed by him, and ordering by liest and votes the election of another Moderator.</p> <p>2. By the chosen Moderator, in appointing the hours of meeting, and other things concerning good order; in censuring the absents from the preceeding Assembly, and noting if all the members be present, when the role of Ministers, Elders and Commissioners is to be called.</p> |
| <p>II.
things
to be
trea-
ted</p> | <p>1. The books of every Presbytery should be sighted; whether the Presbyteries be duly kept in convening, exercising, having monthly common-heads and disputes, & visiting the Churches.</p> <p>2. Pastors in their office severally or together. Severally it is to be enquired into their teaching at their own Churches, and disciplin: every one is to be enquired concerning the place of Scripture handled by them since the last Assembly; and the administration of the communion, and diligence in examination of young and old passing before in the points of Catechism, and concerning their keeping the Session weekly, and things done therein: for which effect they should bring their books contain-
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ning those and the names of baptized and married persons, and of slanderous or scandalous persons. 2. They should be examined in their manner of conversation, whether it be not only without scandal, but edificative. 3. Concerning their provision by stipend or Benefice, glebe, manse, &c.

2. If Ministers have questions or bills for resolution or furtherance in their office & livings, let them be answered. If any bills or accusations against them be given by any, let them be heard; and so if by any of them.

3. If any appellations, references or summons be from Presbyteries, let them be decided.

4. If any references from the last generall Assembly, or supplication unto the next Parliament, or generall Assembly; or any instructions thereunto.

5. Concerning the people; whether any scandalous persons; and their repentance.

III. Conclusion; absents are to be marked; appointing time and place of the next Assembly; thanksgiving.

It may be marked, that this nomination of Voters in Parliament was not according to the cautions that were concluded in the Assembly of the year 1600. but they were lesse looked-upon afterwards, when others were chosen, who were not in this number. As for Robert Bruce, he saw that the other Ministers who had confessed their fault, were not restored unto their places: and therefore he would not make the publick confession, as it was enjoyned him: for his refusing he was confined some years in the north, and then to his own house of Kinnaird.

III. Aprile 3. year 1603. the King had a publick Speech in the great church of Edinburgh two dayes before he took journey unto England: there he thanked God, that both Church and kingdom were settled in that estate, which he intended to change no way, his subjects living in peace. He promised again the same concerning the disciplin Aprile 5. unto the Commissioners of the Synod of Lothian meeting him above Hadintoun; but he would not yeeld to release Andrew Melvin and John Davidson from their confinement, nor grant Robert Bruce to re-enter into Edinburgh. A little before, Ormeston made supplication for John Davidson: but the King said, His hands were bound up by a promise unto the Commissioners of the generall Assembly. Though the chief Watch-towers of the Church, to-wit, Edinburgh and Santandrews were spoiled of their faithfull watch-men, yet the plotters of Episcopacy perceived that their course could not be easily advanced as they would, unless the Church were deprived of their liberty to indict & hold free generall Assemblies. And because they were accountable unto those assemblies, they eadeavoured, that no assembly should bee, untill they had purchased power to over-rule them; nor then, but when they pleased. This was perceived by the judicious Ministers, who used means for preserving the liberty of the Church. The Synod of Fife dealt with John hall, to entreat, that the assembly might convene before the ensuing Parliament *An. 1604.* according to the custom in former times. Afterwards he reported, that he had written so unto the King, but could not obtain it. The presbytery of Edinburgh wrot unto Patrik Galloway (then at Court) for the same effect: after sundry delaying answers he promised at last to return for that end: but when he and the entitled Bishop of

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Ross returned, they report in a full convention of Ministers (directed from the Synods) that the King said, It is needless, because nothing is to be handled in the next Parliament, but the union of the two Kingdoms, whereby the order and disciplin of the Church should be no way prejudged. The Ministers alledged, The Union can not be concluded without union of the Churches in government and form of worship; and that the Voters in name of the Church were tied by cautions not to propound in Parliament or other Convention without expresse warrant and direction of the Assembly. The new-named Bishops and other advancers of that course were not pleased with such answers, and brake up the Conference, as they were wont, when they were crossed. When the time appointed by the last assembly was approaching, the Lord Scoon brought from Court (among other articles) one for delaying the Assembly. The commissioners of the Generall assembly sent their Missives unto the presbyteries in June, and prorogated the assembly untill the first tuesday of July in the year 1605. or a shorter diet upon new advertisement, at his Majesties pleasure. The presbyteries unwilling to offend the King, acquiesce; yet they ceased not to crave the hastning of the time, because of urgent necessities, as of iniquity abounding, idolatry waxing, Jesuits and Seminary-priests trafficking through the countrey securely, male-factors eluding the inferior Judicatories by appellations to the generall assembly, which, they say, will never bee. The presbytery of Santandr. resolved to keep the day that was appointed before, because the warrant of keeping it was safer than the warrant of delaying, and the rather that the intended Union was nothing hindered thereby, So James Melvin, William Erskin and William Murray were directed as their commissioners: they presented their commission in the church of Aberdien upon the last tuesday of July about four a clock in the after-noon before two Ministers of the town, the Minister at Nig; the town-Commissionary and two Notaries, and other witnesses, and made their protestation both by word and writ subscribed with their hands, that they appear there for keeping the assembly, and that it desert not so far as in them lieth; and they protest that whatsoever detriment or prejudice befallth the Church of Scotland by neglecting the Assen, it be not imputed unto the presbytery of Santandr; and for remedy agreeable to the word of God, lawes of the realm, acts and constitutions of the Church, antient practise and liberties thereof, when God shall think expedient. Albeit that day was not kept; yet it was delayd because of his Ma^s Missive directed unto the presbyteries, and subscribed by his Majesties commissioner and Moderator of the last assembly, and another day was appointed, the first tuesday of July year 1605. at the farrest or sooner, as is before. The best affected in the North were touched with remorse for their own neglect, when they saw the carefulness of the presbytery of Santandrews. These three Brethren advised them to direct from their next Synod, which was to be in August at Aberdien, their Letters into other Synods, entreating them to send some of their number unto the ensuing Synod of Fife at Santandrews, wherethey may lay open their grievances, and concurr in craving a generall assembly. In the Parliament held at Perth July 11. when Commissioners were chosen to treat with England concerning the Union, some Noble men, and Barons and Burgesses craved a clause to be inserted in the Commission for preserving the estate of religion and disciplin in it's own freedom & sincerity; And they craved the assistance of the Commissioners of the generall assembly: but these bewrayd their intentions to overthrow the disciplin notwithstanding

standing their contrary promises and protestations. Nevertheless no inconvenience followed at that time, because the Union was crossed. A great number of Ministers convened at Santandrews, specially from the South and West parts. Sir Alexander Straton of Laureston (the Kings Commissioner in Church affaires) was informed that they intended to hold a National assembly: therefore he went thither with Letters from the Counsell in readiness to discharge their meeting: but when he saw their proceedings, he approved all, and advised them to warn other synods to direct their commissioners unto Perth in October to convene with the commissioners of the generall assembly. When they were assembled, Laureston willed the commissioners of the synods to convene apart, to consider of their articles and petitions, which they would send with him unto the King. They went so, and declared their griefs one to another, regrating heavily the decay of the liberty of the Church, the usurpation of the commissioners of the Generall assembly, who take unto them all the government of the Church; the inconveniences falling-out thereby in all the Provinces; and the want of a generall assembly. Howsoon these things were made known unto these generall commissioners, they would not suffer the others any more to convene apart. When they convened all together, they insisted most upon two grievances; one, that the commissioners of the last generall assembly, or rather some few of them arrogated to themselves all the government of the Church and power of the generall assembly, doing and undoing at their pleasure under the name of sir; and redacting the Church into an oligarchy, albeit their commission be expired with the date of the last appointed assembly. The other that the new named Bishops took the boldness to reason and vote in Parliament without any commission from the Church. Unto the first they answered, Their commission should continue till the next assembly: they were weary of that office, but the King would deal with no others; and that yee will find, if yee attempt any thing without us. This last was true: but better none at all then such. As for the first part, the effects proved that they were not weary: for to the end, they might continue, they procured the prorogation of the assemblies, and their commission was the chief means, whereby they wrought their advancement. Unto the next, both the Bishops and others not yet promoted, answered, Let the breakers of the cautions be severely censured; I wish (said George Graham) he were hang'd above all thieves, who preaseth not to his uttermost; to see the cautions kept, for holding out corruption, and the pride and tyranny of Bishops. And nevertheless he accepted first the Bishoprick of Dunblain, and then of Orkney, never acknowledging the assembly and contrary to his many promises. The others replied; Not a jot of the cautions is kept either in the entring of Bishops, or in their administration: they leave their flocks, run Post to Court, and return Lord Bishop. The other generall commissioners said, They may reserve their grievances unto the next generall assembly, where they promised their concurrence, or if they failed, they were never to be esteemed as brethren. It was replied, All grievances are remitted unto the generall assembly; and in the mean while those who feared censure, and had credite at Court, procured delays, untill custom corroborat their corruptions; and means were used even among Ministers for their advantage and continuance: betwixt them and Christ be it, when he shall call them to account. In end they agreed on four points to be petitioned. 1. That a generall assembly may without offence to his Majesty be held according to the Act of

Parliament and former custom. 2. That order may be taken with Papists and contemners of the Church-disciplin. 3. That their godly and faithfull brethren, who are persecuted by the English Bishops, may be permitted to exercise their Calling. 4. Concerning the Plat; which in then last meering had prejudged sundry Ministers. Laureston promised to deal faithfully with the King in these particulars: but the plotters undermined by their privy Letters. In the synod of Lothian at Tranent in August, Jo. Spotswood and James law were accused for overthrowing the disciplin. They protested, that they had no such intention, but only to recover the revenues of the Church. But the brethren pressed them to subscribe the Confession of faith *de novo*; and they subscribed it with the others.

1605. I V. Laureston returning from Court, heard of the Synod of Fife at Bruntelan: thether he went. Mention being made of hastening the Assembly, he opposed, and shew that in his commission was one article, not to permit it. Howbeit supplication was made seven times to prevent the appointed day, because of inconveniences following upon the delay, the generall commissioners would not hear; but alwayes promised that without fail the appointed time should be kept. And when the time approached, they sent their Letters unto the Presbyteries, advising them not to keep the assembly on the fifth of July, but delay untill the next Parliament, without intimation of any other time or place. Those Letters were not sent untill the time was so nigh, that one presbytery should not know what another would do, and they had platted to have episcopacy restored in the Parlia. and in their Missives they named the fifth day of July, as if that day had been appointed before for the assemb. which gave occasion that sundry Ministers mistook the day: whereby those who went to Aberdien, kept not one day. Some came July 1. to keep the first tuesday (which was the day) according to the Letter of prorogation in the preceeding year: these were Robert Dury Minister at Anstruther, Andrew Duncan Min. at Careil, Jo. Sharp mi. at Kelmeny, Andrew Strachan mi. at Krieck Jo. Forbes mi. at Awford, William Forbes at Kinbethok, James Irwin at Touch, Robert Youngson at Clat, Robert Red at Banchry, Charls Farholm at Frazerburgh, William Davidson at Rathen, David Robertson at Rugley, John Monro at Tane, Archbald Blackburn and James Ross at Aberdien, and John Rogh at Nig. When James Ross had ended his Sermon after the custom of the town on tuesday, they convened in the church with the Kings commissioner, and with common consent delayd their sitting untill two a clock in expectation of mo hindred upon their way (as was supposed) by rainy weather. At that hour they meet in the Session-house within the church, and after prayer by David Reatlate Moderator of the Synod at Aberdien (who now came with Alexander and James Mill) Laureston said, Though he might charge them, yet he would rather make use of a Missive from the Lords of the Counsell. The Letter was directed, *To the Ministry in the Assembly at Aberdien.* He willed them to read it, and give him their answer. They answered, It can not be orderly opened nor reade untill a Moderator were chosen. He named John Forbes to be mouth for them. They said, There must be an ordinary election. He removed himself, lest (as he spake) he were quarell'd as seeming to approve their election by his presence, if it fall, that he and they shall not agree. Then they required Thomas Nicolson, the ordinary clerk of the assemblies to do his office: he refused untill he saw how they will satisfy the Commissioner: then craving their dispensation he went away. They proceed, and having named three on

The Assembly at Aberdien.

on the election, with generall consent they choosed John Forbes, and the rather that Laureston had named him: after prayer by the Moderator, they choose John sharp to be Scribe *pro tempore*. The Letter was read, consisting of two points, to dissolve the Assembly, and to name no diet of another till his Majesty were certified. They yeeld unto the first; and for the other, to keep the liberty according to they Act of Parliament they resolve to entreat the Commissioner to appoint time and place of another assembly; and if he refuse, they will do it. They sent and entreated his presence: then the Moderator declared the judgement of the assembly: He approved the first part, and refused to design another time long or short. They assured him, that upon the reverent respect of his desire, they would be all ready afterwards to delay unto a certain day, if his Majesty shall require it. After reasoning he acknowledged a necessity of appointing a certain day, but he would not do it, because he had no warrant. He removed himself again, though he was entreated to stay; giving the same reason as before. Immediately they adiourn the assembly unto the last tuesday of September next, and appoints intimation to be made unto all the presbyteries according to former custom. Then Laureston returned (the door was alwayes open) and protested that he acknowledged not that for a lawfull Assembly from the beginning, because of the absence of the Moderator of the last assembly; and of the Clerk (he except not against the number.) The Moderator answered, It can not but be a lawfull Assembly because of the warrant.

1. Of Gods word.
2. The lawe of the realm.
3. Continuell practise since the year 1560. and most clearly set down in the book of disciplin established by his Ma. own desire publickly made known in the Assc. at Glasgow 1581. *ch. 7. art. 3. &*
4. where it is said, *All ecclesiasticall Assemblies have power to convene for treating of things concerning the Church: they have power to appoint time and place to that effect, and one Assembly to appoint time and place of another.*
4. The subscription and oath of the King and all his subjects.
5. the Commissioners from Perth.
6. The presidents in the Register of the assemblies for choosing a Moderator in absence of the former, and a Clerk for the time in absence of the ordinary.

In the mean while Laureston caused John Wishart Messinger (or pursevant) to charge the Assembly under pain of horning to suffer it to desert, and gave a copy unto the Moderator. Obedience was given instantly and the Moderator craved instrument under the hand of the same Messinger (being also a Notary:) and because he refused, the Ministers after the dissolving of the Assc. with prayer by the Moderator, went instantly into the common Clerk's chamber of Aberdien, & took instruments of their obedience unto that charge. Of this charge no mention was made unto the Lords of the Counsell, but another that was alledged to have been given by vertue of the same letters on moonday July 1 by open proclamation at the market crosse, whereas no such was done: for Laureston would have mentioned it, and not said, he might have charged them. And it can be proved (as the Ministers wrot in *The Report of the proceedings of the Assembled Ministers at Aberdien*) that from the first coming of Laureston and his servants into Aberdien untill eight a clock at night, there were continually about the market place walking sundry honest men, who heard no such thing. I add of my own experience, that Sumner was after the year 1606. called usually, *Jogle over*, or contrarily, *Joglow'r*: as thousands yet alive in Angus and Merns can testify; and he dwelt in Fettercairn in a house belonging then to Laureston, about twenty years after that assembly, I heard a gentle man employing him in a business, and having informed him, he said, *Jogle not over my business, but do it faithfully:*

Then I asked the man; Why they do call him Jogleour? He blushed, and gave no answer. The Gentle man laughing, said unto mee, He will never tell you, but I will give you the reason of his name: He is a false rogue: when the Ministers were condemned for the Assembly at Aberdien, some did accuse him, that he was the cause of their condemnation, because he had indorsed the Charge with a false date or antedate: And then he answered, Alas! I knew nothing what was intended, and I thought, it was but a small thing to jogle over [or shuffle] one day at my Masters command: and for that, he is always called Jogleour. The man heard all these words, and said nothing, but sighed. I return to the history. Vpon the fourth and fifth of July sundry commissioners came to Aberdien from the presbyteries of Kyl, Carrik, Cuninghame, Lothian, Mers & Perth: they said, they were hindered partly by extraordinary rain, and partly deceived by the Missives that were sent unto the presbyteries, pointing at the fifth day. John Welsh, Nathaniel English and others finding that the brethren were dissolved, and having received a subscribed copy of their proceedings, went together into the place where the Assembly sat, and for the discharge of their commissions, took instruments in the hands of two Notaries, that they were come to keep the Assembly, and finding it to be dissolved, did ratify and approve their proceedings in their own names, and in name of the presbyteries that had sent them. Laureston reported unto the Counsell what they had done, and said that he had discharged them by open proclamation at the market cross of Aberdeen on July 1. to hold the assembly, as the indorsing of the Letters specify. John Forbes being in Edinburgh July 24. of purpose to satisfy the Lords of Counsell, concerning the alledged disobedience of his Majesties charge, was warned by a Macer to appear before the Counsell. At that time convened six Lords, seven Bishops and commissioners of the generall Assembly (a novelty not heard before in Scotland) and they convened the sooner, and preventing the ordinary time of Counsell, because they feared the opposition of some Lords. Because he would not condemn the Assembly holden at Aberdien by his privat judgement (howbeit he was willing to submit himself and the proceedings thereof unto the judgement of the generall Assembly) he was commanded to ward in the castle of Edinburgh. The next day John Welsh (one of those who came upon the fifth day) was charged to appear before the Counsell, and because he refused to give his oath *super inquirendis* (he declared himself ready to give his oath, upon the knowledge of their interrogatories) he was committed into the lair of the town, and about eleven a clock he and John Forbes were transported to Blackness. July 25. charge was given by open proclamation, unto Provests and Bailives of Burghs, namely, of Aberdien to suffer no Ministers to enter within their bounds on the first tuesday of September, nor eight before nor after, to hold any Assembly, as was appointed lately by the Ministers at Aberdien. On August 2. Ro. Dury, Andrew Duncan, Alex. Strachan and Io. Sharp being summoned, appeared before the Counsell, and because they would not condemn their proceedings at Aberdien, were sent to Blackness. In the mean time the pest break up in Edinburgh, Lieth, Santand. and other parts of the countrey, On August 8. all presbyteries, church-sessions & synods and particularly Ministers were discharged by proclamation to authorize, approve the proceedings of those Ministers; And Noble men, Barons, gentle men, Magistrates and other subjects were charged to report unto the Counsell, when they hear any Minister in Sermon or any privat conference to justify their proceedings, or condemn the proceedings of the Counsell, With certi-

certification, if they fail, &c. Much business was for annulling those proceedings, because they had appointed anew Assembly for preserving the Church's liberty ratified by Parliament; and so long as that liberty was preserved, episcopacy could not be advanced. On October 3. other 14. Ministers that had been at Aberdien, being cited, appeared before the Counsell: seven of them were sent to wards in sundry places for the same cause that the others were. The other seven confessed, that if they had known, they would not have been there. So they were dismissed. One of them, Robert Youngson repented, and at the next diet appeared with the imprisoned Ministers, before the Counsell. Thomas abernethy stood for the Assembly, untill he heard, that he was to be warded in Innerness: then he submitted, and was licenced to return home. Some were not summoned. The Synod of Fife was to meet at Dunferlin Septemb. 2. but the Chancelor Seron gave direction unto Pitfirren to hinder them from entering into the town: and therefore they assembled at Innerkithen: where they agreed upon a fast, because of the imprisoned Ministers, and the restraint of the liberties of the Church. The imprisoned Ministers after five weeks sent unto the King an apology, to clear their cause by right information, and to supplicate for their liberty: but they were not heard. Because it was talked in the country, that the Church was deprived altogether of their liberty and power to indict and hold generall Assemblies, and that we were not to have any more, one was proclaimed to be held at Dundy the last tuesday of July. It was not expressed in what year: therefore some called it fair words. After 13. weeks imprisonment, these Ministers were summoned to compare before the Counsell October 24. to hear & see it declared, that they had very contemptuously, and seditiously convened and proceeded; and therefore their Assembly to be declared unlawfull, and they to be punished in their goods & persons; or els to shew a reasonable cause, why the same should not be done, With certification, &c. They appeared that day, and presented a supplication unto the Lords to remit the tryall of their cause unto the Generall Assembly the only competent Judge thereof, seeing the allowance or disallowance of a Generall Assembly belongs unto the subsequent Assembly, as precedents can declare, where the King hath been present personally; as also because in the late proclamation his Majesty declares that he expectes reparation of all mis-orders in the next Assembly. The supplication was read, and rejected: and they were urged by the Kings Advocat Sir Thomas Hamilton then of Monkland to answer unto the libell. Wherefore they thought themselves constrained to give in this Declinature; My Lords of Secret Counsell; Please your L. L. the approbation or dis-allowing of a generall Assembly hath been and should be a matter and cause spirituall, and alwayes cognosced & judged by the Church as Judges competent within this realm. And seeing we are called before your L. L. to hear and see it found and declared, that we have very contemptuously convened and Assembled ourselves in a generall Assembly at Aberdien the first tuesday of July last, and therefore that Assembly to be declared unlawfull, as at more length is contained in the summons; Wee in consideration of the premisses and other reasons to be given by us, have just cause to decline your L. L. judgement, as no way competent in the cause above specified, and by these presents simpliciter decline the same, seeing we are most willing to submit ourselves to the tryall of the generall assembly the only Judges competent; By these presents subscribed with our hands October 24. And it was subscribed by all the

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fourteen.

fourthien. They were nevertheless required to answer unto the summons; and they did answer for clearing themselves, but with protestation of adhering to their declinature. In summa, they declare, that they had done nothing but according to an Act of Parliament in the year 1592. and they offered to disprove the indorsation of the charge, and whereas their declinature was taken in ill part, they do acknowledge themselves willing to submit unto the judgement of the Counsell in any matter, wherein any other subject ought to submit: neither is it a new thing to decline their judgement in some cases; seeing there is extant a declinature subscribed by more then 300. Ministers, and namely by some of these who now are their greatest adversaries; And it is usuall unto the subjects in some Civill causes to decline the judgement of the Counsell, and to take them unto the judgement of the Lords of the Session, or of the Justice generall, or even of a Regality. They were sent to their severall prisons, and Robert Youngson [who that day had joyned with them, confessing his trouble of conscience for his former oversight] was imprisoned in Sterlin. After that time they published an Apology, wherein they enlarged their answers, and the reasons of their declinature [whereof a touch followes] and in end they say, Let it be supposed that it was an offence, to hold the Assembly, yet it should not be imputed unto them particularly, but unto the presbyteries, unto whom the Letters of the generall Commissioners were directed, and who had ordered them, to go and keep the Assembly; and afterwards had approved their proceedings. Notwithstanding all their allegations, John Forbes, John Welsh, Robert Dury, Andrew Duncan, John Sharp, and Alexander Strachan were brought by the Guard from Blacknes to Lithgow to be arraigned January 10. before the Counsell, of treason, because they had declined the Counsell. It was said commonly, that the extraordinary discovery of the powder-plot at London would have moved the King to desist from troubling Ministers (either in England for their not-conformity unto the rites, or in Scotland for standing to their ratified liberty) when all the churches were required to give thanks unto God for that Benefit. But the Earle of Dunbar was sent from Court to mannage that business. Ere the Ministers were brought to the Bar, some Counsellors were sent unto them, to move them take up their declinature. After advice with some other Ministers there present, they answered; They would take up the declinature, if the Counsell would delete the process and decreet standing against them. The Lords replied, The Counsell could not annull their decreet, which was registred. Others were sent unto them again, to advise them to pass from the declinature *pro loco & tempore*, assuring them, that the Counsell would pass from all process & peritute. They would not answer without advice of their Brethren, who were there about thretty: and then they answered, The testimony that was given, could not be recalled without prejudice of the Truth. And they craved licence to advice with their own presbyteries, upon caution that they should return into prison. This was denied. All that number of Ministers accompanied the imprisoned, unto the Bar about one a clock. There were present in the Counsell, the Earles of Montrose, Dunfermlin Chancellor, Mar, Lithgow, Dunbar, and Lords Glams, Elphinston, Abercromy, Scoon, Balmerino, Newbottle, Tullibairn, Blantyre, Haliroodhous, and Barons Whittingam, Pennicook, Clerkinton, Murdo-Cairny, Kilsyth and Master of Elphinston, to assist the Justice Deput as Assessors in the cause. Sir Thomas Hamilton the Kings

Advocat

Advocat, compeared to accuse. The Dittay was read, importing their treasonable declinature of the Royal authority, grounded upon an act of Parliament in the year 1584. *I omit the particular aggravations, because they may be known by the answers.* The substance of their defence by their Advocat, Thomas Hope (*afterwards the Kings Advocat and Lord Craig-hall*) was; The declinature is not against either the title nor intention of the law, which was made only against such as derogat from the K. royall authority: but this declinature left his authority fully. The law served only against such as were summoned *super inquirendis*; but these were accused and committed to prison for a deed or action; Their declinature was propounded by way of defence: and therefore can not be accounted treason; The law naming the penalty of treason is odious: and therefore should not be enlarged, but rather restrained. That which is treason in a case expressed, may not be extended unto other cases not expressed; That law judgeth not such a case to be treason, but only forbids such a thing under the pain of treason; The act bearing only the incurring of treason, the penalty can never be justly inflicted, unless the fact be found treasonable by law: But no law defineth the declinature of an incompetent ludge to be treason: Neither did these decline the Kings judicatory simply, but the Counsels, and that only in this and such causes; They were ever, and yet are content to be judged by his Majesty and the Generall assembly, seing according to God's Word, and the lawes of the realm, which have distinguished the Civil and Ecclesiasticall jurisdictions, the matters of the Church should be judged and cognosed by the Church and it's assemblies, which were aswel ratified & confirmed by the lawes of the country as any other Iudicatory; To judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of a gen. assembly belongs unto a generall assembly, and hath been the practise of our Church even when his Majesty was present, as the Assembly at Perth in the year 1596. was controverted, notwithstanding his Majesties presence at it, and then he was so far from judging the lawfulness of it by himself or his Counsell, that in the next generall Assembly at Dundie he did require the question to be decided there as properly pertaining to that Judicatory; It hath been lawfull and in continuall practise, that his Majesty and Secret Counsell have in sundry causes been declined, and the cause drawn to the ordinary and competent Judge, as in matters Civill unto the Session, in matters criminall unto the Justiciary, matters of divorce unto the Commissaries; yea the meanest Regalities have power to decline suprem Justitiaries; Moreover that Act of Parliament was repealed by another Act *An. 1592.* which derogates from the former in so far as it was prejudicial to the office-bearers of the Church in matters of religion, heresy, excommunication, collation of Benefices, deprivation of Ministers, ecclesiastical censures, &c. As for the alledged contempt & sedition, that against the provision of the act of Parliament they had convened, and proceeded contrary to his Majesties express command intimated unto them by the Commissioners of the Church in their Letter, and the Counsels Mistle, and by Laureston, and against a publick charge of horning proceeding from the Secret Counsell, and execut against them the day preceeding; It was answered, The act is no instituting law of assemblies, but a simple approbation of them as they were appointed by the Church; and in that approbation it is declared that it shall be lawfull to the Church to hold generall assemblies once every year and ofner as occasion shall require; And the provision in the Act imports not a nullity of the foresaid liberty & approbation, but rather the contra-

ry, because it no way concerns the actions of convening or holding, but only the nomination of time and place, and that not simply, but upon condition of his Majesties or his Commissioners presence where the Assembly is holden; nor is that simply or absolutely, but conjunct with the Assembly; and the same provision in the last part of it saith expressly, It shall be lawfull unto the Church (in case of absence of his Majesty and Commissioners) by themselves to appoint time & place of the next Assembly, *as they have been in use to do*; and consequently to assemble & proceed without the presence or express consent of his Majesty or Commissioner; And unto the Assumption, these had his Majesties consent in the assembly at Halyroodhous *An. 1602.* where he consented that the next assembly should be at Aberdien the last tuesday of July in year 1604. and that diet was prorogued at his Majesties desire by a Letter sent to the Presbyteries, and subscribed by his Commissioner Laureston and the late Moderator, untill the first tuesday of July *An. 1605.* which day was kept by them at the direction of their presbyteries; As for the Letters sent by the Commissioners of the generall assembly unto the presbyteries, 1. It beares no command but advice. 2. The imprisoned had a more authentik and evident signification of his Majesties will declared in the assembly, and that diet was prorogued by his Majesties direction which was more authentik then an alledged discharge sent in an article unto the Commissioners. 3. At that same assembly all power of prorogating or altering time & place of the assembly, was taken from the Commissioners with his Majesties own consent, for remedy of the grievances given in to that assembly for the delays and alterations made by them without advice of presbyteries & synods: where also it was ordained that the diets of the assemblies be kept precisely according to the Act of Parliament *An. 1592.* which is of greater force then the Letter of the Commissioners, who had no power to discharge the ordinance of the assembly, and the Act of Parliament, and the continuall practise of the Church, requiring a certain day and place: but their Letter appointed neither time nor place: which imports a plain deserting rather then continuation; consequently it was a loss of that liberty confirmed by Parliament: and therefore could not with safe conscience be obeyed. 5. Their advice was, not to keep the fifth day: but that assembly was begun and ended on the second day, Their intention possibly was to discharge *simpliciter*, but neither did the Letter speak so, nor was it the duty of Ministers to quite their liberty; As for the Counsels Missive, they did convene with Laureston's advice, and their convention was sanctified by invoking the name of God, before the Missive was presented unto them: he met with them, and presented the Missive unto them as lawfully convened, and required an answer of it: it was read, and considered, and obeyd in all points, except the indication of another day: which for preservation of the liberty of the Church could not be omitted without perfidy; What contempt is it to deny the request of the Counsell, when the request imports so great a loss, and is contrary unto the law? As for his Majesties Commissioner's dissenting. 1. He made no opposition to their sitting down, but consented. 2. He delivered the Counsell's Letter, and willed them to read it, to consider it, and to answer it; and removed himself for that effect. 3. He acquiesced and was satisfied with their obedience unto the first part of the Letter, and for the designing a new day, he said, he had no commission for that, and therefore refused either by himself or with them to appoint a new day; neither did they ap-
point

point any till after arguing he was forced to confels that they had reason to stick unto their point, howbeit he could not consent for want of commission, and till that he plainly said unto them, It is thought, yee shall never have a gen. Assembly again. As for the charge of horning alledged to be executed against them; no intimation thereof was made unto them either by the Commissioner, nor by the pursuant, nor any other, nor knew they any such, as they are ready all to depone upon their oath. 2. Laureston gave them not occasion to conceive such a thing by his speech: for he said, Albeit he might have used a charge, yet he would rather use the Counsels Letter of request. 3. The pretended execution and indorsation bewrayeth the forgery, bearing that it was an open proclamation warranted by two witnesses, who are Laurestons domestick servants, whereas sundry honest men at the alledged time were in and about the market-place, and yet none other can be found who heard such a thing. 4. Why caused Laureston charge them upon the second day personally, when they were dissolving, without any mention of a charge the day preceeding? 5. Though the execution were true, yet it can not import the punishment contained in the libell, seing it was not according to the Act of Parliament of James 6. Parl. 11. year 1587. which beares, that no Letters importing the rinfell of life or movable goods should be of force, unless they be executed between eight a clock in the morning and twelve noon at before famous witnesses: but the indorsation of the pretended execution beares that these were executed between seven & eight in the evening. 6. When they were charged personally upon the second day, they obey'd presently; as the Instruments taken in the hands of two Notaries testify. The truth is; this charge could neither bring them into the guilt of contempt, or call their proceedings in question, because they had done all that they did at that time: therefore that other charge was forged as given at the cross of Aberdeen the day preceeding, and as it was given unto the Counsell by Laureston: which charge by diverse supplications given in unto the Counsell, the impannelled offered to reduce and to disprove, but could not be heard; and yet by vertue of that forged charge were they put to the horn. Albeit all those former intimations of his Majesties will were true, and had come to their knowledge, yet could they not truly be found guilty of contempt & sedition in their meeting & proceeding, in respect of an Act of Parliament James 6. parl. 6. An. 1579. act. 92: and law made in King Robert. 2. and cited *de verborum significatione*, both shewing the Civill jurisdiction & judgement to be free from all contempt of his Majesties authority or of the Lords of Secret Counsell, albeit they shall proceed in judgement according to law, notwithstanding any privy writing, charge or command directed unto them in the contrary by his Majesty or Counsell, or any command directed unto them under the great Seal, or Signet or privy seal, repugnant to law: whereupon it must follow much more, A spirituall Judicatory (which hath not institution or ground from Civill authority, but from Gods word, which is in nature different and distinguished both by the ordinance of God, and lawes of the Land, albeit the Iudicatory is not instituted, yet is approved by Acts of Parliament) may proceed lawfully, notwithstanding any signification of his Majesties will or of the Counsell in the contrary, and yet be free of all contempt or seditious proceeding. And in the assembly at Dundy 1597. *sess.* 7. the article concerning no convention of Pastors without his Majesties knowledge and consent,

the King (being present) declared his consent to be extended unto all and whatsoever generall assembly or speciall permitted and authorized by his lawes accordingly as they have warrant in the word of God, as being the most authentick form of consent that any King can give. Next the Kings Commissioner was present with them, consented unto their down-sitting, acknowledged their authority by presenting the Counsels Letter, craved answer unto it, and consented unto sundry things done there: his consent was craved in every thing, and obtained in some. As for the formality of their proceeding, the work being such as concerned the house of God, and so therein being subject unto the censure of the Overseers of Gods house, so they submit themselves and their proceedings to be censured & judged according to the word of God by a lawfull & free generall assembly; and in their apologies written upon occasion at other times they make clear their formality, as.

1. Whereas the Moderator of the last assembly was not present, it could be no impediment of holding the assembly, seing his absence was through his fault.
2. His preaching was supplied by the teaching of the ordinary Minister of the town.
3. As for the election of a new Moderator, after prayer by the Moderator of the late Synod at their appointment, liets were made, and it was needles to remove them who were upon the liets. Such circumstances are not to be stood upon, when the substance was in perrill. Neither have they reason to alledge this objection, who have challenged it, if they would call to mind, how in the assembly at Perth *An. 1596.* without any election or liets, the late Moderator being absent, David Lindsay at the nomination of two or three Brethren entred Moderator, others who were present not being asked.
4. The ordinary Clerck refused to do his office, because he was threatned by Laureston: Therefore he was dispenced with, and of their number one was chosen *pro illa vice*, as is the custom of Synods & Presbyteries.
5. The place was not privat but where the Presbytery and Synod sat ordinarily, and als publick as the Counsell-house of Dundy or Edinburgh, where Generall assemblies have been held. As for their paucity, that proceeded partly from the weather, and partly by a trick of the Commissioners pointing in their last Letter at another day then which was appointed before. And in the assembly of Gods servants, where the number is not defined by a law, rarity makes it not unlawfull, if the meeting be ordinary and established by law, unto which all who have interests may resort, and which may be judged lawfull or approved by the next ordinary meeting, as this hath been already approved by many Presbyteries.
3. For any thing that was done, there were moe than needed; a sufficient number to fense or begin an assembly by prayer, and to adjourny it unto another day for causes moving, and a prayer in end. This hath been praftized in the Parliaments, and in Church, as at Santandrews in April *An. 1597.* As for them who came after the dissolving, they had the like commission and warrands to come, and were stayd as said is; and when they came, they could find no unlawfulness in the proceedings of their Brethren: and seing their approbation concerned only the written process according to the subscribed copy which they received, equity requires that the Generall Assembly should judge thereof, before it be called unlawfull. In the written process they found no signification of any preceeding charge: which is the chief ground of the alledged contempt. Lastly it is against all order, that commissioners directed from the Presbyteries, should be challenged for executing

cuting their commission, namely, when their execution is approved by their Presbyteries; and the Presbyteries are not challenged. After the Advocat, the prisoners so cleared themselves and their cause, that their adversaries were astonished, their doubting Brethren resolved, and every one that stood by were satisfied. Then the Interloquiture went on, not by voting formally, but after secret rounding. All the exceptions and defences were rejected, and the Interloquiture was pronounced in name of all the Assessors consenting, howbeit some made opposition in the mean time: Yea some of the Counsell reported, that none consented, but the Earl of Dunbar, the President, the Chancellor, the Earl of Montrose and the Controller. Neither was the cause reasoned in presence of the Assise, the most part of them not having entred into the place of judgement, untill they were called to take their oath and to be enclosed. Those were John Livingston of Dnnipace, Sir Archbald Sterlin of Kier, Sir John Forrest of Carden, Sir John Hume of North-Berwick, James Shaw of Sawchy, James Swenton of Innerkitchen a Papist, Henry Stuart of Craig-hall a dissolute man, Sir George Hume of Broxmouth, George Hume of the Deans, Gawin Hume of Johnscleuch, Thomas Livingston of Pantoun, Robert Livingston of Westquarter, Sir Patrik Hume of Polwart, James Gib younger of Caribben, and Alexand. Hume of Rentoun. Craig-hall was chosen Chancellor of the Assise [or Foreman of the Jury.] Their Advocat exhorted the Jury to consider that it was not the naked deed of Declining, that was the ditray of the impannelled, but the quality of the deed, towit, a treasonous declinature, which was to be tryed: Therefore willed them to judge, whether it was treason or not. But the Kings Advocat charged them to find only, whether the prisoners had declined the Councils judgement or not, which the Iustice and Lords had already found treasonable. Their Advocat willed them to remember his defences (which he resumed briefly) and to judge truly & equitably, and not according to the alledged lawes, which were not only repealed and abrogated in part, and were made in a violent time, (when in the Kings minority the chief men both of the Commonwealth and Church were forced to forsake the Land; nor was any man before that day convicted of treason for declining the Counsell, notwithstanding that Act) but against it at the very poclaming of it at the market cross of Edinburgh; Robert Pont and Walter Backanquell in name of the Church took protestations & documents of their dissenting, in the hands of John Mackeson Notare publick. After him, John Forbes deduced summarily their proceedings at Aberdien, explained the word *Simpliciter*, which they had used in the Declinature, protested (as they had done before the Council) that in all Civill affaires they acknowledge his Majesty and the authority of the Secret Counsell as far as any other subject; but in the affaires of Christs Kingdom and the Church, which God hath distinguished from the former, they had lawfully declined the judgement of the civil Iudicatory; and he exhorted the Gentle men of the Assise to remember, that they were bound by the confession of faith to maintain the disciplin professed in our Church alswele as the Ministers. He read a part of the confession to this purpose, and inferred, They could not but be guilty of perjury, if they for fear or pleasure of any man should decern that to be treason, which themselves had upon the lawfull command of authority sworn and subscribed. John Welsh followed with a discourse of the grounds of their declinature, and required them to consider

sider, that they were not the first, who had declined the Counsell in the like case, as others also had done in other cases; and namely, that there is extant a Declinature of the King & Counsell subscribed by three or four hundred Ministers or thereby, yea by some of the commissioners of the Generall assembly, and by those who are called Bishops, and are the only men who have procured all those troubles, and on whom they there do lay all the guilt of those troubles, which they have suffered and are like to suffer. He read also another part of the confession of faith concerning the present purpose. The Kings Advocate interrupted him, and willed the Assise to consider that they had no more to try, but whether the impanelled had declined or not. The Justice willed the Assise to remove in all haste. John Forbes seeing there was no longer stay, charged the Earl of Dunbar, to report in their names unto his Majesty, what punishment followed upon the breach of the oath made unto the Gibeonites, and how the like was to be feared to fall upon his Majesties posterity and the whole Land, if they shall violat the great oath that they have made; and then he read another passage of the confession concerning equivocation & double dealing. When the Jury was enclosed, Dunipace moved them with reasons so, that they were inclined to absolve the impanelled, Wherefore some were directed to deal with the Assisers, and some were directed to deal with the arraigned Ministers, to see if yet they could be moved to depart from their declinature; Whereas according to the law none should have access unto the Assisers, after they be inclosed: For the statute *James 6. Parli. 11, 1587. Act. 91.* it was ordained, that all Assisers be inclosed, and none suffered to repair unto them under whatsoever pretence, nor any of the Assise to come forth, untill after agreement they return their answer unto the Judge; otherwise the person to be pronounced clean and innocent of the crime alledged. But it was sufficiently known, that the Foreman came forth unto the Lord Justice and other Lords; and the Clerks resorted unto the Assise. Much travell was to perswad the Assisers, that no harm was intended against the prisoners in their person, life or goods; to induce them to convict the prisoners. Sixe cleansed them *simpliciter*, towit, Dunipace, Kier, Johnseleuch, Westquarter, Pantoun and Sawchy. When the Forman returned, and reported the Sentence of the Jury, Dunipace said publickly, that he not only absolved them as innocent of treason, but acknowledged them to be honest Ministers, faithfull servants of Christ, and good subjects. The Judge delayd the Sentence of punishment, untill the Kings will were further known, and ordained the prisoners to be carried into ward again, and to be straitly kept, that no man have access unto them. The prisoners embraced one another, and thanked God for his presence in the action. They were convoyd unto the place about ten a clock at night by some of the Guard. The people said, It was certainly a work of darknes to make Christs faithfull Ministers traitors. O if the King were never in greater danger then by such men! On the morrow they were convoyd to Blacknes, a great number of Ministers accompanying them, and parted from them with thanks giving, prayers and many tears, and more confirmed in the cause. Then the Commissioners of the generall assembly thought it a fit time to try the constancy of other Ministers being so terrified (as they supposed) that nothing would be refused. Therefore all the Synods of the realm were appointed in the Kings name to convene upon one and
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the same day in February within their bounds *respectively*; that so one Synod might not know the resolution of another. The King had one or more Commissioners at every Synod, to crave answer unto five Articles; which were directed to the Synod of Mers and Teviotdale with David Macgill, a Senator of the Session, and Gavin Hamilton Bishop of Galloway; to wit: 1. That in the next General Assembly, no Acts made in any preceding Assembly where his Majesty was present, should be in any way touched, altered or interpreted. 2. That the estate of Bishops be not medled with, but continued in the same condition wherein they are at present, untill his Majesties will and pleasure be further known. 3. That there be no alteration of any of the Commissioners, except upon the trial of some notable fault in their doctrine, life or conversation. 4. That notwithstanding any appellation, the Commissioners should proceed, they alwaies being answerable unto the General Assembly for their proceedings. 5. That they acknowledge the Warrant of their meetings to come by permission of the Prince. That Synod would give no answer, so did many others, and some referred them unto the General Assembly. The Ministers of the Dutch and French Churches at London (being mis-informed) sent Letters unto the Ministers of Edenburgh, regrating the mis-behaviour of the imprisoned Ministers. Wherefore those in blackness wrote an Apologetick, not only declaring their proceedings, but also painting forth the Commissioners of the General Assembly in their own colours; that under pretence of a limited Commission from the General Assembly, they arrogate the full jurisdiction and authority of the Church in all things; and daily do promote their intended change of the Church Discipline; first in bringing us into bondage of a perpetual *Dictatura*, under the Title of Commissioners, as the finest cover of their intentions; and then into the Antichristian slavery of the Hierarchy; that their purposes were discovered by their speeches; by presentations of them unto Bishopricks, with full authority over their Brethren, and several other signs; especially, by their publick profession in all the Synods lately, where it is clear that our Assembly is impeded by their Dictatorship and Lordly Domination; which they fear must fall, if the Assemblies shall hold, and is the main cause of persisting with so hatefull enmity against them for their meeting at Aberdeen; because thereby (as they judged) their almost accomplished enterprize was somewhat retarded. It was, at that time, reported unto the King, by these Bishops, that Chancelour Seton was upon the Council of holding the Assembly at Aberdeen; wherefore Dunbar was sent down to try him. But partly by favour of the Queen; and partly by his correspondence with the English Secretary, the Trial was not exactly followed: and so the Delator John Spotswood (then called Bishop of Glascow) was disappointed. Many other particulars passed that year concerning the Church affairs: But (for this time to close that Assembly) in the beginning of October, the King's Will was declared, unto a Convention of the Nobility at Lithgow, that the six condemned Ministers should be banished out of his Dominions for all their daies; and the other eight should be confined, some in one place, and some in another within the Country remote from their former dwellings; and some into Isles severally. And a Proclamation was published, that if any should hereafter offend in such a high Trespass, they should be punished with all severity; and the death due unto Traitors, should be inflicted upon them with all rigour; and all Ministers were inhibited either in their Sermons or Prayers to recommend the persons that were so sentenced. John Forbes went to Middleburgh, where he was Minister unto the English

Staple: Robert Dury was Minister of an English Congregation in Leyden: John Welsh went to Bourdeaux, where he learned the language so quickly, that within one year he was chosen Minister of a French Church: And John Sharp became Minister and Professour of Divinity at Dia in the Delphinat, where he wrote *Cursus Theologicus*, & *Symphonia Prophetarum & Apostolorum*. After a year Andrew Duncan and Alexander Strachan purchased liberty to return into their former places. Finally, because those Assemblies were zealous to keep the Church in purity of Doctrine, and free from scandalous Vices, they were deserted by some, undermined by others, and opposed by a third sort; and although they were warranted by God's Word, and confirmed by the Law of the Realm; yet without any repealing Law, or just reason (that ever was alledged) they were in this manner brought to an end.

AN INDEX

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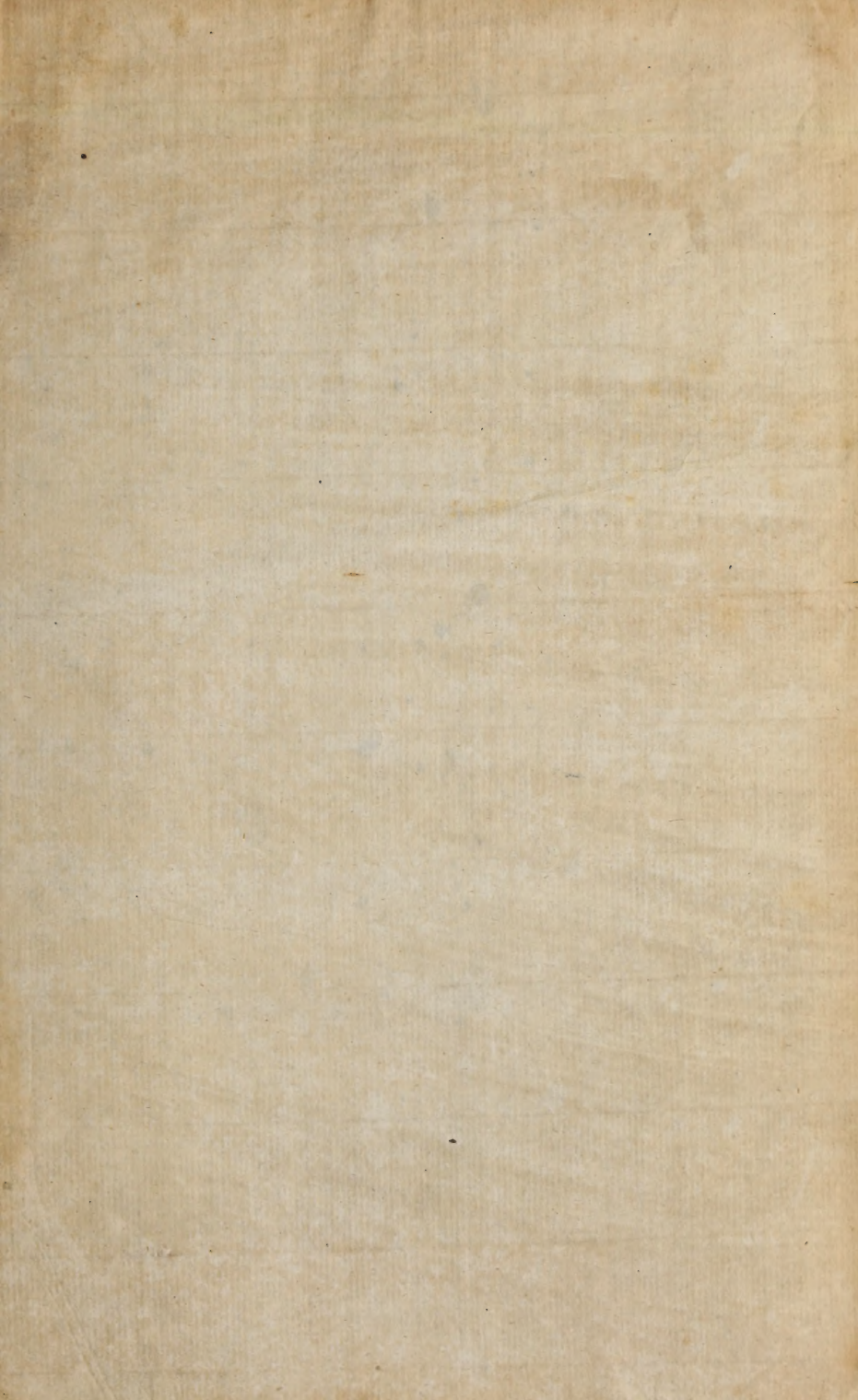
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